**The National Party Platforms collection contains the complete text of every major political party platform of the 1840 through 1996** national elections, such as Lincoln's Republican Party platform of 1860, Millard Fillmore's Know-Nothing platform of 1856, or Teddy Roosevelt's 1912 Progressive (Bull Moose) Party platform.

National Party Platforms,

1840-1876

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1840

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1840, p.1

Most students of politics agree that the Anti-Masonic Party held the first national convention in Philadelphia in 1830. At the gathering, a statement of eight resolutions declaring against free masonry, proposed by William Seward, was approved by the delegates. In September, 1831, the members of the party held another national convention in Baltimore at which William Wirt was nominated for president. Shortly thereafter, in December of 1831, the National Republican Party also held a convention in Baltimore and nominated candidates for president and vice-president. This convention did not, however, draw up a platform. In May of 1832, a gathering of "young men" of the party met in Washington, D.C. They went through various ceremonies, conducted a "solemn procession," and adopted a list of resolutions that have been called the platform of the National Republican Party. A contemporary account of this meeting is to be found in Niles' National Register.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1840, p.1

Aside from these documents, which are not exactly true platforms, no platforms, in the proper sense of the term, were adopted in 1832 or in 1836. In the latter year, the National Republicans made no national nominations. The remnants of the Anti-Masonic Party during this period were gradually absorbed by other parties.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1840, p.1

Under the circumstances it is fair to assert that the serious business of platform making did not begin until 1840. And in that year the Democrats alone drew up and adopted a platform in their national nominating convention. It is presented in this volume as the first national party platform.

Democratic Platform of 1840

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

1. Resolved, That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power shown therein, ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

2. Resolved, That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on, a general system of internal improvements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

3. Resolved, That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states, contracted for local internal improvements, or other state purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

4. Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country—that every citizen and every section of the country, has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence, or foreign aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

5. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of the government, to enforce and practice the most rigid economy, in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised, than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

6. Resolved, That congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

7. Resolved, That congress has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts by abolitionists or others, made to induce congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

8. Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions, is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government, and the rights of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1840, p.2

9. Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens, and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute-book.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1844

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1844, p.3

The two major parties of this year were the Whig Party and the Democratic Party. The Liberty Party was composed chiefly of abolitionists, some of whom had met in 1840 and nominated candidates but did not issue a platform. The Liberty Party is sometimes called the Liberty-Abolitionist Party, and sometimes simply the Abolitionist Party.

Democratic Platform of 1844

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.3

1. Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust, not in factitious symbols, not in displays and appeals insulting to the judgment and subversive of the intellect of the people, but in a clear reliance upon the intelligence, patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American masses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.3

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.3

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrages.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.3

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.3

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence or carry on a general system of internal improvements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.3

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.3

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country—that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.4

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.4

6. That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank, that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.4

7. That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts, by abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our Political Institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.4

8. That the separation of the money of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.4

9. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens, and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.4

Resolved, That the proceeds of the Public Lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the Distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.4

Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill, whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American People from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1844, p.4

Resolved, That our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the reoccupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures, which this Convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.

Liberty Platform of 1844

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.4

Being assembled in general Convention, as the representatives of the Liberty party in the United States, and feeling it incumbent on us to set forth, clearly and fully, the principles which govern us, and the purposes which we seek to accomplish, and this, the rather because these principles and purposes have been much misunderstood, and either ignorantly or maliciously much misrepresented: be it therefore

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.4

1. Resolved, That human brotherhood is a cardinal doctrine of true Democracy, as well as of pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it, nor the political system which is not based upon it, nor controlled in its practical workings, by it, can be truly Democratic or permanent.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.4

2. Resolved, That the Liberty party, placing itself upon this broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified divorce of the General Government from Slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights, among men, in every State where the party exists, or may exist.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.4

3. Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been organized for any temporary purpose, by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people, in consequence of a conviction, hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American Liberty, or the true spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

4. Resolved, That the Liberty party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of Slavery. Its first decided effort must indeed be directed against slaveholding, as the grossest form and most revolting manifestation of Despotism; but it will also carry out the principles of Equal Rights, into all their practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

5. Resolved, That the Liberty party is not a Sectional party, but a National party—has not originated in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interests of the whole country—is not a new party, or a third party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

6. Resolved, That it was understood in the time of the Declaration and the Constitution, that the existence of slavery in some of the States, was in derogation of the principles of American Liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country, and the implied faith of the States and the Nation was pledged, that slavery should never be extended beyond its then existing limits; but should be gradually, and, yet, at no distant day, wholly abolished by State authority.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

7. Resolved, That the faith of the States, and the nation they pledged, was most nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of slavery in several of the States, and by the adoption of the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Territory North West of the river Ohio, then the only Territory in the United States, and consequently the only Territory subject in this respect to the control of Congress, by which ordinance slavery was forever excluded from the vast regions which now compose the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the Territory of Wiskonsan, and an incapacity to bear up any other than freemen, was impressed on the soil itself.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

8. Resolved, That the faith of the States and Nation thus pledged, has been shamefully violated by the omission, on the part of many of the States, to take any measures whatever for the abolition of slavery within their respective limits; by the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of Louisiana and Florida; by the legislation of Congress; by the protection afforded by national legislation and negotiation to slaveholding in American vessels, on the high seas, employed in the coastwise slave traffic; and by the extension of slavery far beyond its original limits, by acts of Congress, admitting new slave States into the Union.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

9. Resolved, That the fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, was made the fundamental law of our National Government, by that amendment of the constitution which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

10. Resolved, That we recognize as sound, the doctrine maintained by slaveholding Jurists, that slavery is against natural rights, and strictly local, and that its existence and continuance rest on no other support than State legislation, and not on any Authority of Congress.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

11. Resolved, That the General Government has, under the Constitution, no power to establish or continue slavery any where, and therefore that all treaties and acts of Congress establishing, continuing or favoring slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Territory of Florida, or on the high seas, are unconstitutional, and all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive national jurisdiction, ought to be prohibited by law.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.5

12. Resolved, That the plea sometimes urged, in behalf of the constitutionality of slaveholding under the sanction of national legislation, that the continuance of slavery was secured in the District of Columbia, by stipulations in the Deeds of cession by Virginia and Maryland, and in Florida by the provisions of the Treaty with Spain is false in fact; and the other plea, sometimes urged to the same purpose, that Congress might constitutionally authorize slaveholding in the District, under the power to legislate for the same in all cases whatsoever, and in Florida under the power to make needful rules and regulations for the government of national territories, and in American vessels on the seas under the power to regulate commerce, cannot be sound in law, so long as the great Interdict of the People against depriving any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, remains unaltered.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

13. Resolved, That the provision of the Constitution of the United States, which confers extraordinary political powers on the owners of slaves, and thereby constituting the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders in the slave States a privileged aristocracy; and the provision for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and ought to be abrogated.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

14. Resolved, That the operation of the first of these provisions is seen in the growth of a power in the country, hostile to free institutions, to free labor, and to freedom itself, which is appropriately denominated the slave power; this power has maintained slavery in the original States, has secured its continuance in the District and in the Territories, has created seven new slave States, has caused disastrous fluctuations in our national policy, foreign and domestic, has gradually usurped the control of our home legislation, has waged unrelenting war against the most sacred rights of freedom, has violated and set at naught the right of petition, has dictated the action of political parties, has filled almost all the offices of the National Government with slaveholders, and the abettors of slaveholders, and threatens, if not arrested in its career, the total overthrow of popular freedom.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

15. Resolved, That the practical operation of the second of these provisions, is seen in the enactment of the act of Congress respecting persons escaped from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg vs. Pennsylvania be correct, nullifies the habeas corpus acts of all the States, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought therefore to be immediately repealed.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

16. Resolved, That the peculiar patronage and support hitherto extended to slavery and slaveholding, by the General Government, ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of national authority ought to be arrayed on the side of Liberty and free labor.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

11. Resolved, That we cherish no harsh or unkind feelings towards any of our brethren of the slave States, while we express unmitigated abhorrence of that system of slaveholding which has stripped a large portion of their population of every right, and which has established an aristocracy worse than feudal in the midst of Republican States, and which denies to the poor non-slaveholder and his children the benefits of education, and crushes them in the dust, or drives them out as exiles from the land of their birth.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

18. Resolved, That the impoverished and embarrassed condition of the slave States, so much deplored by their own statesmen, may be clearly traced to the fact that the coerced, reluctant, and ill-directed labor of slaves will not supply their own scanty subsistence, and also support their masters in the habits of wasteful extravagance which slavery generates.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

19. Resolved, That the withering and impoverishing effect of slavery on the free States, is seen in the fact, among many others, that these States are taxed to the amount of about half a million of dollars a year, to pay the deficits of the slave States, and that the slave States have received, for years past, to the amount, as it is estimated, of more than ten millions of dollars a year, for which no payment has ever been, or ever will be made.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

20. Resolved, That we behold with sorrow and shame, and indignation, the dishonor brought upon the name of the country by the influence of the slave power upon our National Government—corrupting its administration at home—paralyzing all generous action and utterance in behalf of right and freedom abroad, and exhibiting the American people to the world in the ridiculous and contemptible character of patrons of the slave trade.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.6

21. Resolved, That we are inflexibly opposed to that policy of the General Government, which plies every art, and strains every effort of negotiation, to secure the markets of the world for the products of slave labor, while the products of free labor are to a great extent, confined to the nonpaying market of the slave States; and we insist that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to employ all its influence, and to exert its utmost energies to extend the markets for the products of free labor, and we do not doubt that if this duty be performed in good faith, the result will be most auspicious to the general and permanent prosperity of the country.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

22. Resolved, That we are fully persuaded that it is indispensably necessary to the salvation of the union of the States, to the preservation of the liberties of the people, and to the permanent restoration of prosperity in every department of business, that the National Government be rescued from the grasp of the slave power; that the spirit and practice of slaveholding be expelled from our National Legislature, and that the administration of the Government be conducted henceforth in conformity with the principles of the Constitution, and for the benefit of the whole population.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

23. Resolved, That the practice of the General Government, which prevails in the slave States, of employing slaves upon the public works, instead of free laborers, and paying aristocratic masters, with a view to secure or reward political services, is utterly indefensible, and ought to be abandoned.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

24. Resolved, That we believe intelligence, religion, and morality, to be the indispensable supports of good government, and are therefore in favor of general education; we believe, also, that good government itself is necessary to the welfare of society, and are therefore in favor of rigid public economy, and strict adherence to the principles of justice in every department of its administration.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

25. Resolved, That freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition, and the right of trial by jury, are sacred and inviolable; and that all rules, regulations and laws, in derogation of either are oppressive, unconstitutional, and not to be endured by a free people.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

26. Resolved, That we regard voting in an eminent degree, as a moral and religious duty, which when exercised, should be by voting for those who will do all in their power for immediate emancipation.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

27. Resolved, That we can never lose our vote, although in ever so small a minority, when cast for the slave's redemption; as each vote for the slave, whether in minority or majority, is a part of that great mass of means which will work out his final deliverance.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

28. Resolved, That the Whig and Democratic parties always throw away their votes, whether in a majority or minority, and do worse than throw them away, as long as they cast them for binding the slave with fetters, and loading him with chains, and for depriving him of himself, his wife and his children, which these parties always have done, in bowing down to the slaveholding portions of said parties.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

29. Resolved, That we especially entreat the friends of Liberty in the slave States to reflect on the vast importance of voting openly for Liberty, and Liberty men; and to remember and adopt the words of the illustrious Washington, who said, "There is but one proper and effectual mode by which the abolition of slavery can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting."

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

30. Resolved, That we earnestly exhort the Liberty men everywhere, to organize for efficient action in their respective States, counties, cities, towns, and districts, and not to turn to the right side or to the left, until despotism shall have been driven from its last entrenchment, and thanksgivings for victory in the second great struggle for Liberty and Independence shall be heard throughout the land.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

31. Resolved, That we most earnestly recommend that the Liberty party make efforts to secure the control of the town power, so that every officer shall be a Liberty party man; and that our friends should not fail to nominate a Liberty ticket annually in their towns, and sustain the same, never yielding to a compromise with the other parties.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

32. Resolved, That a county and State organization of the Liberty party should be faithfully maintained; and we also recommend that our friends employ some proper person to lecture, organize, and distribute tracts in each Congressional district, in the several States, for the space of at least three months in a year.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

33. Resolved, That the friends of Liberty in each town form tract organizations, of men and women, to distribute tracts in every family in such towns, by directing the labors of said tract distribution, so that no neighborhood or family be overlooked or unsupplied.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

34. Resolved, That it be recommended that said tract distributors circulate petitions through the several towns, praying Congress to abolish the abominable act of Congress, of the 12th of February, 1793, so that we may be delivered from the unconstitutional obligation to become kidnappers on our own soil.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.7

35. Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the friends of Liberty in all those free States where any inequality of rights and privileges exists on account of color, to employ their utmost energies to remove all such remnants and effects of the slave system.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

36. Resolved, That we cordially welcome our colored fellow citizens to fraternity with us in the Liberty party, in its great contest to secure the rights of mankind, and the religion of our common country.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

37. Whereas, The Constitution of these United States is a series of agreements, covenants, or contracts between the people of the United States, each with all, and all with each; and

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

Whereas, It is a principle of universal morality, that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the language of an apostle, that "we ought to obey God, rather than men;"—and

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

Whereas, The principle of Common Law—that any contract, covenant, or agreement, to do an act derogatory to natural right, is vitiated and annulled by its inherent immorality—has been recognized by one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who, in a recent case, expressly holds that "any contract that rests upon such a basis, is void";—and

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

Whereas, The third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States—when construed as providing for the surrender of a fugitive slave—does "rest upon such a basis," in that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right—namely, his natural right to his own liberty; and is, therefore, absolutely void.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

Therefore, Resolved, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood, by this nation and the world, that, as abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness—and our hope for it in our conformity to the LAWS OF GOD, and our respect for the RIGHTS OF MAN, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens, or as public functionaries sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and to treat the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of that instrument, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon, or sworn, to support it.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

38. Resolved, That the power given to Congress by the Constitution, to provide for calling out the militia to suppress insurrection, does not make it the duty of the Government to maintain slavery, by military force, much less does it make it the duty of the citizens to form a part of such military force. When freemen unsheath the sword it should be to strike for Liberty, not for Despotism.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

39. Resolved, That to preserve the peace of the citizens, and secure the blessings of freedom, the Legislature of each of the free States, ought to keep in force suitable statutes rendering it penal for any of its inhabitants to transport, or aid in transporting from such State, any person sought, to be thus transported, merely because subject to the slave laws of any other States; this remnant of independence being accorded to the free States, by the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg, vs. the State of Pennsylvania.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

40. Resolved, That we recognize in Daniel O'Connell, a true Patriot of the Liberty school, and admire his consistent devotion to freedom throughout the world. We thank him and the Irish people whom he represents, for their sympathy with us in our great struggle.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

41. Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered to Professor Taylor, for his kindness in furnishing the spacious tent, belonging to the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, which has been occupied by the Convention during its sittings.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

42. Resolved, That the doings of the Convention be published, under the direction of the Secretaries.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

43. Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the authorities of the County of Erie, and of the city of Buffalo, for the use of the Court House and the Park for its sittings.

National Party Platforms, Liberty Platform of 1844, p.8

44. Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries, for their services during its session.

Whig Platform of 1844

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1844, p.8

Resolved, That, in presenting to the country the names of Henry Clay for president, and of Theodore Frelinghuysen for vice-president of the United States, this Convention is actuated by the conviction that all the great principles of the Whig party—principles inseparable from the public honor and prosperity—will be maintained and advanced by these candidates.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1844, p.9

Resolved, That these principles may be summed as comprising, a well-regulated currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands; a single term for the presidency; a reform of executive usurpations;—and, generally—such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practicable efficiency, controlled by a well regulated and wise economy.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1844, p.9

Resolved, That the name of Henry Clay needs no eulogy; the history of the country since his first appearance in public life is his history; its brightest pages of prosperity and success are identified with the principles which he has upheld, as its darkest and more disastrous pages are with every material departure in our public policy from those principles.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1844, p.9

Resolved, That in Theodore Frelinghuysen we present a man pledged alike by his revolutionary ancestry and his own public course to every measure calculated to sustain the honor and interest of the country. Inheriting the principles as well as the name of a father who, with Washington, on the fields of Trenton and of Monmouth, perilled life in the contest for liberty, and afterwards, as a senator of the United States, acted with Washington in establishing and perpetuating that liberty, Theodore Frelinghuysen, by his course as Attorney-General of the State of New Jersey for twelve years, and subsequently as a senator of the United States for several years, was always strenuous on the side of law, order, and the constitution, while as a private man, his head, his hand, and his heart have been given without stint to the cause of morals, education, philanthropy, and religion.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1848

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1848, p.10

The two major parties in 1848 were the Democratic Party and the Whig Party. The Free Soil Party of this campaign was the outgrowth of the Liberty Party of 1844. The Liberty Party had absorbed some abolitionists from both of the major parties and the new name was adopted. The Democrats who withdrew from their party to join the new one were sometimes called "Barnburners." In some isolated cases the Barnburners held independent conventions. Whigs who left their party were sometimes called "Conscience" Whigs.

Democratic Platform of 1848

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.10

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.10

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.10

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their Delegates assembled in general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declaration of principles avowed by them when, on a former occasion, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.10

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.10

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.10

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just and expedient.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.10

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen, and every section of the country, has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war, after peaceful relations shall have been restored.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

6. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation, in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

7. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

9. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

Resolved, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, and invading our sister State of Texas; and that, upon all the principles of patriotism and laws of nations, it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or by deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

Resolved, That we would be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico founded on the just principles of indemnity for the past and security for the future; but that, while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt, it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.11

Resolved, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of their country into Mexico, have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes, and that more formidable enemy, the diseases of the climate, exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country, and the admiration of the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.12

Resolved, That the Democratic National Convention of the thirty States composing the American Republic, tender their fraternal congratulations to the National Convention of the Republic of France, now assembled as the free-suffrage representatives of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of republicans, to establish government on those eternal principles of equal rights for which their Lafayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our own national independence; and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their counsels, on the basis of a democratic constitution, not derived from grants or concessions of kings or parliaments, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union, the inherent and inalienable right of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and to amend their forms of government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.12

Resolved, That in view of the recent development of the grand political truth, of the sovereignty of the people, and their capacity and power for self-government, which is prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the Old World, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us constitutional "liberty, equality, and fraternity," by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.12

Voted, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American Minister at Paris, to the National Convention of the Republic of France.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.12

Resolved, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union—in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents to create a national bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds, from the common treasury of the Union, for local purposes; in protecting the currency and the labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the people for the use of the people, by the establishment of the constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade, by the repeal of the tariff in 1842 and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance, which is the only safeguard of liberty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.12

Resolved, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness, and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election in 1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy and ability which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him, that at the expiration of his Presidential term, he will carry with him to his retirement the esteem, respect, and admiration of a grateful country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1848, p.12

Resolved, That this Convention hereby present to the people of the United States, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of Vice-President of the United States.

Free Soil Platform of 1848

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Whereas, We have assembled in Convention, as a union of Freemen, for the sake of Freedom, forgetting all past political differences in a common resolve to maintain the rights of Free Labor against the aggressions of the Slave Power, and to secure Free Soil for a Free People:

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

And whereas, The political Conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia, the one stifling the voice of a great constituency entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability, have dissolved the national party organizations heretofore existing, by nominating for the Chief Magistracy of the United States, under Slaveholding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of Slavery-extension, without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

And whereas, These nominations, so made, furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the People under the banners of Free Democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the Slave Power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control:

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, therefore, that we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking his guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the NATIONAL PLATFORM OF FREEDOM, in opposition to the Sectional Platform of Slavery.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, That Slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence, depends upon the State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government, and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with Slavery within the limits of any State.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, That the PROVISO of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of Slavery, after 1800 in all the Territories of the United States, Southern and Northern; the votes of six States, and sixteen delegates, in the Congress of 1784, for the Proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of Slavery from the North western Territory by the ORDINANCE OF 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress, and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation, not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage, Slavery; and to this policy which should never have been departed from, the Government ought to return.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal Government, which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, Congress has no more power to make a SLAVE than to make a KING; no more power to institute or establish SLAVERY, than to institute or establish a MONARCHY. No such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution, or derived by just implication from them.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO RELIEVE ITSELF FROM ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EXISTENCE OR CONTINUANCE OF SLAVERY WHEREVER THAT GOVERNMENT POSSESS CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO LEGISLATE ON THAT SUBJECT, AND IS THUS RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS EXISTENCE.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, That the true, and, in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of Slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, That we accept the issue which the Slave Power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more Slave States and more Slave Territory, our calm but final answer is: No more Slave States and no more Slave Territory. Let the soil of our extensive domains be kept free, for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New World.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.13

Resolved, That the bill lately reported by the Committee of Eight in the Senate of the United States, was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of Slavery into Territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage, in hot haste, by a majority, embracing several Senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the People to see to it, that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with Slavery: if made, they must be repealed.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.14

Resolved, That we demand Freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardships, peril, and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the Slave Power to the establishment of Free Government for Free Territories—and not only for them, but for our new brethren in California and New Mexico.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.14

And whereas, It is due not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy, therefore,

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.14

Resolved, That we demand CHEAP POSTAGE for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the People of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.14

Resolved, That river and harbor improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern; and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide therefor.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.14

Resolved, That the FREE GRANT TO ACTUAL SETTLERS, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote, in various ways, the interest of all the States of this Union; and we therefore recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American People.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.14

Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt, and we are therefore in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the Federal Government, and to pay annual instalments of our debt and the interest thereon.

National Party Platforms, Free Soil Platform of 1848, p.14

Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR, and FREE MEN," and under it we will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

Whig Platform of 1848

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.14

1. Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, here assembled by their Representatives, heartily ratify the nominations of General Zachary Taylor as President and Millard Fillmore as Vice-President of the United States, and pledge themselves to their support.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.14

2. Resolved, That the choice of General Taylor as the Whig candidate for President we are glad to discover sympathy with a great popular sentiment throughout the nation—a sentiment which, having its origin in admiration of great military success, has been strengthened by the development, in every action and every word, of sound conservative opinions, and of true fidelity to the great example of former days, and to the principles of the Constitution as administered by its founders.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.14

3. Resolved, That General Taylor, in saying that, had he voted in 1844, he would have voted the Whig ticket, gives us the assurance—and no better is needed from a consistent and truth-speaking man—that his heart was with us at the crisis of our political destiny, when Henry Clay was our candidate and when not only Whig principles were well defined and clearly asserted, but Whig measures depended on success. The heart that was with us then is with us now, and we have a soldier's word of honor, and a life of public and private virtue, as the security.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.14

4. Resolved, That we look on General Taylor's administration of the Government as one conducive of Peace, Prosperity, and Union. Of Peace—because no one better knows, or has greater reason to deplore, what he has seen sadly on the field of victory, the horrors of war, and especially of a foreign and aggressive war. Of Prosperity—now more than ever needed to relieve the nation from a burden of debt, and restore industry—agricultural, manufacturing and commercial—to its accustomed and peaceful functions and influences. Of Union—because we have a candidate whose very position as a Southwestern man, reared on the banks of the great stream whose tributaries, natural and artificial, embrace the whole Union, renders the protection of the interests of the whole country his first trust, and whose various duties in past life have been rendered, not on the soil or under the flag of any State or section, but over the wide frontier, and under the broad banner of the Nation

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.15

5. Resolved, That standing, as the Whig Party does, on the broad and firm platform of the Constitution, braced up by all its inviolable and sacred guarantees and compromises, and cherished in the affections because protective of the interests of the people, we are proud to have, as the exponent of our opinions, one who is pledged to construe it by the wise and generous rules which Washington applied to it, and who has said, (and no Whig desires any other assurance) that he will make Washington's Administration the model of his own.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.15

6. Resolved, That as Whigs and Americans, we are proud to acknowledge our gratitude for the great military services which, beginning at Palo Alto, and ending at Buena Vista, first awakened the American people to a just estimate of him who is now our Whig Candidate. In the discharge of a painful duty—for his march into the enemy's country was a reluctant one; in the command of regulars at one time and volunteers at another, and of both combined; in the decisive though punctual discipline of his camp, where all respected and beloved him; in the negotiations of terms for a dejected and desperate enemy; in the exigency of actual conflict, when the balance was perilously doubtful—we have found him the same—brave, distinguished and considerate, no heartless spectator of bloodshed, no trifler with human life or human happiness, and we do not know which to admire most, his heroism in withstanding the assaults of the enemy in the most hopeless fields of Buena Vista—mourning in generous sorrow over the graves of Ringgold, of Clay, or of Hardin—or in giving in the heat of battle, terms of merciful capitulation to a vanquished foe at Monterey, and not being ashamed to avow that he did it to spare women and children, helpless infancy, and more helpless age, against whom no American soldier ever wars. Such a military man, whose triumphs are neither remote nor doubtful, whose virtues these trials have tested, we are proud to make our Candidate.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.15

7. Resolved, That in support of this nomination we ask our Whig friends throughout the nation to unite, to co-operate zealously, resolutely, with earnestness in behalf of our candidate, whom calumny cannot reach, and with respectful demeanor to our adversaries, whose Candidates have yet to prove their claims on the gratitude of the nation.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.15

Note: A Whig National Convention, at which General Zachary Taylor was nominated for the presideney, was assembled for three days beginning June 7, 1848, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Convention adopted no Platform of Principles at that time. On the evening of the final day of the sessions, however, a ratification meeting was held in Philadelphia, at which Governor William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania presided. Speeches were given by Governor John Morehead of North Carolina, who had presided over the nominating convention, by General Leslie Coombs of Kentucky, and by several other persons. Participants in this meeting adopted the platfoem printed here. It evidently was drawn up by the Pennsylvania Whig State Ratifying Convention, but it is noteworthy that the first resolution is made in the name of "the Whigs of the United States, here assembled by their Representatives...."

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1848, p.15

We insert this cautionary footnote because the platform, to our knowledge, was neither adopted nationally nor regarded as the official party platform by all of the ideologically divided Whigs that year. See A Political Text-book for 1860: Comprising a Brief View of Presidential Nominations and Elections Including All the National Platforms Ever Yet Adopted: . . ., compiled by Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland and published by the Tribune Association in New York (1860) pages 15 and 16; also Niles Register, vol. 74, pages 349, 354-358.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1852

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1852, p.16

The two major parties in 1852 were the Democratic Party and the Whig Party. The Free Democratic Party was the Party that had appeared in 1848 as the Free Soil Party and in 1844 as the Liberty Party. By 1852 it had enlarged considerably due to the advent of many who deserted the old parties.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1852, p.16

The Free Democratic Party is referred to by several different names. It is called the Free Soil Party, the Free Soil Democratic Party, the Independent Party and the Independent Democratic Party. But in article XX of its own platform it refers to itself as the Free Democratic Party.

Democratic Platform of 1852

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.16

Resolved, That the American democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.16

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.16

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declaration of principles avowed by them when on former occasions, in general convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrages.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.16

1. That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.16

2. That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.16

3. That the constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.16

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen, and every section of the country, has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete an ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

6. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated, to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

7. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

8. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute-books.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

9. That Congress has no power under the constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

Resolved, That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures settled by the last Congress—"the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto be repealed nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

Resolved, That the democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

Resolved, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states as, alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

Resolved, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

Resolved, That the democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.17

Resolved, That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the laws of nations was a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have shown himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

Resolved, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and prosperity which we enjoy under republican institutions; and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war, which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the democratic party, and insured to the United States, "indemnity for the past and security for the future."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

Resolved, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility upon the democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States, and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

Free Democratic Platform of 1852

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

Having assembled in National Convention as the delegates of the Free Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain right against wrongs, and freedom against slavery; confiding in the intelligence, patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking his guidance in our endeavors to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgment of all men the following declaration of principles and measures:

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

I. That Governments, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, are instituted among men to secure to all, those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

II. That the true mission of American Democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people the sovereignty of the States, and the perpetuity of the Union, by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discriminations, of the fundamental principles of equal rights, strict justice, and economical administration.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

III. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

IV. That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the General Government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and therefore the Government, having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

V. That, to the persevering and importunate demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave Territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is—no more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

VI. That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism, alike demand its abolition.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

VII. That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We therefore deny its binding force upon the American People, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.18

VIII. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

IX. That the acts of Congress known as the Compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interest of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in free Territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the power of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more and the cession of a large territory to the same State under menace, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim, and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave Law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

X. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for, except in the practical recognition of the truth, that slavery is sectional, and freedom national; by the total separation of the General Government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

XI. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that, as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

XII. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

XIII. That a due regard for the Federal Constitution, and sound administrative policy, demand that the funds of the General Government be kept separate from banking institutions; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service, and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the Government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries, and privileges, and by the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

XIV. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and it is the duty of Congress in the exercise of its constitutional powers to provide for the same.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

XV. That emigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

XVI. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own Government, and to administer its own concerns in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent Governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American Government, representing the chief republic of the world, to protest against and by all proper means to prevent the intervention of Kings and Emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional Governments.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

XVII. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognised by our Government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.19

XVIII. That as, by the Constitution, "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing to exercise the right to bring such cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings, is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the professions made by the slaveholders, that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.20

XIX. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties, hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitration.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.20

XX. That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great Slave Compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that repudiating and renouncing both, as hopelessly corrupt, and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government, and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.20

XXI. That we inscribe on our banner, FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR, and FREE MEN, and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

National Party Platforms, Free Democratic Platform of 1852, p.20

XXII. That upon this Platform the Convention presents to the American People, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, JOHN P. HALE, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, George W. Julian, of Indiana, and earnestly commends them to the support of all freemen and parties.

Whig Platform of 1852

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.20

The Whigs of the United States, in Convention assembled, firmly adhering to the great conservative principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government, and their devotion to the Constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and deterrnination for the establishment and maintenance of which their national organization as a party was effected:

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.20

First: The Government of the United States is of a limited character, and it is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that all powers not granted or necessarily implied are expressly reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.20

Second: The State Governments should be held secure in their reserved rights, and the General Government sustained on its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.20

Third: That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warrnest syrnpathy of the Whig party, we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his Farewell Address, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and of never quitting our own to stand upon foreign ground, that our mission as a republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose on other countries our for n of government by artifice or force; but to teach, by example, and show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.20

Fourth: That, as the people make and control the Government, they should obey its constitution, laws and treaties, as they would retain their self-respect, and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.20

Fifth: Revenue sufficient for the expenses of an economical administration of the Government in time of peace ought to be derived from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxation; and in laying such duties, sound policy requires a just discrimination, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry, equally to all classes, and to all parts of the country.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.20

Sixth: The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors, and remove obstructions from navigable rivers, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence, and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations, or among the States, said improvements being, in every instance, national and general in their character.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.20

Seventh: The Federal and State Governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a eordial, habitual and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of national, state, and individual welfare.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1852, p.21

Eighth: That the series of acts of the Thirty-first Congress,—the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law, included—are received and acquiesced in by the Whig Party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting question which they embrace; and, so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the law on one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace; and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and of the Union.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1856

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1856, p.22

The two major parties in 1856 were the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. The Whig Party had very nearly disappeared; those that were left were sometimes called the "Silver Grays." The new Republican Party had absorbed most of the Free Soil Party of previous years.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1856, p.22

The American Party was an entirely new organization. It is popularly known as the "Know Nothing Party" because its members were supposed to say "I know nothing," when asked about the new party. The party is frequently called the Native American Party, but they call themselves simply the American Party in their own platform. The Whigs nominated the same candidate for president as the American Party, but repudiated the American Platform and adopted one of their own.

American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.22

I. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being who rules one universe, for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence and the union of these states.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.22

II. The perpetuation of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.22

III. Americans must rule America; and to this end, native-born citizens should be selected for all state, federal, or municipal offices of government employment, in preference to naturalized citizens—nevertheless,

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.22

IV. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, shall be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.22

V. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognizes any alliance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power, who refuses to recognize the federal and state constitutions (each within its own sphere), as paramount to all other laws, as rules of particular [political] action.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.22

VI. The unequalled recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several states, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal goodwill between the citizens of the several states, and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual states, and non-intervention by each state with the affairs of any other state.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.22

VII. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitutions and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the federal Constitution, with the right of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress. Provided, always, That none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such territory, are to participate in the formation of the constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said territory or state.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.23

VIII. An enforcement of the principles that no state or territory can admit other than native-born citizens to the right of suffrage, or of holding political office unless such persons shall have been naturalized according to the laws of the United States.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.23

IX. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers or persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.23

X. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with religious faith or worship, and no test oaths for office, except those indicated in the 5th section of this platform.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.23

XI. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.23

XII. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.23

XIII. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and conservatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places, as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado toward the weaker powers; as shown in reopening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska, as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the removal of Judge Bronson from the collectorship of New York upon false and untenable grounds; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.23

XIV. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American Party" upon the principles herein-before stated eschewing all sectional questions, and uniting upon those purely national, and admitting into said party all American citizens (referred to in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th sections) who openly avow the principles and opinions heretofore expressed, and who will subscribe their names to this platform.—Provided nevertheless, that a majority of those members present at any meeting of a local council where an applicant applies for membership in the American party, may, for any reason by them deemed sufficient, deny admission to such applicant.

National Party Platforms, American (Know Nothing) Platform of 1856, p.23

XV. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

Democratic Platform of 1856

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.23

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.23

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.23

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their Delegates assembled in a general Convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and re-assert before the American people, the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions in general Convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety, and utility, in all business pursuits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned by the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute-books.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

And Whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National Conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.24

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government, built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth; no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholic and foreign-born is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose the well considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of Domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold, the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

1. Resolved, That claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories; and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

2. That this was the basis of the compromises of 1850 confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national Conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of territories, and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights, of all the States will be preserved intact; the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate; and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.25

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.26

Resolved, Finally, That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship, in our own land) a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States; and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few, at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.26

1. Resolved, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.26

2. Resolved, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe Doctrine: their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.26

3. Resolved, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for a free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the Governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstances, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.26

4. Resolved, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the Interoceanic Isthmus.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.26

5. Resolved, That the Democratic party will expect of the next Administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendency in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys and the Union at large.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.26

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication, by military and postal roads, through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power to the attainment of that object, thereby binding the Union of these States in indissoluble bonds, and opening to the rich commerce of Asia an overland transit from the Pacific to the Mississippi River, and the great lakes of the North.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1856, p.26

Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to the great interests of the country. In the face of the most determined opposition it has maintained the laws, enforced economy, fostered progress, and infused integrity and vigor into every department of the government at home. It has signally improved our treaty relations, extended the field of commercial enterprise, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad. It has asserted with eminent impartiality the just claims of every section, and has at all times been faithful to the Constitution. We therefore proclaim our unqualified approbation of its measures and its policy.

Republican Platform of 1856

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present Administration; to the extension of Slavery into Free Territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a Free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

Resolved: That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution are essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

Resolved: That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing Slavery in the Territories of the United States by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislation, of any individual, or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

Resolved: That the Resolved: Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign powers over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy, and Slavery.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

Resolved: That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people, in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contain ample provision for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

Their Territory has been invaded by an armed force;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

Test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

They have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

That the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

Murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.27

That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present National Administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment thereafter.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of this Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and cooperation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

Whig Platform of 1856

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States are assembled here by reverence for the Constitution, and unalterable attachment to the National Union, and a fixed determination to do all in their power to preserve it for themselves and posterity. They have no new principles to announce—no new platform to establish, but are content broadly to rest where their fathers have rested upon the Constitution of the United States, wishing no safer guide, no higher law.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That we regard with the deepest anxiety the present disordered condition of our national affairs. A portion of the country being ravaged by civil war and large sections of our population embittered by mutual recriminations, and we distinctly trace these calamities to the culpable neglect of duty by the present National Administration.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That the Government of these United States was formed by the conjunction in political unity of widespread geographical sections, materially differing not only in climate and products, but in their social and domestic institutions, and that any cause that shall permanently array these sections in political hostility and organized parties, founded only on geographical distinctions must inevitably prove fatal to the continuance of the National Union.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States have declared as a fundamental article of their political faith, the absolute necessity for avoiding geographical parties; that the danger so clearly discerned by the "Father of his Country," founded on geographical distinction, has now become fearfully apparent in the agitation convulsing the nation, which must be arrested at once if we would preserve our Constitutional Union from dismemberment, and the name of America from being blotted out from the family of civilized nations.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That all who revere the Constitution and Union, must look with alarm at the parties in the field in the present Presidential campaign—one claiming only to represent sixteen Northern States, and the other appealing to the passions and prejudices of the Southern States—that the success of either faction must add fuel to the flame which now threatens to wrap our dearest interest in a common ruin.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That the only remedy for an evil so appalling is to support the candidate pledged to neither geographical section nor arrayed in political antagonism, but holding both in just and equal regard; that we congratulate the friends of the Union that such a candidate exists in Millard Fillmore.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1856, p.28

Resolved, That, without adopting or referring to the peculiar principles of the party which has already selected Millard Fillmore as their candidate, we look to him as a well-tried and faithful friend of the Constitution and the Union, eminent alike for his wisdom and firmness, for his justice and moderation in foreign relations, for his calm and pacific temperament, well becoming a great and enlightened Government. For his devotion to the Constitution in its true spirit, and his inflexibility in executing the laws; but, beyond all these attributes, of being representative of neither of the two sectional parties now struggling for political supremacy.

National Party Platforms, Whig Platform of 1856, p.29

Resolved, That in the present exigency of political affairs, we are not called upon to discuss subordinate questions of administration in exercising the Constitutional powers of government. It is enough to know that civil war is raging, and the Union is in peril; and proclaim a conviction that the restoration of the Fillmore Presidency will furnish the best if not the only means of restoring peace.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1860

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1860, p.30

The two major parties in 1860 were the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. A faction of the Democrats broke away from the regular convention, called themselves the Democratic Party and nominated candidates. To differentiate them from the regular party they are usually referred to as the Breckenridge Democrats, since John C. Breckenridge was their nominee.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1860, p.30

The Constitutional Union Party was composed largely of those who had been members of the American Party in 1856.

Constitutional Union Platform of 1860

National Party Platforms, Constitutional Union Platform of 1860, p.30

Whereas, Experience has demonstrated that Platforms adopted by the partisan Conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore

National Party Platforms, Constitutional Union Platform of 1860, p.30

Resolved, that it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principle other than THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY, THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS, and that, as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in National Convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and national safety, against all enemies, at home and abroad; believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country; the rights of the People and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity and equality, which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Democratic Platform of 1860

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1860, p.30

1. Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union in Convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature, when applied to the same subject matters; and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1860, p.30

2. Inasmuch as difference of opinion exists in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories,

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1860, p.31

Resolved, That the Democratic party will abide by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon these questions of Constitutional law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1860, p.31

3. Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign born.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1860, p.31

4. Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such Constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a Railroad to the Pacific coast, at the earliest practicable period.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1860, p.31

5. Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1860, p.31

6. Resolved, That the enactments of the State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1860, p.31

7. Resolved, That it is in accordance with the interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that during the existence of the Territorial Governments the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.

Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

1. That the Government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

2. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

8. That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States, and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

Resolved, That the enactments of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave Law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

Resolved, That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

WHEREAS, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. Therefore be it

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Breckenridge Faction) Platform of 1860, p.31

Resolved, That the National Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific Rail road from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

Republican Platform of 1860

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.31

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may. And we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal Courts of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom: That, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no persons should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.32

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.33

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of Non-Intervention and Popular Sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.33

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a state under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.33

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.33

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free-homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.33

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any state legislation by which the rights of citizens hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.33

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.33

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1860, p.33

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1864

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1864, p.34

In this year there were only the Democratic and the Republican Parties. A group known as the Radical Republicans broke away from the regular organization, nominated candidates and issued a platform. This so-called party, however, disappeared before the election.

Democratic Platform of 1864

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1864, p.34

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1864, p.34

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity of war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view of an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1864, p.34

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1864, p.34

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution; the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test-oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1864, p.34

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the Administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who now are and long have been prisoners of war and in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1864, p.34

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of our country, and, in the events of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the republic have so nobly earned.

Republican Platform of 1864

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.35

1. Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the Rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the Rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.35

2. Resolved, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with Rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.35

3. Resolved, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this Rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the National safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that, while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a deathblow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of Slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.35

4. Resolved, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy, who have periled their lives in defense of the country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.35

5. Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which ABRAHAM LINCOLN has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other Constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.35

6. Resolved, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National Councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.35

7. Resolved, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war—and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the Rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.35

8. Resolved, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to the nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.36

9. Resolved, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.36

10. Resolved, That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National currency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1864, p.36

11. Resolved, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European Power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any Republican Government on the Western Continent and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for Monarchical Government, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1868

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1868, p.37

In this year there were only the Democratic and Republican Parties. It is to be observed that the first sentence of the Republican Platform refers to the Party as the National Union Republican Party. There is nothing to indicate however that the party had intended to adopt a new name.

Democratic Platform of 1868

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.37

The Democratic party in National Convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people; standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the government, and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen; and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war, or the voluntary action of the Southern States in Constitutional Conventions assembled, and never to be renewed or reagitated; does, with the return of peace, demand,

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.37

First. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union, under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.37

Second. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States, by their citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.37

Third. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable. All moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.37

Fourth. Equal taxation of every species of property, according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.37

Fifth. One currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bond-holder.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.37

Sixth. Economy in the administration of the government, the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau; and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, the credit of the government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, such as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.37

Seventh. Reform of abuses in the administration; the expulsion of corrupt men from office; the abrogation of useless offices; the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of the executive and judicial departments of the government; the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.38

Eighth. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality, which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights, and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes committed beyond their jurisdiction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.38

In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the Radical party for its disregard of right, and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.38

After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge, under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.38

Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.38

It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the habeas corpus, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and of the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions, for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American capitol into a Bastile; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal, on important constitutional questions, to the Supreme Judicial tribunal, and threatens to curtail, or destroy, its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution; while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history, and by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war; it has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.38

And we do declare and resolve, That ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power, which can find no warrant in the Constitution; and if sanctioned by the people will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single centralized and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a federal union of co-equal States; and that we regard the reconstruction acts so-called, of Congress, as such an usurpation, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.38

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.38

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption or homestead laws, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of the public lands may be deemed necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.39

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the Constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people; and in behalf of the Democratic party, we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.39

Upon this platform the Democratic party appeals to every patriot, including all the Conservative element, and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such co-operating with us as friends and brethren.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.39

Resolved, That this convention sympathize cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1868, p.39

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase for the justice, dignity, and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

Republican Platform of 1868

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

The National Union Republican Party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, in the city of Chicago, on the 20th day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

First—We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all, and regard it as the duty of the Government to sustain those constitutions, and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy or military rule.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

Second—The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

Third—We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

Fourth—It is due to the labor of the nation, that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

Fifth—The National Debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period of redemption, and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be done honestly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

Sixth—That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt, is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

Seventh—The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.39

Eighth—We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; has refused to execute the laws; has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, the liberty, and life of the citizen; has abused the pardoning power; has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five senators.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.40

Ninth—The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers, that because a man is once a subject, he is always so, must be resisted, at every hazard, by the United States, as a relic of the feudal times, not authorized by the law of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to be protected in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power, for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.40

Tenth—Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country. The bounties and pensions provided by law for these brave defenders of the nation, are obligations never to be forgotten. The widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.40

Eleventh—Foreign immigration, which in the past, has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.40

Twelfth—This Convention declares its sympathy with all the oppressed people which are struggling for their rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.40

Thirteenth—We highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forgiveness with which men who have served in the rebellion, but now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country, and reconstructing the Southern State Governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels, in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1868, p.40

Fourteenth—We recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of Democratic Government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1872

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1872, p.41

Six different parties issued platforms in 1872. This happened because factions broke away from both of the major parties, and two entirely new parties appeared. A faction headed by Horace Greeley called itself the Liberal Republican Party. The Democratic Party nominated the same candidates and adopted the same platform as the Liberal Republicans. This greatly displeased certain of the Democrats who broke away from their party and came to be known as the Straight-Out Democrats. This made four parties in the field, though two of them had the same candidates and platform.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1872, p.41

The Labor Reform Party appeared for the first time, as did the Prohibition Party. The Labor Reform Party was a forerunner of the Greenback Party which appeared later.

Democratic Platform of 1872

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.41

We, the Democratic Electors of the United States in Convention assembled, do present the following principles, already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.41

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religion or politics.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.41

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these States, emancipation and enfranchisement; and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.41

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.41

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State, self-government, and for the Nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.41

5. The Civil Service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and it breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of Republican Government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.42

6. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the Civil Service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station shall become again a place of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.42

7. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate annual reduction of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional Districts, and the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from Executive interference or dictation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.42

8. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.42

9. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.42

10. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame for the full reward of their patriotism.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.42

11. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.42

12. We hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendships of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or to submit to what is wrong.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1872, p.42

13. For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this Convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens without regard to previous political affiliations.

Democratic (Straight-Out) Platform of 1872

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Straight-Out) Platform of 1872, p.42

Whereas, A frequent recurrence to first principles and eternal vigilance against abuses are the wisest provisions for liberty, which is the source of progress, and fidelity to our constitutional system is the only protection for either; therefore

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Straight-Out) Platform of 1872, p.42

Resolved, That the original basis of our whole political structure is consent in every part thereof. The people of each State voluntarily created their State, and the States voluntarily formed the Union; and each State provided by its written Constitution for everything a State could do for the protection of life, liberty, and property within it, and each State, jointly with the others, provided a Federal Union for foreign and interstate relations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Straight-Out) Platform of 1872, p.42

Resolved, That all Governmental powers, whether State or Federal, are trust powers coming from the people of each State, and that they are limited to the written letter of the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it; which powers must be exercised in the utmost good faith, the Constitution itself proving in what manner they may be altered and amended.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Straight-Out) Platform of 1872, p.42

Resolved, That the interests of labor and capital should not be permitted to conflict, but should be harmonized by judicious legislation. While such a conflict continues, labor, which is the parent of wealth, is entitled to paramount consideration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Straight-Out) Platform of 1872, p.42

Resolved, That we proclaim to the world that principle is to be preferred to power; that the Democratic party is held together by the cohesion of time-honored principles, which they will never surrender in exchange for all the offices which Presidents can confer. The pangs of the minorities are doubtless excruciating; but we welcome an eternal minority under the banner inscribed with our principles, rather than an almighty and everlasting majority purchased by their abandonment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic (Straight-Out) Platform of 1872, p.42

Resolved, That having been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and a false leadership by the Convention, we repudiate both, and appeal to the people to approve our platform and to rally to the polls and support the true platform and the candidates who embody it.

Labor Reform Platform of 1872

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

1. We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and free government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man, or set of men, is entitled to exclusive separate emoluments and privileges from the Government, but in consideration of public services; and any laws destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral binding force, and should be repealed; and believing that all evils resulting from unjust legislation now affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principles contained in the following declaration: Therefore,

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

2. Resolved, That it is the duty of the Government to establish a just standard of distribution of capital and labor by providing a purely national circulating medium based on the faith and resources of the nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be a legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and interchangeable, at the option of the holder, for Government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.75 per cent, subject to future legislation by Congress.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

3. Resolved, That the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the Government, without mortgaging the property of the people and the future earnings of labor, to enrich a few capitalists at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

4. Resolved, That justice demands that the burdens of government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes and interests; and that the exemption from taxation of Government bonds bearing extortionate rates of interest is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

5. Resolved, That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted free of cost to landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding 160 acres of land.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

6. Resolved, That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury, and upon such articles of manufacture as we, having the raw materials in abundance, will assist in further developing the resources of the country.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

7. Resolved, That the presence in our country of Chinese laborers imported by capitalists in large numbers for servile use, is an evil entailing want and its consequent train of misery and crime on all classes of the American people, and should be prohibited by legislation.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

8. Resolved, That we ask for the enactment of a law by which all mechanics and day laborers employed by or on behalf of the Government, whether directly or indirectly, through persns, firms, or corporations, contracting with the State, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours a day recently adopted by Congress for the national employes, and also for an amendment to the act of incorporation for cities and towns, by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

9. Resolved, That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the system of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

10. Resolved, That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of government, and the first two more sacred than the latter; therefore, money for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealth of the country, and not entailed as a burden on posterity.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

11. Resolved, That it is the duty of the government to so exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations that they shall not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation or charges by whatever name, as may bear unduly or inequitably upon either producer or consumer.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.43

12. Resolved, That there should be such a reform in the Civil Service of the National Government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence, and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent businessmen.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.44

13. Resolved, That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by any and all means at its command, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the liberty of free people, and believing, too, that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand and secured on the other, by a regular constitutional change in the chief of the country at each quadrennial election, therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the Presidential chair to one term.

National Party Platforms, Labor Reform Platform of 1872, p.44

14. Resolved, That we are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the Union at once on the basis of equality of rights and privileges to all; the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of the union to bind the States together and restore the Government of the people.

Liberal Republican Platform of 1872

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

First: We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Second: We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any re-opening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Third: We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the Rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Fourth: Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State, self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Fifth: The Civil Service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard such thorough reforms of the Civil Service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Sixth: We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and, recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of Protection and Free Trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congress Districts, and to the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free of Executive interference or dictation.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Seventh: The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Eighth: A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Ninth: We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly-earned fame or the full reward of their patriotism.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.44

Tenth: We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.45

Eleventh: We hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendship of peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right, or to submit to what is wrong.

National Party Platforms, Liberal Republican Platform of 1872, p.45

Twelfth. For the promotion and success of these vital principles and the support of the candidates nominated by this Convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous affiliations.

Prohibition Platform of 1872

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

Resolved, That we reaffirm the following resolutions adopted by the National Prohibition Convention, held at Chicago, Sept. 2, 1869:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

"Whereas, Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties, and every citizen who yields obedience to the just demands of the Government is entitled to the full, free and perfect protection of that Government in the enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty and private property; and

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

"Whereas, The traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a large mass of citizens, and renders private property insecure; and

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

"Whereas, All other political parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question; therefore

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

"We, in National Convention assembled, as citizens of this free Republic, sharing the duties and responsibilities of its Government, in discharge of a solemn duty we owe to our country and our race, unite in the following declaration of principles:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

"1. That while we acknowledge the pure patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundations of this Government, securing at once the rights of the States severally, and their inseparable union by the Federal Constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchers of our republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our solemn pledges of fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of American Independence and our Federal Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

"2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, inimical to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequalled enormity, subversive of the ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, but imperatively demanding for its suppression effective legal Prohibition by both State and National legislation."

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

3. That while we recognize the good providence of Almighty God in supervising the interests of this nation from its establishment to the present time, having organized our party for the legal Prohibition of the liquor traffic, our reliance for success is upon the same omnipotent arm.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

4. That there can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; that any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government, for party success.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

5. That while adopting national political measures for the Prohibition of the liquor traffic, we will continue the use of all moral means in our power to persuade men away from the injurious practice of using intoxicating beverages.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

6. That we invite all persons, whether total abstainers or not, who recognize the terrible injuries inflicted by the liquor traffic, to unite with us for its overthrow, and to secure thereby peace, order and the protection of persons and property.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

7. That competency, honesty and sobriety are indispensable qualifications for holding public office.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

8. That removals from public service for mere difference of political opinion is a practice opposed to sound policy and just principles.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.45

9. That fixed and moderate salaries should take the place of official fees and perquisites; the franking privilege, sinecures, and all unnecessary offices and expenses should be abolished, and every possible means be employed to prevent corruption and venality in office; and by a rigid system of accountability from all its officers, and guards over the public treasury, the utmost economy should be practiced and enforced in every department of the Government.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.46

10. That we favor the election of President, Vice-Presiclent and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.46

11. That we are in favor of a sound national currency adequate to the demands of business and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder, and the adoption of every measure compatible with justice and the public safety, to appreciate our present currency to the gold standard.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.46

12. That the rates of inland and ocean postage, of telegraphic communication, of railroad and water transportation and travel, should be reduced to the lowest practicable point, by force of laws wisely and justly framed, with reference not only to the interest of capital employed but to the higher claim of the general good.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.46

13. That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by impost duties and by an equitable assessment upon the property and legitimate business of the country; nevertheless we are opposed to any discrimination of capital against labor, as well as to all monopoly and class legislation.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.46

14. That the removal of the burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary and social, imposed by the traffic in intoxicating drinks will, in our judgment, emancipate labor and practically thus promote labor reform.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.46

15. That the fostering and extension of common schools under the care and support of the State, to supply the want of a general and liberal education, is a primary duty of a good government.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.46

16. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstance of color, race, former social condition, sex or nationality, but inheres in the nature of man; and when from any cause it has been withheld from citizens of our country who are of suitable age and mentally and morally qualified for the discharge of its duties, it should be speedily restored by the people in their sovereign capacity.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1872, p.46

17. That a liberal and just policy should be pursued to promote foreign immigration to our shores, always allowing to the naturalized citizens equal rights, privileges and protection under the Constitution with those who are native-born.

Republican Platform of 1872

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.46

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.46

First. During eleven years of supremacy it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizens' rights secured from European Powers. A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite large annual reductions of the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land. Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the Government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.46

Second. The recent amendments to the national Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Third. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union, by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Fourth. The National Government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere, and sympathizing with all people who strive for greater liberty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Fifth. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage, and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life-tenure of office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Sixth. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Seventh. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and to promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Eighth. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who, in the line of duty, became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Ninth. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers concerning allegiance—"Once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former governments; and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Tenth. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Eleventh. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor—the creator of capital—the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Twelfth. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box, and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Thirteenth. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Fourteenth. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction, and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Fifteenth. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.47

Sixteenth. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils, by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.48

Seventeenth. It is the duty of the general Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.48

Eighteenth. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1872, p.48

Nineteenth. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1876

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1876, p.49

In this campaign there were the two major parties and two distinct minor parties. The Prohibitionists appeared for the second time but called themselves the Prohibition Reform Party in their platform. The Independent Party of this campaign, sometimes called the Independent National Party, is more generally known as the Greenback Party. It later adopted that name.

Democratic Platform of 1876

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.49

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal Government to be in great need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this Convention, and of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end, and do here appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty for the Democracy of the whole country. We do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government; in absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military; in the two-fold separation of church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope. We behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history. But while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.49

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of the secession of States, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet-bag tyrannies, has honeycombed the offices of the Federal Government itself with incapacity, waste and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of hard times. Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit and maintain the national honor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.49

We denounce the failure for all these eleven years to make good the promise of the legal tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.50

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people in Federal taxes thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes and squandered four times their sum in useless expense, without accumulating any reserve for their redemption. We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party, which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income, and while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875 and we here demand its repeal. We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.50

We believe such a system, well-advised, and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vast machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent of our business transactions are performed—a system open and public and inspiring general confidence—would from the day of its adoption bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.50

Reform is necessary in the sum and mould of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust, and labor lightly burdened. We denounce the present tariff levied upon nearly four thousand articles as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality and false pretense, which yields a dwindling and not a yearly rising revenue, has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor; it has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank upon the high seas; it has cut down the values of American manufactures at home and abroad; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people; it costs the people five times more than it produces to the treasury, obstructs the process of production and wastes the fruits of labor; it promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue. Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense, Federal, State and municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold in 1860 to four hundred and fifty millions currency in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold in 1860 to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870, all in one decade; from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice the sum for the Federal Government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the Government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.50

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered two hundred millions of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to the tillers of the soil.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.50

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which has stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race, re-erasing [re-crossing] the Atlantic from the shield of American citizenship, and has exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being unaccustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization, one exercised in liberty under equal laws; and we denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates the revival of the coolie-trade in Mongolian women for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.50

Reform is necessary and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the election and lifting it above the two issues with which the office-holding classes and the party in power seek to smother it:—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.51

First—The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without partiality or preference for any class, sect or creed, and without contributions from the treasury to any.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.51

Second—The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once unnaturally estranged but now reunited in one indivisible republic, and a common destiny.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.51

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient economical conduct of the government is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be an approved reward of party zeal instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of our public men nor an instrument of their ambition. Here again, profession falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform. Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, judges, senators, representatives, cabinet officers—these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched and enriching friends by a percentage levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the President's Private Secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties, we get no change of measures and no real reform.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.51

All these abuses, wrongs, and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendency of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform, confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in Convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the eighty thousand office-holders, its leaders and guides. Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.51

Resolved, That this Convention, representing the Democratic party of the States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal Government, in cutting down enormous salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities, and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1876, p.51

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

Independent (Greenback) Platform of 1876

National Party Platforms, Independent (Greenback) Platform of 1876, p.51

The Independent party is called into existence by the necessities of the people whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic parties refuse to change, and in view of the failure of these parties to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing just hopes and expectations of the suffering people, we declare our principles and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation:

National Party Platforms, Independent (Greenback) Platform of 1876, p.52

First. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Specie-Resumption act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize in every Congressional district of the country with a view of electing representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard, and stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

National Party Platforms, Independent (Greenback) Platform of 1876, p.52

Second. We believe that a United States note, issued directly by the Government, and convertible on demand into United States obligations bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each $100, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised; such United States notes should be full legal-tender for all purposes except for payment of such obligations as are by existing contracts expressly made payable in coin; and we hold that it is the duty of the Government to provide such circulating medium, and insist in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that "bank paper must be suppressed and the circulation restored to the nation, to whom it belongs."

National Party Platforms, Independent (Greenback) Platform of 1876, p.52

Third. It is the paramount duty of the Government in all its legislation to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business,—agricultural, mining, manufacturing and commercial.

National Party Platforms, Independent (Greenback) Platform of 1876, p.52

Fourth. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made for a long period "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take at par all bonds the Government may need to sell, provided they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent per annum, or even a lower rate.

National Party Platforms, Independent (Greenback) Platform of 1876, p.52

Fifth. We further protest against the sale of Government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fluctuating fractional currency, which, although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress in taxation an already overburdened people.

Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.52

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people to revive, enforce and perpetuate in the Government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit in this Centennial year of the Republic for the suffrages of all good citizens the following platform of national reforms and measures:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.52

1. The legal Prohibition in the District of Columbia, the Territories and in every other place subject to the laws of Congress, of the importation, exportation, manufacture and traffic of all alcoholic beverages, as high crimes against society; an Amendment of the National Constitution to render these Prohibitory measures universal and permanent, and the adoption of treaty stipulations with foreign Powers to prevent the importation and exportation of all alcoholic beverages.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.52

2. The abolition of class legislation and of special privileges in the Government, and the adoption of equal suffrage and eligibility to office without distinction of race, religious creed, property or sex.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.52

3. The appropriation of the public lands in limited quantities to actual settlers only; the reduction of the rates of inland and ocean postage, of telegraphic communication, of railroad and water transportation and travel to the lowest practical point by force of laws, wisely and justly framed, with reference not only to the interests of capital employed but to the higher claims of the general good.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.52

4. The suppression, by law, of lotteries and gambling in gold, stocks, produce and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.52

5. The abolition of those foul enormities, polygamy and the social evil, and the protection of purity, peace and happiness of homes by ample and efficient legislation.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.52

6. The national observance of the Christian Sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employments (works of necessity, charity and religion excepted) on that day.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

7. The establishment by mandatory provisions in National and State Constitutions, and by all necessary legislation, of a system of free public schools for the universal and forced education of all the youth of the land.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

8. The free use of the Bible, not as a ground of religious creeds, but as a text-book of purest morality, the best liberty and the noblest literature, in our public schools, that our children may grow up in its light and that its spirit and principles may pervade our nation.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

9. The separation of the Government in all its departments and institutions, including the public schools and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection alike of all sects by equal laws, with entire freedom of religious faith and worship.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

10. The introduction into all treaties, hereafter negotiated with foreign Governments, of a provision for the amicable settlement of international difficulties by arbitration.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

11. The abolition of all barbarous modes and instruments of punishment; the recognition of the laws of God and the claims of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons, and of that higher and wiser civilization worthy of our age and nation, which regards the reform of criminals as a means for the prevention of crime.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

12. The abolition of executive and legislative patronage, and the election of President, Vice-President, United States Senators, and of civil officers, so far as practicable, by the direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

13. The practice of a friendly and liberal policy to immigrants from all nations, the guaranty to them of ample protection and of equal rights and privileges.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

14. The separation of the money of Government from all banking institutions. The National Government only should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money, and that should be subject to prompt redemption on demand, in gold and silver, the only equal standards of value recognized by the civilized world.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1876, p.53

15. The reduction of the salaries of public officers in a just ratio with the decline of wages and market prices, the abolition of sinecures, unnecessary offices and official fees and perquisites; the practice of strict economy in Government expenses, and a free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public trusts.

Republican Platform of 1876

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.53

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people by the people and for the people was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories, and with high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party, in national convention assembled, make the following declaration of principles:—

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.53

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the national and state governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.53

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truth spoken at its cradle, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainrnent of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, and if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.53

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, are duties to which the Republican party is sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States; and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a congress and a chief executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

4. In the first act of congress, signed by President Grant, the national government assumed to remove any doubt of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith "to make provisions at the earliest practicable period, for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and the national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

5. Under the constitution, the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the house of representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that senators and representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to their country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs. We will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be speedy, thorough, and unsparing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

7. The public school system of the several states is the bulwark of the American republic; and, with a view to its security and permanence, we recommend an amendment to the constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any school or institution under sectarian control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be so adjusted as to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

10. It is the imperative duty of the government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to native-born, and all necessary laws be passed to protect emigrants, in the absence of power in the states for that purpose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

11. It is the immediate duty of congress fully to investigate the effects of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women, by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

13. The constitution confers upon congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government. And in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of congress to prohibit and extirpate in the territories that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as will secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the territories.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

14. The pledges which our nation has given to our soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled. The grateful people will always hold those who imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.54

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth, that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil national honor and human rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.55

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the house of representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the national capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the over-shadowing financial question; with thwarting the ends of justice, by its partisan mismanagements and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendency in the lower house of congress, utterly incompetent to administer the government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.55

17. The national administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people, for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1876, p.55

18. We present as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

National Party Platforms,

1880-1916

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1880

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1880, p.56

In 1880 there were the same four parties that existed in 1876. In addition to the two major parties there was the Independent Party of 1876, now appearing as the Greenback Party. The Prohibitionists retained the title Prohibition Reform Party.

Democratic Platform of 1880

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

The Democrats of the United States, in Convention assembled, declare:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

2. Opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of Church and State, for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

3. Home rule; honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and National, and a tariff for revenue only.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

4. The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

5. The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

6. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the election, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic powers, insult the people and imperil their institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

7. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for a defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of the usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

8. The great fraud of 1876-77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government. The Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of free men.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.56

9. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with deep sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.57

10. Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas, and on the land no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.57

11. Amendment of the Burlingame Treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and that even carefully guarded.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.57

12. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.57

13. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1880, p.57

14. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress which has reduced the public expenditure $40,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home, and the national honor abroad, and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

Greenback Platform of 1880

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.57

Civil government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and the facilities for mental, social and moral culture; and we condemn as unworthy of our civilization the barbarism which imposes upon the wealth-producers a state of perpetual drudgery as the price of bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power, and the universal introduction of laborsaving machinery, and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened; and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicate and other income classes demand dear money and cheap labor: a "strong government," and hence a weak people.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.57

Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of the unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce, and scarcity of money enforces debt, trade and public and corporate loans. Debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing enterprise and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborers, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism; therefore, we declare:

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.57

First—That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, (void) of constitutional sanction, conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued and its volume controlled by the Government, and not by or through banking corporations, and when so issued should be a full legal-tender for all debts, public and private.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.57

Second—That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, legal-tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the National banks, the National banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.57

Third—That labor should be so protected by National and State authority as to equalize the burdens and insure a just distribution of its results; the eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced, the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control; the competition of contract labor abolished, a bureau of labor statistics established, factories, mines, and workshops inspected, the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Fourth—Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simple slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor, therefore immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame Treaty.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Fifth—Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the Government, and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Sixth—It is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-State commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Seventh—We denounce as destructive to prosperity and dangerous to liberty, the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations and monopolies, invested with, and exercising powers belonging to the Government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Eighth—That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldier and sailor who perilled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country, and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Ninth—All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Tenth—We denounce as most dangerous the efforts everywhere manifested to restrict the right of suffrage.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Eleventh—We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in times of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Twelfth—We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Thirteenth—We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Fourteenth—In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war upon classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, and largely over the press and machinery of Government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions, and over our life and property.

National Party Platforms, Greenback Platform of 1880, p.58

Resolved: That every citizen of due age, sound mind, and not a felon, be fully enfranchised, and that this resolution be referred to the States, with recommendation for their favorable consideration

Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.58

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people to revive, enforce and perpetuate in the Government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit for the suffrages of all good citizens the following platform of national reforms and measures:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.58

1. In the examination and discussion of the temperance question it has been proven, and is an accepted truth, that alcoholic drinks, whether fermented, brewed or distilled, are poisonous to the healthy human body, the drinking of which is not only needless but hurtful, necessarily tending to form intemperate habits, increasing greatly the number, severity and fatal termination of diseases, weakening and deranging the intellect, polluting the affections, hardening the heart and corrupting the morals, depriving many of reason and still more of its healthful exercise, and annually bringing down large numbers to untimely graves, producing in the children of many who drink a predisposition to intemperance, insanity and various bodily and mental diseases, causing a diminution of strength, feebleness of vision, fickleness of purpose and premature old age, and producing to all future generations a deterioration of moral and physical character. The legalized importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks minister to their uses and teach the erroneous and destructive sentiment that such use is right, thus tending to produce and perpetuate the above-mentioned evils. Alcoholic drinks are thus the implacable enemy of man as an individual.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.59

2. That the liquor traffic is to the home equally an enemy, proving a disturber and a destroyer of its peace, prosperity and happiness, taking from it the earnings of the husband, depriving the dependent wife and children of essential food, clothing and education, bringing into it profanity and abuse, setting at naught the vows of the marriage altar, breaking up the family and sundering children from parents, and thus destroying one of the most beneficent institutions of our Creator, and removing the sure foundation for good government, national prosperity and welfare.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.59

3. That to the community it is equally an enemy, producing demoralization, vice and wickedness; its places of sale being often resorts for gambling, lewdness and debauchery, and the hiding places of those who prey upon society, counteracting the efficacy of religious effort and of all means for the intellectual elevation, moral purity, social happiness and the eternal good of mankind, without rendering any counteracting or compensating benefits, being in its influence and effect evil and only evil, and that continually.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.59

4. That to the State it is equally an enemy, legislative inquiry, judicial investigation and the official reports of all penal, reformatory and dependent institutions showing that the manufacture and sale of such beverages is the promoting cause of intemperance, crime and pauperism, of demands upon public and private charity; imposing the larger part of taxation, thus paralyzing thrift, industry, manufacture and commercial life, which but for it would be unnecessary; disturbing the peace of the streets and highways; filling prisons and poorhouses; corrupting politics, legislation and the execution of the laws; shortening lives, diminishing health, industry and productive power in manufacture and art; and is manifestly unjust as well as injurious to the community upon which it is imposed, and contrary to all just views of civil liberty, as well as a violation of a fundamental maxim of our common law to use your own property or liberty so as not to injure others.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.59

5. That it is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection to any traffic or system which tends to waste the resources, to corrupt the social habits and to destroy the health and lives of the people; that the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages is proven to be inimical to the true interests of the individual, the home, the community, the State, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be classed among crimes to be prohibited.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.59

6. That in this time of profound peace at home and abroad the entire separation of the general Government from the drink traffic, and its Prohibition in the District of Columbia, the Territories and in all places and ways over which (under the Constitution) Congress has control or power, is a political issue of first importance to the peace and prosperity of the nation. There can be no stable peace and protection to personal liberty, life or property until secured by National and State Constitutional Prohibition enforced by adequate laws.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.59

7. That all legitimate industries require deliverance from taxation and loss which the liquor traffic imposes upon them, and financial or other legislation cannot accomplish so much to increase production and cause demand for labor, and as a result, for the comfort of living, as the suppression of this traffic would bring to thousands of homes as one of its blessings.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.59

8. That the administration of Government and the execution of the laws being by and through political parties, we arraign the Republican party, which has been in continuous power in the nation for 20 years, as being false to its duty, as false to its loudly-proclaimed principles of "equal justice to all and special favors to none," and of protection to the weak and dependent; and that through moral cowardice it has been and is unable to correct the mischief which the trade in liquor has constantly inflicted upon the industrial interests, commerce and social happiness of the people. On the contrary, its subjection to and complicity with the liquor interest appears: (1) By the facts that 5,652 distilleries, 2,830 breweries, and 175,266 places of sale of the poisonous liquors, involving an annual waste, direct and indirect, to the nation of $1,500,000,000, and a sacrifice of 100,000 lives, have under its legislation grown up and been fostered as a legitimate source of revenue; (2) That during its history six Territories have been organized and five States admitted into the Union with Constitutions provided and approved by Congress, but the Prohibition of this debasing and destructive traffic has not been provided for, nor even the people given at the time of admission the power to forbid it in any one of them; (3) That its history further shows that not in a single instance has an original Prohibitory law been enacted in any State controlled by it, while in four States so governed the laws found on its advent to power have been repealed; (4) That at its National Convention of 1872 it declared as a part of its party faith that "it disapproves of a resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with the right not surrendered by the people to either State or National Government," which the author of this plank says "was adopted by the Platform Committee with the full and explicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance (Prohibitory) and Sunday laws"; (5) That notwithstanding the deep interest felt by the people during the last quadrennium in the legal suppression of the drink curse, shown by many forms of public expression, this party at its last National Convention, held in Chicago during the present month, in making new promises by its platform, says not one word on this question, nor holds out any hope of relief.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.60

9. That we arraign also the Democratic party as unfaithful and unworthy of reliance on this question; for although not clothed with power, but occupying the relation of the opposition party during 20 years past, strong in number and organization, it has allied itself with the liquor-traffickers and has become in all the States of the Union their special political defenders. In its National Convention of 1876, as an article of its political faith, it declared against Prohibition and just laws in restraint of the trade in drink by saying it was opposed to what it was pleased to call "all sumptuary laws." The National party has been dumb on the question.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.60

10. That the drink-traffickers, realizing that history and experience, in all ages, climes and conditions of men declare their business destructive to all good, and finding no support from the Bible, morals or reason, appeal to misapplied law for their justification, and entrench themselves behind the evil elements of political party for defense, party tactics and party inertia having become the battling forces protecting this evil.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.60

11. That in view of the foregoing facts and history, we cordially invite all voters, without regard to former party affiliation, to unite with us in the use of the ballot for the abolition of the drink system now existing under the authority of our National and State Governments. We also demand as a right that women, having in other respects the privileges of citizens, shall be clothed with the ballot for their protection, and as a rightful means for a proper settlement of the liquor question.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.60

12. That to remove the apprehensions of some who allege that loss of public revenue would follow the suppression of the drink trade, we confidently point to the experience of government abroad and at home, which shows that thrift and revenue from consumption of legitimate manufactures and commerce have so largely followed the abolition of the drink as to fully supply all loss of liquor taxes.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Reform Platform of 1880, p.60

13. That we recognize the good providence of Almighty God, who has preserved and prospered us as a nation, and, asking for his spirit to guide us to ultimate success, we will look for it, relying upon his omnipotent arm.

Republican Platform of 1880

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.60

The Republican party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.60

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the Union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as itscorner-stone.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.60

It transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the credit of the Nation from the point where six per cent bonds sold at eighty-six to that where four per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

Under its administration, railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860, to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

Our foreign trade increased from $700,000,000 to $1,115,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were $265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government besides the accruing interest of the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than $30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid $880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest-charge from nearly $150,000,000 to less than $89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived; labor is in demand; wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this Convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the Nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the Nation, while others are denied to the States; but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National and not by the State tribunal.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional power. The intelligence of the Nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the Nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the aggregate genius of all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the Nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the Legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.61

5. We affirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our sea-coast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is, and shall forever be, the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.62

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of the Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.62

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.62

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the National Government, and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of the suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots and invented fraudulent certification of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills, upon whose passage the very movement of the Government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the Rebellion against the Nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war, and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom and individual equality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1880, p.62

The equal, steady and complete enforcement of the law, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the Nation. The dangers of a solid south can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the Nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established through the South. Whatever promises the Nation makes the Nation must perform. A Nation cannot safely relegate this duty to the States. The solid south must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end honest voters must be protected against terrorism, violence or fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony that may be possible, and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy, under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence and hope.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1884

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1884, p.63

There were six parties in the campaign of 1884. In addition to the two major parties there were two minor parties, and what might be called off-shoots from each of the two minor parties, making six in all. The Prohibition Party of this year drops the word "Reform" from its name. It is often referred to, however, as the Prohibition Reform Party or the National Prohibition Home Protection Party, although it repudiates the latter title in its platform of 1884. Another, very small group of Prohibitionists appeared as the American Prohibition National Party.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1884, p.63

The Anti-Monopoly Party of this year nominated the same candidates as the Greenbackers. And this latter group now appears as the Greenback National Party. It is sometimes referred to as the National Party or the Greenback-Labor Party.

American Prohibition National Platform of 1884

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

We hold: 1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen Nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

2. That the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

3. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

4. That we demand the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

5. That the charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and State Legislatures should be withdrawn and their oaths prohibited by law.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

6. We are opposed to putting prison labor or depreciated contract labor from foreign countries in competition with free labor to benefit manufacturers, corporations, and speculators.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

7. We are in favor of a thorough revision and enforcement of the law concerning patents and inventions for the prevention and punishment of frauds either upon inventors or the general public.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

8. We hold to and will vote for woman suffrage.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

9. We hold that the civil equality secured to all American citizens by Arts. 13, 14, and 15 of our amended National Constitution should be preserved inviolate, and the same equality should be extended to Indians and Chinamen.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.63

10. That international differences should be settled by arbitration.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.64

11. That land and other monopolies should be discouraged.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.64

12. That the General Government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.64

13. That it should be the settled policy of the Government to reduce the tariffs and taxes as rapidly as the necessities of revenue and vested business interest will allow.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.64

14. That polygamy should be immediately suppressed by law and that the Republican party is censurable for its long neglect of its duty in respect to this evil.

National Party Platforms, American Prohibition National Platform of 1884, p.64

15. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of Electoral Colleges and a direct vote for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

The Anti-Monopoly organization of the United States in convention assembled, declares:

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

1. That labor and capital should be allies and we demand justice for both by protecting the rights of all against privileges for the few.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

2. That corporations, the creatures of law, should be controlled by law.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

3. That we propose the greatest reduction practicable in public expenses.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

4. That in the enactment and vigorous execution of just laws, equality of rights, equality of burdens, equality of privileges, and equality of powers in all citizens will be secured.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

To this end, we further declare:

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

5. That it is the duty of the Government to immediately exercise its constitutional prerogative to regulate commerce among the States. The great instruments by which this commerce is carried on are transportation, money, and the transmission of intelligence. They are now mercilessly controlled by giant monopolies, to the impoverishment of labor, and the crushing out of healthful competition, and the destruction of business security. We hold it, therefore, to be the imperative and immediate duty of Congress to pass all needful laws for the control and regulation of those great agents of commerce in accordance with the oft-repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

6. That these monopolies, which have exacted from enterprise such heavy tribute, have also inflicted countless wrongs upon the toiling millions of the United States, and no system of reform should commend itself to the support of the people which does not protect the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his face. Bureaus of labor statistics must be established, both State and National; arbitration take the place of brute force in the settlement of disputes between employer and employed; the National eight-hour law be honestly enforced; the importation of foreign labor under contract be made illegal; and whatever practical reforms may be necessary for the protection of united labor must be granted, to the end that unto the toiler shall be given that proportion of the profits of the thing or value created which his labor bears to the cost of production.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

7. That we approve and favor the passage of an Inter-State Commerce bill. Navigable waters should be improved by the Government and be free.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

8. We demand the payment of the bonded debt as it falls due, the election of the United States Senators by the direct vote of the people of their respective States; a graduated income tax; and a tariff, which is a tax upon the people, that shall be so levied as to bear as lightly as possible upon necessaries. We denounce the present tariff as being largely in the interest of monopoly, and demand that it be speedily and radically reformed in the interest of labor instead of capital.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

9. That no further grants of public lands shall be made to corporations. All enactments granting land to corporations should be strictly construed; and all land-grants should be forfeited where the terms upon which the grants were made have not been strictly complied with. The public lands must be held for homes for actual settlers, and must not be subject to purchase or control by nonresident foreigners or other speculators.

National Party Platforms, Anti-Monopoly Platform of 1884, p.64

10. That we deprecate the discrimination of American legislation against the greatest of American industries—agriculture, by which it has been deprived of nearly all beneficial legislation while forced to bear the brunt of taxation. And we demand for it the fostering care of Government and the just recognition of its importance in the development and advancement of our land. And we appeal to the American farmer to cooperate with us in our endeavors to advance the National interests of the country, and the overthrow of monopoly in every shape when and wherever found.

Democratic Platform of 1884

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States; and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles, that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

This is now the condition of the country. Hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice, it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government, are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten, nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits, or for high office.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

The Republican party during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenure of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It demands the restoration of our Navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It imposed and has continued those burdens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It professes a policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers. It has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads, and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It professes a preference for free institutions. It organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It professes a desire to elevate labor. It has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It professes gratitude to all who were disabled, or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans. It left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff. It created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent reduction. Its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It professes the protection of American manufactures. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods, and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It professes to protect all American industries. It has impoverished many to subsidize a few.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.65

It professes the protection of American labor. It has depleted the returns of American agricultureian industry followed by half of our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law. Attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were overset by the decision of its Courts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform." Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals, no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than $10(),00(),000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the Administration from corruption to restore economy, to revive respeet for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to its creditors and pensioners.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government, taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal Revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest, and principal on the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from the custom house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

The system of direct taxation known as the "Internal Revenue," is a war tax, and so long as the law continues, the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the Republic and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided; and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister Republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

Assrlting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion—religious or political.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.66

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count; and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest Civil Service Reform, and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State; and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain; and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States, or the citizens thereof.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that, "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every Nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred, for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of the Government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the Executive and Legislative departments of our own Government, and by all foreign powers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country, or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as a result of this policy we call the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.67

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy, our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy, our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.68

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.68

Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.68

Under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage of all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climate and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in the old-world monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.68

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand on behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.68

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.68

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics (acquiescence in the will of the majority), that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.68

Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1884, p.68

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of Reform and change in Administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and the due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

Greenback National Platform of 1884

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.68

Eight years ago our young party met in this city for the first time, and proclaimed to the world its immortal principles, and placed before the American people as a presidential candidate that great philanthropist and spotless statesman, Peter Cooper. Since that convention our party has organized all over the Union, and through discussion and agitation has been educating the people to a sense of their rights and duties to themselves and their country. These labors have accomplished wonders. We now have a great, harmonious party, and thousands who believe in our principles in the ranks of other parties.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.68

"We point with pride to our history." We forced the remonetization of the silver dollar; prevented the refunding of the public debt into long-time bonds; secured the payment of the bonds, until the "best banking system the world ever saw" for robbing the producer now totters because of its contracting foundation; we have stopped the squandering of our public domain upon corporations; we have stopped the wholesale destruction of the greenback currency, and secured a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States establishing forever the right of the people to issue their own money.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.68

Notwithstanding all this, never in our history have the banks, land-grant railroads, and other monopolies, been more insolent in their demands for further privileges—still more class legislation. In this emergency the dominant parties are arrayed against the people, and are the abject tools of the corporate monopolies.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

In the last Congress they repealed over $12,000,000 of annual taxes for the banks, throwing the burden upon the people to pay or pay interest thereon.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

Both old parties in the present Congress vie with each other in their efforts to further repeal taxes in order to stop the payment of the public debt, and save the banks whose charters they have renewed for twenty years. Notwithstanding the distress of business, the shrinkage of wages and panic, they persist in locking up, on various pretexts, $400,000,000 of money, every dollar of which the people pay interest upon, and need, and most of which should be promptly applied to pay bonds now payable.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

The old parties are united—as they cannot agree what taxes to repeal—in efforts to squander the income of the Government upon every pretext rather than pay the debt.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

A bill has already passed the United States Senate making the banks a present of over $50,000,000 more of the people's money in order to enable them to levy a still greater burden of interest-taxes.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

A joint effort is being made by the old party leaders to overthrow the sovereign constitutional power of the people to control their own financial affairs and issue their own money, in order to forever enslave the masses to bankers and other business. The House of Representatives has passed bills reclaiming nearly 100,000,000 acres of lands granted to and forfeited by railroad companies. These bills have gone to the Senate, a body composed largely of aristocratic millionaires, who, according to their own party papers, generally purchased their elections in order to protect great monopolies which they represent. This body has thus far defied the people and the House, and refused to act upon these bills in the interest of the people.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

Therefore, we, the National party of the United States, in national convention assembled, this 29th day of May A. D. 1884, declare:

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

1. That we hold the late decision of the Supreme Court on the legal-tender question to be a full vindication of the theory which our party has always advocated on the right and authority of Congress over the issue of legal-tender notes, and we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold said decision, and to defend the Constitution against alterations or amendments intended to deprive the people of any rights or privileges conferred by that instrument. We demand the issue of such money in sufficient quantities to supply the actual demand of trade and commerce, in accordance with the increase of population and the development of our industries. We demand the substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes and the prompt payment of the public debt. We want that money which saved our country in time of war and which has given it prosperity and happiness in peace. We condemn the retirement of the fractional currency and the small denominations of greenbacks, and demand their restoration. We demand the issue of the hoards of money now locked up in the United States Treasury, by applying them to the payment of the public debt now due.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

2. We denounce, as dangerous to our republican institutions, those methods and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties which have sanctioned or permitted the establishment of land, railroad, money and other gigantic corporate monopolies; and we demand such governmental action as may be necessary to take from such monopolies the powers they have so corruptly and unjustly usurped, and restore them to the people, to whom they belong.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

3. The public lands, being the natural inheritance of the people, we denounce that policy which has granted to corporations vast tracts of land, and we demand that immediate and vigorous measures be taken to reclaim from such corporations, for the people's use and benefit, all such land grants as have been forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract, or that may have been wrongfully acquired by corrupt legislation, and that such reclaimed lands and other public domain be henceforth held as a sacred trust, to be granted only to actual settlers in limited quantities; and we also demand that the alien ownership of land, individual or corporate, shall be prohibited.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.69

4. We demand Congressional regulation of inter-State commerce. We denounce "pooling," stock watering and discrimination in rates and charges, and demand that Congress shall correct these abuses, even, if necessary, by the construction of national railroads. We also demand the establishment of a government postal telegraph system.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

5. All private property, all forms of money and obligations to pay money, should bear their just proportion of the public taxes. We demand a graduated income tax.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

6. We demand the amelioration of the condition of labor by enforcing the sanitary laws in industrial establishments, by the abolition of the convict labor system, by a rigid inspection of mines and factories, by a reduction of the hours of labor in industrial establishments, by fostering educational institutions, and by abolishing child labor.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

7. We condemn all importations of contract labor, made with a view of reducing to starvation wages the workingmen of this country, and demand laws for its prevention.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

8. We insist upon a constitutional amendment reducing the terms of United States Senators.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

9. We demand such rules for the government of Congress as shall place all Representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and take away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

10. The question as to the amount of duties to be levied upon various articles of import has been agitated and quarreled over and has divided communities for nearly a hundred years. It is not now and never will be settled unless by the abolition of indirect taxation. It is a convenient issue—always raised when the people are excited over abuses in their midst. While we favor a wise revision of the tariff laws, with a view to raising a revenue from luxuries rather than necessaries, we insist that as an economic question its importance is insignificant as compared with financial issues; for whereas we have suffered our worst panics under low and also under high tariff, we have never suffered from a panic nor seen our factories and workshops closed while the volume of money in circulation was adequate to the needs of commerce. Give our farmers and manufacturers money as cheap as you now give it to our bankers, and they can pay high wages to labor, and compete with all the world.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

11. For the purpose of testing the sense of the people upon the subject, we are in favor of submitting to a vote of the people an amendment to the Constitution in favor of suffrage regardless of sex, and also on the subject of the liquor traffic.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

12. All disabled soldiers of the late war should be equitably pensioned, and we denounce the policy of keeping a small army of office-holders whose only business is to prevent, on technical grounds, deserving soldiers from obtaining justice from the government they helped to save.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

13. As our name indicates, we are a National party, knowing no East, no West, no North, no South. Having no sectional prejudices, we can properly place in nomination for the high offices of State as candidates, men from any section of the Union.

National Party Platforms, Greenback National Platform of 1884, p.70

14. We appeal to all people who believe in our principles to aid us by voice, pen and votes.

Prohibition Platform of 1884

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.70

1. The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledge Almighty God as the rightful sovereign of all men, from whom the just powers of government are derived and to whose laws human enactments should conform as an absolute condition of peace, prosperity and happiness.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.70

2. That the importation, manufacture, supply and sale of alcoholic beverages, created and maintained by the laws of the National and State Governments during the entire history of such laws, are everywhere shown to be the promoting cause of intemperance, with resulting crime and pauperism, making large demands upon public and private charity; imposing large and unjust taxation for the support of penal and sheltering institutions, upon thrift, industry, manufactures and commerce; endangering the public peace; desecrating the Sabbath; corrupting our politics, legislation and administration of the laws; shortening lives, impairing health and diminishing productive industry; causing education to be neglected and despised; nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the church and the school, the standards and guides of our fathers and their children in the founding and growth of our widely-extended country; and which, imperilling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberties, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are contrary to God's laws and contravene our happiness. We therefore call upon our fellow-citizens to aid in the repeal of these laws and in the legal suppression of this baneful liquor traffic.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.71

3. During the 24 years in which the Republican party has controlled the general Government and many of the States, no effort has been made to change this policy. Territories have been created, Governments for them established, States admitted to the Union, and in no instance in either case has this traffic been forbidden or the people been permitted to prohibit it. That there are now over 200,000 distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in their products, holding certificates and claiming the authority of Government for the continuation of the business so destructive to the moral and material welfare of the people, together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of this abuse of civil government, is conclusive that the Republican party is insensible to or impotent for the redress of these wrongs, and should no longer be entrusted with the powers and responsibilities of Government. Although this party in its late National Convention was silent on the liquor question, not so its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. Within the year past Mr. Blaine has recommended that the revenue derived from the liquor traffic be distributed among the States; and Senator Logan has, by bill, proposed to devote these revenues to the support of the public schools. Thus both virtually recommend the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the States and their citizens become partners in the liquor crime.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.71

4. That the Democratic party has in its national deliverances of party policy arrayed itself on the side of the drink-makers and sellers by declaring against the policy of Prohibition under the false name of "sumptuary laws"; that when in power in many of the States it has refused remedial legislation, and that in Congress it has obstructed the creation of a Commission of Inquiry into the effects of this traffic, proving that it should not be entrusted with power and place.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.71

5. That there can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing competition of the Republican and Democratic parties for the liquor vote. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter the public morals, the purity of the ballot and every trust and object of good government for party success. Patriots and good citizens should therefore, immediately withdraw from all connection with these parties.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.71

6. That we favor reforms in the abolition of all sinecures with useless offices and officers, and in elections by the people instead of appointments by the President; that as competency, honesty and sobriety are essential qualifications for office, we oppose removals except when absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness in vital issues; that the collection of revenues from alcoholic liquors and tobacco should be abolished, since the vices of men are not proper subjects of taxation; that revenue from customs duties should be levied for the support of the Government economically administered, and in such manner as will foster American industries and labor; that the public lands should be held for homes for the people, and not bestowed as gifts to corporations, or sold in large tracts for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers; that grateful care and support should be given to our soldiers and sailors disabled in the service of their country, and to their dependent widows and orphans; that we repudiate as un-American and contrary to and subversive to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that any person or people should be excluded from residence or citizenship who may desire the benefits which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations; that while these are important reforms, and are demanded for purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the drink traffic, which now annually wastes $800,000,000 of the wealth created by toil and thrift, dragging down thousands of families from comfort to poverty, filling jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals and institutions for dependency, impairing the health and destroying the lives of thousands, lowering intellectual vigor and dulling the cunning hand of the artisan, causing bankruptcy, insolvency and loss in trade, and by its corrupting power endangering the perpetuity of free institutions; that Congress should exercise its undoubted power by prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the District of Columbia, the Territories of the United States and all places over which the Government has exclusive jurisdiction; that hereafter no State should be admitted to the Union until its Constitution shall expressly and forever prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages, and that Congress shall submit to the States an Amendment to the Constitution forever prohibiting the importation, exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.72

7. We earnestly call the attention of the mechanic, the miner and manufacturer to the investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry of the needless liquor business. It will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, foments discontent and strikes, and the destroyer of family welfare. Labor and all legitimate industries demand deliverance from the taxation and loss which this traffic imposes; and no tariff or other legislation can so healthily stimulate production, or increase the demand for capital and labor, or insure so much of comfort and content to the laborer, mechanic and capitalist as would the suppression of this traffic.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.72

8. That the activity and co-operation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has in all the history of the past been a strength and encouragement which we gratefully acknowledge and record. In the later and present phase of the movement for the Prohibition of the traffic, the purity of purpose and method, the earnestness, zeal, intelligence and devotion of the mothers and daughters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have been eminently blessed of God. Kansas and Iowa have been given them as "sheaves" of rejoicing, and the education and arousing of the public mind, and the now prevailing demand for the Constitutional Amendment, are largely the fruit of their prayers and labors. Sharing in the efforts that shall bring the question of the abolition of this traffic to the polls, they shall join in the grand "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," when by law victory shall be achieved.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.72

9. That, believing in the civil and the political equality of the sexes, and that the ballot in the hands of woman is her right for protection and would prove a powerful ally for the abolition of the liquor traffic, the execution of the law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, the removal of corruption in public life, we enunciate the principle and relegate the practical outworking of this reform to the discretion of the Prohibition party in the several States according to the condition of public sentiment in those States.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1884, p.72

10. That we gratefully acknowledge the presence of the divine spirit guiding the counsels and granting the success which has been vouchsafed in the progress of the temperance reform, and we earnestly ask the voters of these United States to make the principles of the above declaration dominant in the Government of the nation.

Republican Platform of 1884

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.72

The Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration, by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purpose of our citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.72

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor, for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.72

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration; a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.72

In the administration of President Arthur, we recognize a wise, conservative and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.72

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.72

The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.72

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer; to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States, is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government; and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people; and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people, and the railways alike, the fair and equal protection of the laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight hour law, a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit, we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions, which lurk in the power of official patronage, may be wisely and effectively avoided.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident or aliens. And we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.73

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitations contained in the arrears act of 1879. So that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.74

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs; a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.74

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.74

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona-fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.74

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories; and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.74

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a Nation and not a mere confederacy of States; the National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties; but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained. Each should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.74

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of a voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of fruits of such fraud and violence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1884, p.74

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy; and we pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1888

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1888, p.75

In 1888 in addition to the two major parties and the Prohibitionists three new groups appear. The American Party issued a platform that is suggestive of the Know-Nothing Party of 1856. And two new labor groups appear. There was the Union Labor Party, and a much smaller group, which may be considered a rival faction, known as the United Labor Party.

American Platform of 1888

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.75

Believing that the time has arrived when a due regard for the present and future prosperity of our country makes it imperative that the people of the United States of America should take full and entire control of their government, to the exclusion of revolutionary and incendiary foreigners, now seeking our shores from every quarter of the globe, and recognizing that the first and most important duty of an American citizen is to maintain the Government in all attainable purity and strength, we make the following declaration of principles:

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.75

Resolved, That all law-abiding citizens of the United States of America, whether native or foreign born, are political equals (except as provided by the Constitution), and all are entitled to and should receive the full protection of the laws.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.75

Whereas, There are seventeen states in this Union wherein persons are allowed to vote at all elections without being citizens of the United States; and,

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.75

Whereas, Such a system tends to place the management of the Government in the hands of those who owe no allegiance to our political institutions; therefore,

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.75

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States should be so amended as to prohibit the Federal and State governments from conferring upon any person the right to vote unless such person be a citizen of the United States.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.75

Resolved, That we are in favor of fostering and encouraging American industries of every class and kind, and declare that the assumed issue "Protection" vs. "Free Trade" is a fraud and a snare. The best "protection" is that which protects the labor and life blood of the republic from the degrading competition with and contaminations by imported foreigners; and the most dangerous "free trade" is that in paupers, criminals, communists, and anarchists, in which the balance has always been against the United States.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.75

Whereas, One of the greatest evils of unrestricted foreign immigration is the reduction of the wages of the American workingman and workingwoman to the level of the underfed and underpaid labor of foreign countries: therefore,

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.75

Resolved, That we demand that no immigrant shall be admitted into the United States without a passport obtained from the American Consul at the port from which he sails; that no passport shall be issued to any pauper, criminal, or insane person, or to any person who, in the judgment of the consul, is not likely to become a desirable citizen of the United States; and that for each immigrant passport there shall be collected by the Consul issuing the same the sum of one hundred dollars ($100), to be by him paid into the Treasury of the United States.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That the present naturalization laws of the United States should be unconditionally repealed.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That the soil of America should belong to Americans; That no alien non-resident should be permitted to own real estate in the United States, and that the realty possessions of the resident alien should be limited in value and area.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That we favor educating the boys and girls of American citizens as mechanics and artisans, thus fitting them for the places now filled by foreigners, who supply the greater part of our skilled labor, and thereby almost entirely control the great industries of our country, save, perhaps, that of agriculture alone; and that our boys and girls may be taught trades, we demand the establishment and maintenance of free technical schools.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That universal education is a necessity of our Government, and that our American free school system should be preserved and maintained as the safeguard of American liberty.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That no language except the English shall be taught in the common schools supported at the public expense.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Whereas, an unemployed population is the greatest evil that can befall any nation, and in this country it cannot be eliminated by European methods, such as extra police and standing armies, therefore,

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That the surplus in the Treasury should be devoted to the material improvement of our coast and frontier defences, and the construction of an American navy in American workshops, by American labor.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That we demand the enactment of a law which shall require all persons having charge in any way of any department, bureau, or division of the Government to forthwith dismiss from the public service all persons employed in or about any such department, bureau, or division in any way or manner who are not citizens of the United States, that no person shall be appointed to or hold office or place in the service of the United States who is not a citizen of the United States either by nativity or by full naturalization, according to law.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That after the year 1898 it shall be required of every voter before he exercises the right of suffrage to be able to read the written or printed Constitution of the United States, in the English language, and to write his own name upon the register, to show that he is fitted to share in the administration of the government of the republic.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That we recognize the right of labor to organize for its protection, by all lawful and peaceful means to secure to itself the greatest reward for its thrift and industry; and we believe in governmental arbitration in the settlement of industrial differences.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That we are in favor of such legislation by Congress as will re-establish the American marine.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That no flag shall float on any public buildings, municipal, State, or National, in the United States, except the Municipal, State, or National flag of the United States—the flag of the Stars and Stripes.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That we reassert the American principles of absolute freedom of religious worship and belief, the permanent separation of Church and State; and we oppose the appropriation of public money or property to any church or institution administered by a church. We maintain that all church property should be subject to taxation.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That the Presidential term shall be extended to six years, and the President shall be ineligible to re-election.

National Party Platforms, American Platform of 1888, p.76

Resolved, That the American Party declares that it recognizes no North, no South, no East, no West in these United States, but one people, pledged to the general welfare and to liberty and independence.

Democratic Platform of 1888

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.76

The Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the Convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of Tariff reduction; and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic Representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written Constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality and establishing justice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

The Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the Executive power which four years ago was committed to its trust in the selection of Grover Cleveland as President of the United States; and it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency, and a public debt unmatured, it has by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only averted disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people, nearly one hundred millions of acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

While carefully guarding the interests of the taxpayers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

By intelligent management and a judicious and economical expenditure of the public money it has set on foot the reconstruction of the American Navy upon a system which forbids the recurrence of scandal and insures successful results.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our Government and people at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

Honest reform in the Civil Service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control, the rights and welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or section, has been steadfastly maintained.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

Upon its record, thus exhibited, and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of these benefits of good government, the National Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the reelection of a Chief Magistrate who has been faithful, able and prudent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

They invoke in addition to that trust, the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

Thus the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretenses, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets; capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

The Democratic party will continue, with all the power confided to it, the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.77

Of all the industrious freemen of our land, an immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws; but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy, that by such taxation the costs of the necessaries of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed, when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted and fostered, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when through unnecessary taxation a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade, and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the National Treasury.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

The money now lying idle in the Federal Treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation amounts to more than $125,000,000, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than $60,000,000 annually.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Debauched by this immense temptation the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriations and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

The Democratic remedy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish needless taxation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not, and need not, be endangered by a reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

In the interest of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party would promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessaries of life in the home of every workingman and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Upon this great issue of tariff reform, so closely concerning every phase of our national life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Resolution Presented by Mr. Scott, of Pennsylvania:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Resolved, That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Resolution Presented by Mr. Lehmann, of Iowa:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Resolved, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that the right of self-government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under the Constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana and New Mexico are, by virtue of population and development, entitled to admission into the Union as States, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican party in refusing Statehood and self-government to their people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Resolution Presented by ex-Governor Leon Abbett, of New Jersey:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1888, p.78

Resolved, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their effort to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty. And we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home rule in Ireland.

Prohibition Platform of 1888

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.78

The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, do hereby declare:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.78

1. That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes, and prohibited as such.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.78

2. That such Prohibition must be secured through Amendments to our National and State Constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority; and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in State and Nation.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

3. That any form of license, taxation or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party which supports regulation, license or taxation enters into alliance with such traffic and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare, and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their persistent attitude in favor of the license iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for Prohibition, and, through open complicity with the liquor crime, defeat the enforcement of law.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

4. For the immediate abolition of the Internal Revenue system, whereby our National Government is deriving support from our greatest national vice.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

5. That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by import duties; but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus shall be accumulated in the Treasury, and that the burdens of taxation shall be removed from foods, clothing and other comforts and necessaries of life, and imposed on such articles of import as will give protection both to the manufacturing employer and producing laborer against the competition of the world.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

6. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere circumstances of race, color, sex or nationality, and that where, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens who are of suitable age, and mentally and morally qualified for the exercise of an intelligent ballot, it should be restored by the people through the Legislatures of the several States, on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

7. That civil service appointments for all civil offices, chiefly clerical in their duties, should be based upon moral, intellectual and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

8. For the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

9. For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products for popular consumption.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

10. For the preservation and defense of the Sabbath as a civil institution, without oppressing any who religiously observe the same on any other than the first day of the week.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

11. That arbitration is the Christian, wise and economical method of settling national differences, and the same method should, by judicious legislation, be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employes and their employers; that the abolition of the saloon would remove the burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary and social, which now oppress labor and rob it of its earnings, and would prove to be a wise and successful way of promoting labor reform, and we invite labor and capital to unite with us for the accomplishment thereof; that monopoly in land is a wrong to the people, and the public lands should be reserved to the actual settlers; and that men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

12. That our immigration laws should be so enforced as to prevent the introduction into our country of all convicts, inmates of other dependent institutions, and others physically incapacitated for self-support, and that no person should have the ballot in any State who is not a citizen of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

13. Recognizing and declaring that Prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who, on this one dominant issue, are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

Resolved, That we hold that men are born free and equal, and should be made secure in all their civil and political rights.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1888, p.79

Resolved, That we condemn the Democratic and Republican parties for persistently denying the right of self-government to the 600,000 people of Dakota.

Republican Platform of 1888

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.79

The Republicans of the United States assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great leader—the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have been more recently called away from our councils; Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished!

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.80

We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history of both Republicans and of the Republic, the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan. In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.80

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and the indissoluble Union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories of the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our Republican government and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.80

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican Representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.80

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry throughout the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.80

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the National revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts, and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and releases from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries), the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the government we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system at the joint behests of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufacturers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.80

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and constitution; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.80

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures in their respective jurisdictions such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.80

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers—not aliens—which the Republican party established in 1862 against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the Administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats in Congress about 60,000,000 acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the Democratic Administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers the title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretense of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.81

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted as a right inherent in them to form for themselves constitutions and State government, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the bona-fide residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union under the constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments, should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.81

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions too dangerous to be longer suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the Nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.81

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.81

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.81

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign, and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free Nation; therefore, the State or Nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.81

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine, and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free ship bill as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defense for the protection of our defenseless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for necessary works of National importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the government's money, without interest, to "pet banks."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.82

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present Administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican Administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce, and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction or encourage any American organization for construction of the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and of our National influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and further coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.82

We arraign the present Democratic Administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable National industry, and an indispensable resource of defense against a foreign enemy. "The name American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.82

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom and purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican Administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.82

The gratitude of the Nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledges made by a loyal people and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform shall become the inmate of an almshouse, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the government. We denounce the hostile spirit shown by President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.82

In support of the principles herewith enunciated we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.82

Resolution Relating to Prohibition

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.82

Offered by Mr. Boutelle, of Maine:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1888, p.82

The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of their homes. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

Union Labor Platform of 1888

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.83

General discontent prevails on the part of the wealth-producer. Farmers are suffering from a poverty which has forced most of them to mortgage their estates, and the prices of products are so low as to offer no relief except through bankruptcy. Laborers are sinking into greater dependence. Strikes are resorted to without bringing relief, because of the inability of employers in many cases to pay living wages, while more and more are driven into the street. Business men find collections almost impossible, and meantime hundreds of millions of idle public money which is needed for relief is locked up in the United States Treasury or placed without interest in favored banks, in grim mockery of distress. Land monopoly flourishes as never before, and more owners of the soil are daily becoming tenants. Great transportation corporations still succeed in extorting their profits on watered stock through unjust charges. The United States Senate has become an open scandal, its membership being purchased by the rich in open defiance of the popular will. Various efforts are made to squander the public money, which are designed to empty the Treasury without paying the public debt. Under these and other alarming conditions, we appeal to the people of our country to come out of old party organizations, whose indifference to the public welfare is responsible for this distress, and aid the Union Labor Party to repeal existing class legislation and relieve the distress of our industries by establishing the following:

Platform

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.83

While we believe that the proper solution of the financial distress will greatly relieve those now in danger of losing their homes by mortgage foreclosures, and enable all industrious persons to secure a home as the highest result of civilization, we oppose land monopoly in every form, demand the forfeiture of unearned grants, the limitation of land ownership, and such other legislation as will stop speculation in lands and holding it unused from those whose necessities require it. We believe the earth was made for the people and not to make an idle aristocracy to subsist through rents upon the toils of the industrious, and that corners in land are as bad as corners in food, and that those who are not residents or citizens should not be allowed to own lands in the United States. A homestead should be exempt to a limited extent from execution or taxation.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.83

The means of communication and transportation shall be owned by the people, as is the United States postal system.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.83

The establishment of a national monetary system in the interest of the producer, instead of the speculator and usurer, by which the circulating medium, in necessary quantity and full legal tender, shall be issued directly to the people without the intervention of banks and loaned to citizens upon land security at a low rate of interest so as to relieve them from the extortion of usury and enable them to control the money supply. Postal savings banks should be established, and while we have free coinage of gold we should have free coinage of silver. We demand the immediate application of all the money in the United States Treasury to the payment of the bonded debt, and condemn the further issue of interest-bearing bonds, either by the National Government or by States, Territories or municipalities.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.83

Arbitration should take the place of strikes and other injurious methods of settling labor disputes. The letting of convict labor to contractors should be prohibited, the contract system be abolished on public works, the hours of labor in industrial establishments be reduced commensurate with the increased production by labor-saving machinery, employees protected from bodily injury, equal pay for equal work for both sexes, and labor, agricultural, and co-operative associations be fostered and encouraged by law. The foundation of a republic is in the intelligence of its citizens, and children who are driven into workshops, mines, and factories are deprived of the education which should be secured to all by proper legislation.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.83

We demand the passage of a service pension bill to every honorably discharged soldier and sailor of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.83

A graduated income tax is the most equitable system of taxation, placing the burden of government on those who can best afford to pay, instead of laying it on the farmers and producers, and exempting millionaires, bond-holders and corporations.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

We demand a constitutional amendment making United States senators elective by a direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

We demand the strict enforcement of laws prohibiting the importation of subjects of foreign countries under contract.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

We demand the passage and enforcement of such legislation as will absolutely exclude the Chinese from the United States.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

The right to vote is inherent in citizenship irrespective of sex, and is properly within the province of state legislation.

National Party Platforms, Union Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

The paramount issues to be solved in the interests of humanity are the abolition of usury, monopoly, and trusts, and we denounce the Democratic and Republican parties for creating and perpetuating these monstrous evils.

United Labor Platform of 1888

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

We, the delegates of the United Labor Party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, hold that the corruptions of government and the impoverishment of the masses result from neglect of the self-evident truths proclaimed by the founders of this republic, that all men are created equal and are endowed with inalienable rights. We aim at the abolition of the system which compels men to pay their fellow-creatures for the use of the common bounties of nature, and permits monopolizers to deprive labor of natural opportunities for employment.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

We see access to farming land denied to labor, except on payment of exorbitant rent or the acceptance of mortgage burdens, and labor, thus forbidden to employ itself, driven into the cities. We see the wage-workers of the cities subjected to this unnatural competition, and forced to pay an exorbitant share of their scanty earnings for cramped and unhealthful lodgings. We see the same intense competition condemning the great majority of business and professional men to a bitter and often unavailing struggle to avoid bankruptcy, and that while the price of all that labor produces ever falls, the price of land ever rises.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

We trace these evils to a fundamental wrong—the making of the land on which all must live the exclusive property of but a portion of the community. To this denial of natural rights are due want of employment, low wages, business depressions, that intense competition which makes it so difficult for the majority of men to get a comfortable living, and that wrongful distribution of wealth which is producing the millionaire on one side and the tramp on the other.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

To give all men an interest in the land of their country; to enable all to share in the benefits of social growth and improvement; to prevent the shutting out of labor from employment by the monopolization of natural opportunities; to do away with the one-sided competition which cuts down wages to starvation rates; to restore life to business and prevent periodical depressions; to do away with that monstrous injustice which deprives producers of the fruits of their toil, while idlers grow rich; to prevent the conflicts which are arraying class against class, and which are fraught with menacing dangers to society—we propose so to change the existing system of taxation that no one shall be taxed on the wealth he produces, nor any one suffered to appropriate wealth he does not produce by taking to himself the increasing values which the growth of society adds to land.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

What we propose is not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title, but, by taxation of land according to its value and not according to its area, to devote to common use and benefit those values which arise not from the exertion of the individual, but from the growth of society, and to abolish all taxes on industry and its products. This increased taxation of land values must, while relieving the working farmer and small homestead owner of the undue burdens now imposed upon them, make it unprofitable to hold land for speculation, and thus throw open abundant opportunities for the employment of labor and the building up of homes.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.84

We would do away with the present unjust and wasteful system of finance, which piles up hundreds of millions of dollars in treasury vaults while we are paying interest on an enormous debt; and we would establish in its stead a monetary system in which a legal-tender circulating medium should be issued by the Government without the intervention of banks. We wish to abolish the present unjust and wasteful system of ownership of railroads and telegraphs by private corporations—a system which, while failing to supply adequately public needs, impoverishes the farmer, oppresses the manufacturer, hampers the merchant, impedes travel and communication, and builds up enormous fortunes and corrupting monopolies that are becoming more powerful than the Government itself. For this system we would substitute Government ownership and control for the benefit of the whole people instead of private profit.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.85

While declaring the foregoing to be the fundamental principles and aims of the United Labor Party, and while conscious that no reform can give effectual and permanent relief to labor that does not involve the legal recognition of equal rights to natural opportunities, we, nevertheless, as measures of relief from some of the evil effects of ignoring those rights, favor such legislation as may tend to reduce the hours of labor, to prevent the employment of children of tender years, to avoid the competition of convict labor with honest industry, to secure the sanitary inspection of tenements, factories, and mines, and to put an end to the abuse of conspiracy laws.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.85

We desire also to so simplify the procedure of our courts, and diminish the expense of legal proceedings, that the poor may therein be placed on an equality with the rich, and the long delays which now result in scandalous miscarriages of justice may be prevented.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.85

Since the ballot is the only means by which, in our republic the redress of political and social grievances is to be sought, we especially and emphatically declare for the adoption of what is known as the Australian system of voting, in order that the effectual secrecy of the ballot, and the relief of candidates for public office from the heavy expenses now imposed upon them, may prevent bribery and intimidation, do away with practical discriminations in favor of the rich and unscrupulous, and lessen the pernicious influence of money in politics.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.85

We denounce the Democratic and Republican parties as hopelessly and shamelessly corrupt, and, by reason of their affiliation with monopolies, equally unworthy of the suffrages of those who do not live upon public plunder; we therefore require of those who would act with us that they sever all connection with both.

National Party Platforms, United Labor Platform of 1888, p.85

In support of these aims, we solicit the cooperation of all patriotic citizens who, sick of the degradation of politics, desire by constitutional methods to establish justice, to preserve liberty, to extend the spirit of fraternity, and to elevate humanity.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1892

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1892, p.86

In 1892 there were the two major parties and the Prohibition Party. The two labor parties of 1888 disappeared and in their place appears the Socialist Labor Party.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1892, p.86

Another party, known as the People's Party, also appeared. This party is quite generally known as the Populist Party. It grew out of an organization known as the Farmer's Alliance. It is sometimes called the National People's Party, but the word "National" does not appear to be a true part of its name.

Democratic Platform of 1892

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.86

The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party, as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government, through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.86

We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections, to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. It strikes at the North as well as at the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place, armed with Federal power; returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority, the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States, the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power, and the reviving of race antagonisms, now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all; a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first intrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved right of the people to resist oppression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls, but in contempt of that verdict the Republican can party has defiantly declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force Bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.87

Believing that the preservation of Republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto, which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity; and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be intrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force Bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure, which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus and emptied an overflowing Treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.87

We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.87

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption; and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of the laboring man to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the fullness and distress, the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.87

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth, in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over $2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate mortgage debt averaging $165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in other agricultural-exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the Sheriff.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.87

Trade interchange, on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating, is a time-honored doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world, that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products, and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessaries and comforts of life among our own people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.87

We recognize in the Trusts and Combinations, which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of Capital and Labor, a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes, which prevent the free competition, which is the life of honest trade, but believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.87

The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred million (100,000,000) acres of valuable land, to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future, which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent tax on State bank issues be repealed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican Convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which the Federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to reform these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American Continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defense, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience sake—and in the spirit of the founders of our Government we condemn the oppression practised by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar and to secure to the oppressed equal rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe; and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration and the importation of foreign workmen under contract, to degrade American labor and lessen its wages; but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

This Convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents, but we demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done industriously, impartially and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful and dishonest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the Government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work, until permanent improvement is secured.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.88

For purposes of national defense and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.89

Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a national undertaking of vast importance, in which the General Government has invited the cooperation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended, and the broad and liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the national honor and public faith.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.89

Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty, as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.89

We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for admitting into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona-fide residents of the Territory or district in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.89

We favor legislation by Congress and State Legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employees and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.89

We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under 15 years of age.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.89

We are opposed to all sumptuary laws, as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1892, p.89

Upon this statement of principles and policies, the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party, in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful.

People's Platform of 1892

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.89

Assembled upon the 116th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's Party of America in their first national convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, put forth in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles:

Preamble

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.89

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation and bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages, a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.90

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bond-holders; a vast public debt payable in legal tender currency has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.90

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once, it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.90

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering `eople. We charge that the controlling influence dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.90

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand general and chief who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people," with which class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the National Constitution, to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.90

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of free men.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.90

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must, within a few weeks or months be exchanged for billions of dollars' worth of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that, if given power, we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation, in accordance with the terms of our platform.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.90

We believe that the power of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the ease of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice and poverty, shall eventually cease in the land.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.90

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions, important as they are, as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depend; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a republic to administer, before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered, believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward, until every wrong is remedied, and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country.

Platform

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

We declare, therefore,

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

First—That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

Second—Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

Third—We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employees.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

Finance—We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent per annum, to be provided as set forth by the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

1. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

2. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

3. We demand a graduated income tax.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

4. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

5. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

Transportation—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph and telephone, like the post office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1892, p.91

Land—The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

Prohibition Platform of 1892

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.91

The Prohibition Party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all true government, and His law as the standard to which human enactments must conform to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity, presents the following declaration of principles:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.91

The liquor traffic is a foe to civilization, the arch enemy of popular government, and a public nuisance. It is the citadel of the forces that corrupt politics, promote poverty and crime, degrade the nation's home life, thwart the will of the people, and deliver our country into the hands of rapacious class interests. All laws that under the guise of regulation legalize and protect this traffic or make the Government share its ill-gotten gains, are "vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy." We declare anew for the entire suppression of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage by Federal and State legislation, and the full powers of Government should be exerted to secure this result. Any party that fails to recognize the dominant nature of this issue in American politics is undeserving of the support of the people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex, and equal labor should receive equal wages, without regard to sex.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

The money of the country should consist of gold, silver, and paper, and be issued by the General Government only, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of business and give full opportunity for the employment of labor. To this end an increase in the volume of money is demanded, and no individual or corporation should be allowed to make any profit through its issue. It should be made a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum per capita and made to increase with our increase in population.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

Tariff should be levied only as a defense against foreign governments which levy tariff upon or bar out our products from their markets, revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administration of the Government should be raised by levying a burden on what the people possess, instead of upon what they consume.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

Railroad, telegraph, and other public corporations should be controlled by the Government in the interest of the people, and no higher charges allowed than necessary to give fair interest on the capital actually invested.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the factors in depressing wages and causing discontent; therefore our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. The time of residence for naturalization should be extended, and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

Non-resident aliens should not be allowed to acquire land in this country, and we favor the limitation of individual and corporate ownership of land. All unearned grants of land to railroad companies or other corporations should be reclaimed.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law, and we demand that every citizen be protected in the right of trial by constitutional tribunals.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

All men should be protected by law in their right to one day's rest in seven.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling national differences.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

Speculations in margins, the cornering of grain, money and products, and the formation of pools, trusts, and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices should be suppressed.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

We pledge that the Prohibition Party, if elected to power, will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union army and navy, their widows and orphans.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

We stand unequivocally for the American Public School, and opposed to any appropriation of any public moneys for sectarian schools. We declare that only by united support of such common schools, taught in the English language, can we hope to become and remain a homogeneous and harmonious people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.92

We arraign the Republican and Democratic Parties as false to the standards reared by their founders; as faithless to the principles of the illustrious leaders of the past to whom they do homage with the lips; as recreant to the "higher law," which is as inflexible in political affairs as in personal life; and as no longer embodying the aspirations of the American people, or inviting the confidence of enlightened, progressive patriotism. Their protest against the admission of "moral issues" into politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy. The declaration of an eminent authority that municipal misrule is "the one conspicuous failure of American politics" follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy, and it is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in congressional appropriations, and both are alike guilty; each protests when out of power against the infraction of the civil-service laws, and each when in power violates those laws in letter and spirit; each professes fealty to the interests of the toiling masses, but both covertly truckle to the money power in their administration of public affairs. Even the tariff issue, as represented in the Democratic Mills bill and the Republican McKinley bill, is no longer treated by them as an issue upon great and divergent principles of government, but is a mere catering to different sectional and class interests. The attempt in many States to wrest the Australian ballot system from its true purpose, and to so deform it as to render it extremely difficult for new parties to exercise the right of suffrage, is an outrage upon popular government. The competition of both the parties for the vote of the slums, and their assiduous courting of the liquor power and subserviency to the money power, has resulted in placing those powers in the position of practical arbiters of the destinies of the nation. We renew our protest against these perilous tendencies, and invite all citizens to join us in the upbuilding of a party that has shown in five national campaigns that it prefers temporary defeat to an abandonment of the claims of justice, sobriety, personal rights and the protection of American homes.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.93

Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in national politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, promote national unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1892, p.93

Resolved, That we favor a liberal appropriation by the Federal Government for the World's Columbian Exposition, but only on the condition that the sale of intoxicating drinks upon the Exposition grounds is prohibited, and that the Exposition be kept closed on Sunday.

Republican Platform of 1892

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.93

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.93

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.93

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor, there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home. We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.93

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal, as manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief products of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.93

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.93

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bi-metallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workingmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the government, shall be as good as any other.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.93

We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our government to secure an international conference, to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.93

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, this sovereign right, guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

Southern Outrages

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

Foreign Relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our National interests and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers; entangling alliances with none; and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

Miscellaneous

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employees of transportation companies engaged in carrying on inter-State commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employees engaged in State commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality; it sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people, and the maintenance of freedom among men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land, but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State. We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We heartily indorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service, now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to 1 cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post Office Department and the highest class of postal service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

Nicaragua Canal

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people, both as a measure of National defense and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

Territories

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona-fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

Arid Lands

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

We favor the cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands, to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

The Columbian Exposition

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.94

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharge of the expenses and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the Nation.

Intemperance

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.95

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Pensions

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.95

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the Nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

Harrison's Administration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1892, p.95

We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity and the dignity and honor of the Nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1892

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class. Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage-slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life. Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule. Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage. Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

Against such a system the Socialistic Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration, that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence; and

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

WHEREAS, the time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations, on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall; therefore, be it

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

RESOLVED, That we call upon the people to organize with a view to the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization. We call upon them to unite with us in a mighty effort to gain by all practicable means the political power.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

In the meantime, and with a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor, we present the following "Demands":

Social Demands

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.95

2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation and communication.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water-works, gas-works, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

5. Legal incorporation by the States of local Trade Unions which have no national organization.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

6. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

7. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

8. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

9. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

10. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous, and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

11. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

12. Official statistics concerning the condition of labor. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and of the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of women's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employer's liability law.

Political Demands

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

1. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the Referendum principle.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

2. Abolition of the Presidency, Vice-Presidency, and Senate of the United States. An Executive Board to be established, whose members are to be elected, and may at any time be recalled by the House of Representatives as the only legislative body. The States and Municipalities to adopt corresponding amendment to their constitutions and statutes.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

3. Municipal self-government.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

4. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage, without regard to color, creed, or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of minority representation to be introduced.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

5. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1892, p.96

6. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1896

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1896, p.97

In this year, as in 1872, factions broke away from both of the major parties. This made four parties in addition to the Prohibition Party, and the Socialist Labor Party, which from this time on is regularly found as a minor party. The People's Party, or Populists, also appeared, but nominated the same candidate for President as the Democratic Party. The National Party was a group of Prohibitionists who did not wish to ally themselves with the Prohibition Party.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1896, p.97

The split in the major parties came over the issue of free silver. Hence appears the National Democratic Party, approving the gold standard and opposing the regular Democrats, and the National Silver Party, largely composed of Republicans who approved free silver. They nominated the same candidates as the Democrats.

Democratic Platform of 1896

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.97

We, the Democrats of the United States in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty, upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic Party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.97

During all these years the Democratic Party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of governmental power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this Republic of republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the general government to the exercise of the powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.97

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the rights of civil and religious liberty. The Democratic Party has always been the exponent of political liberty and religious freedom, and it renews its obligations and reaffirms its devotion to these fundamental principles of the Constitution.

The Money Plank

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.97

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution named silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver-dollar unit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.98

We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burdens of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.98

We are unalterably opposed to monometallism which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the War of the Revolution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.98

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.98

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

Interest-Bearing Bonds

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.98

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

Against National Banks

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.98

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by National banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States and shall be redeemable in coin.

Tariff Resolution

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.98

We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country, and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government, honestly and economically administered. We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has twice been condemned by the people in National elections and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.98

Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court, there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by the Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly 100 years, that court having in that decision sustained Constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been over-ruled by the ablest Judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the Constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expense of the Government.

Immigration and Arbitration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactories; and as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

Trusts and Pools

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and such restriction and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

Declare for Economy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, while the labor that pays them is unemployed and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic Government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

Federal Interference in Local Affairs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal Judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges and executioners; and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt.

Pacific Railroad

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

No discrimination should be indulged in by the Government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Funding bill and denounce the effort of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

Pensions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily indorse the rule of the present Commissioner of Pensions, that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll; and the fact of enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

Admission of Territories

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma into the Union as States, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories, having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood, and, while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona-fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

We recommend that the Territory of Alaska be granted a delegate in Congress and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

Sympathy for Cuba

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.99

The Monroe doctrine, as originally declared, and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States, and must at all times be maintained.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.100

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

Civil-Service Laws

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.100

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service, except as provided in the Constitution. We favor appointments based on merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the civil-service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

Third-Term Resolution

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.100

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

Improvement of Waterways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.100

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the Government such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1896, p.100

Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declaration of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them and who desire to have them made effective through legislation, for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

National Platform of 1896

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

The National party, recognizing God as the Author of All just power in government, presents the following declaration of principles, which it pledges itself to enact into effective legislation when given the power to do so.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

1. The suppression of the manufacture and sale, importation, exportation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. We utterly reject all plans for regulating or compromising with this traffic, whether such plans be called local option, taxation, license, or public control. The sale of liquors for medicinal and other legitimate uses should be conducted by the State, without profit, and with such regulations as will prevent fraud or evasion.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

2. No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

3. All money should be issued by the General Government only, and without the intervention of any private citizen, corporation, or banking institution. It should be based upon the wealth, stability, and integrity of the nation. It should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and should be of full volume to meet the demands of the legitimate business interests of the country. For the purpose of honestly liquidating our outstanding coin obligations, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold, at the ratio 16 to 1, without consulting any other nation.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

4. Land is the common heritage of the people and should be preserved from monopoly and speculation. All unearned grants of land, subject to forfeiture should be reclaimed by the Government, and no portion of the public domain should hereafter be granted except to actual settlers, continuous use being essential to tenure.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

5. Railroads, telegraphs, and other natural monopolies should be owned and operated by the Government, giving to the people the benefit of the service at actual cost.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

6. The National Constitution should be so amended as to allow the National revenue to be raised by equitable adjustment of taxation on the properties and incomes of the people, and import duties should be levied as a means of securing equitable commercial relations with other nations.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

7. The contract convict labor system, through which speculators are enriched at the expense of the State, should be abolished.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

8. All citizens should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven, without oppressing any who conscientiously observe any other than the first day of the week.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.100

9. The American public schools, taught in the English language, should be maintained, and no public funds should be appropriated for sectarian institutions.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.101

10. The President, Vice-President, and United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.101

11. Ex-soldiers and sailors of the United States Army and Navy, their widows and minor children, should receive liberal pensions, granted on disability and term of service, not merely as a debt of gratitude, but for service rendered in the preservation of the Union.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.101

12. Our immigration laws should be so revised as to exclude paupers and criminals. None but citizens of the United States should be allowed to vote in any State, and naturalized citizens should not vote until one year after naturalization papers have been issued.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.101

13. The initiative and referendum, and proportional representation, should be adopted.

National Party Platforms, National Platform of 1896, p.101

14. Having herein presented our principles and purposes, we invite the co-operation and support of all citizens who are with us substantially agreed.

National Democratic Platform of 1896

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.101

This convention has assembled to uphold the principles upon which depend the honor and welfare of the American people in order that Democrats throughout the Union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster from their country and ruin from their party.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.101

The Democratic party is pledged to equal and exact justice to all men of every creed and condition; to the largest freedom of the individual consistent with good government; to the preservation of the Federal government in its constitutional vigor, and to the support of the States in all their just rights; to economy in the public expenditures; to the maintenance of the public faith and sound money; and it is opposed to paternalism and all class legislation.

Chicago Platform Condemned

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.101

The declarations of the Chicago convention attack individual freedom, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary and the authority of the President to enforce Federal laws. They advocate a reckless attempt to increase the price of silver by legislation to the debasement of our monetary standard, and threaten unlimited issues of paper money by the government. They abandon for Republican allies the Democratic cause of tariff reform to court the favor of protectionists to their fiscal heresy.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.101

In view of these and other grave departures from Democratic principles, we cannot support the candidates of that convention nor be bound by its acts. The Democratic party has survived defeats, but could not survive a victory won in behalf of the doctrine and policy proclaimed in its name at Chicago.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.101

The conditions, however, which made possible such utterances from a national convention are the direct result of class-legislation by the Republican party. It still proclaims, as it has for years, the power and duty of government to raise and maintain prices by law; and it proposes no remedy for existing evils except oppressive and unjust taxation.

Democratic Principles

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.101

The National Democracy here reconvened, therefore renews its declaration of faith in Democratic principles, especially as applicable to the conditions of the times.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.101

Taxation, tariff, excise or direct, is rightfully imposed only for public purposes, and not for private gain. Its amount is justly measured by public expenditures, which should be limited by scrupulous economy. The sum derived by the treasury from tariff and excise levies is affected by the state of trade and volume of consumption. The amount required by the treasury is determined by the appropriations made by Congress. The demand of the Republican party for an increase in tariff taxation has its pretext in the deficiency of the revenue, which has its causes in the stagnation of trade and reduced consumption, due entirely to the loss of confidence that has followed the Populist threat of free coinage and depreciation of our money and the Republican practice of extravagant appropriations beyond the needs of good government. We arraign and condemn the Populistic conventions of Chicago and St. Louis for their co-operation with the Republican party in creating these conditions, which are pleaded in justification of a heavy increase of the burdens of the people by a further resort to protection. We, therefore, denounce protection and its ally, free coinage of silver, as schemes for the personal profit of a few at the expense of the masses, and oppose the two parties which stand for these schemes as hostile to the people of the Republic, whose food and shelter, comfort and prosperity are attacked by higher taxes and depreciated money.

Tariff

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

In fine, we reaffirm the historic Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

We demand that henceforth modern and liberal policies toward American shipping shall take the place of our imitation of the restricted statutes of the eighteenth century, which were long ago abandoned by every maritime power but the United States, and which, to the nation's humiliation, has driven American capital and enterprise to the use of alien flags and alien crews, have made the stars and stripes an almost unknown emblem in foreign ports, and have virtually extinguished the race of American seamen. We oppose the pretense that discriminating duties will promote shipping; that scheme is an invitation to commercial warfare upon the United States, un-American in the light of our great commercial treaties, offering no gain whatever to American shipping, while greatly increasing ocean freights on our agricultural and manufactured products.

For a Gold Standard

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

The experience of mankind has shown that by reason of their natural qualities gold is the necessary money of the large affairs of commerce and business, while silver is conveniently adapted to minor transactions, and the most beneficial use of both together can be insured only by the adoption of the former as a standard of monetary measure, and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law. Thus the largest possible enjoyment of both metals is gained with a value universally accepted throughout the world, which constitutes the only practical bimetallic currency, assuring the most stable standard, and especially the best and safest money for all who earn their livelihood by labor or the produce of husbandry. They cannot suffer when paid in the best money known to man, but are the peculiar and most defenseless victims of a debased and fluctuating currency, which offers continual profits to the moneychanger at their cost.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

Realizing these truths, demonstrated by long public inconvenience and loss, the Democratic party, in the interests of the masses and of equal justice to all, practically established by the legislation of 1884 and 1853 the gold standard of monetary measurement, and likewise entirely divorced the government from banking and currency issues. To this long-established Democratic policy we adhere, and insist upon the maintenance of the gold standard and of the parity therewith of every dollar issued by the government, and are firmly opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and to the compulsory purchase of silver bullion. But we denounce also the further maintenance of the present costly patchwork system of national paper currency as a constant source of injury and peril.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

We assert the necessity of such intelligent currency reform as will confine the government to its legitimate functions, completely separated from the banking business, and afford to all sections of our country a uniform, safe and elastic bank currency under governmental supervision, measured in volume by the needs of business.

The Administration

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

The fidelity, patriotism and courage with which President Cleveland has fulfilled his great public trust, the high character of his administration, its wisdom and energy in the maintenance of civil order and the enforcement of the laws, its equal regard for the rights of every class and every section, its firm and dignified conduct of foreign affairs, and its sturdy persistence in upholding the credit and honor of the nation, are fully recognized by the Democratic party, and will secure to him a place in history beside the Fathers of the Republic.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

We also commend the administration for the great progress made in the reform of the public service, and we indorse its efforts to extend the merit system still further. We demand that no backward step be taken, but that the reform be supported and advanced until the un-Democratic spoils system of appointments shall be eradicated.

Other Affairs

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

We demand strict economy in the appropriations and in the administration of the government.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

We favor arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

We favor a liberal policy of pensions to deserving soldiers and sailors of the United States.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.102

The Supreme Court of the United States was wisely established by the framers of our Constitution as one of the three co-ordinate branches of the government. Its independence and authority to interpret the law of the land, without fear or favor, must be maintained. We condemn all efforts to degrade that tribunal, or impair the confidence and respect which it has deservedly held.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.103

The Democratic party ever has maintained, and ever will maintain, the supremacy of law, the independence of its judicial administration, the inviolability of contracts, and the obligations of all good citizens to resist every illegal trust, combination or attempt against the just rights of property and the good order of society, in which are bound up the peace and happiness of our people.

National Party Platforms, National Democratic Platform of 1896, p.103

Believing these principles to be essential to the well-being of the Republic, we submit them to the consideration of the American people.

National Silver Platform of 1896

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

We, the national silver party, in convention assembled, hereby adopt the following declaration of principles:

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

First. The paramount issue at this time in the United States is indisputably the money question. It is between the gold standard, gold bonds, and bank currency on the one side, and the bimetallic standard, no bonds, and government currency on the other.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

On this issue we declare ourselves to be in favor of a distinctively American financial system.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

We are unalterably opposed to single gold standard, and demand an immediate return to the constitutional standard of gold and silver, by restoration by this government, independently of any foreign power, of the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver into standard money at a ratio of 16 to 1, and upon terms of exact equality as they existed prior to 1873; the silver coin to be a full legal tender equally with gold, for all debts and dues, public and private.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

We favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender by private contract. We hold the power to control and regulate paper currency is inseparable from the power to coin money, and hence all currency intended to circulate as money should be issued and its volume controlled by the general government only and should be legal tender.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

We are unalterably opposed to the issue by the United States of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace, and we denounce as a blunder worse than a crime, the present treasury policy, concurred in by a republican house, of plunging the country in debt by hundreds of millions in a vain attempt to maintain the gold standard by borrowing gold.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

We demand the payment of all coin obligations of the United States as provided by existing laws, in either gold or silver coin, at the option of the government, and not at the option of the creditor.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

The demonetization of silver of 1873 enormously increased the demand for gold, enhancing its purchasing power and lowering all prices measured by that standard, and since that unjust indefensible act, the prices of American products have fallen, upon an average of nearly 50 per cent., carrying down with them, proportionately, the money value of all other forms of property.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

Such a fall of prices destroyed the profits of legitimate industry, injuring the producer for the benefit of the non-producer, increasing the burden of the debtor, swelling the gains of creditors, paralyzing the productive energies of the American people, relegating to idleness vast numbers of willing workers, sending shadows of despair into the home of the honest toiler, filling the land with tramps and paupers, and building up colossal fortunes at the money centers to maintain the gold standard. The country has within the last two years, in a time of profound peace and plenty been loaded down with $262,000,000 additional interest-bearing debt, under such circumstances as to allow a syndicate of native and foreign bankers to realize a net profit of millions on a single deal.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

It stands confessed that a gold standard can only be upheld by so depleting our paper currency as to force the prices of our products below the European and even below the Asiatic level, to enable us to sell in foreign markets, thus aggravating the very evils of which our people so bitterly complain, degrading American labor and striking at the foundations of our civilization itself.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.103

Advocates of gold standard persistently claim that the cause of our distress is overproduction—that we have produced so much that it made us poor—which implies that the true remedy is to close the factory, abandon the farm and throw a multitude of people out of employment, a doctrine that leaves us unnerved and disheartened, and absolutely without hope for the future. We affirm it to be unquestioned that there can be no such economic paradox as overproduction and at the same time tens of thousands of our fellow citizens remain half clothed and half fed, and who are piteously clamoring for the common necessities of life.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.104

Second. That over and above all other questions of policy, we are in favor of restoring to the people of the United States the time-honored money of the Constitution—gold and silver, not one, but both—the money of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, and Lincoln, to the end that the American people may receive honest pay for an honest product; that an American debtor may pay his just obligations in honest standard, and not in a standard that has appreciated one hundred per cent above all the great staples of the country, and to the end, further, that silver standard countries may be deprived of the unjust advantage they now enjoy in the difference in exchange between gold and silver—an advantage which tariff legislation alone cannot overcome.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.104

We, therefore, confidently appeal to the people of the United States to leave in abeyance for the moment all other questions, however important and even momentous though they may be, to sunder, if need be, all former party ties and affiliations, and unite in one supreme effort to free themselves and their children from the domination of the money power—a power more destructive than any which has ever been fastened upon the civilized men of any race or in any age, and upon the consummation of our desires and efforts we invoke the aid of all patriotic American citizens, and the gracious favor of Divine Providence.

National Party Platforms, National Silver Platform of 1896, p.104

Inasmuch as the patriotic majority of the Chicago convention embodied in the financial plank of its platform the principles enunciated in the platform of the American bimetallic party, promulgated at Washington, D. C., January 22, 1896, and herein reiterated, which is not only the paramount, but the only real issue in the pending campaign, therefore, recognizing that their nominees embody these patriotic principles, we recommend that this Convention nominate William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice-President.

People's Platform of 1896

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.104

The People's Party, assembled in National Convention, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic, and also to the fundamental principles of just government as enunciated in the platform of the party in 1892.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.104

We recognize that through the connivance of the present and preceding Administrations the country has reached a crisis in its National life, as predicted in our declaration four years ago, and that prompt and patriotic action is the supreme duty of the hour.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.104

We realize that, while we have political independence, our financial and industrial independence is yet to be attained by restoring to our country the Constitutional control and exercise of the functions necessary to a people's government, which functions have been basely surrendered by our public servants to corporate monopolies. The influence of European moneychangers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the American people. Executive power and patronage have been used to corrupt our legislatures and defeat the will of the people, and plutocracy has thereby been enthroned upon the ruins of democracy. To restore the Government intended by the fathers, and for the welfare and prosperity of this and future generations, we demand the establishment of an economic and financial system which shall make us masters of our own affairs and independent of European control, by the adoption of the following declaration of principles:

The Finances

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.104

1. We demand a National money, safe and sound, issued by the General Government only, without the intervention of banks of issue, to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution, direct to the people, and through the lawful disbursements of the Government.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.104

2. We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.104

3. We demand that the volume of circulating medium be speedily increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demand of the business and population, and to restore the just level of prices of labor and production.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

4. We denounce the sale of bonds and the increase of the public interest-bearing debt made by the present Administration as unnecessary and without authority of law, and demand that no more bonds be issued, except by specific act of Congress.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

5. We demand such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of the lawful money of the United States by private contract.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

6. We demand that the Government, in payment of its obligation, shall use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid, and we denounce the present and preceding Administrations for surrendering this option to the holders of Government obligations.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

7. We demand a graduated income tax, to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation, and we regard the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to the law as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

8. We demand that postal savings-banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Railroads and Telegraphs

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

1. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment, if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizens, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually, in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

2. The interest of the United States in the public highways built with public moneys, and the proceeds of grants of land to the Pacific railroads, should never be alienated, mortgaged, or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare, as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of existing liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the payment thereof by the debtor companies; and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the Government shall purchase the same, if it becomes necessary to protect its interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price; and the Government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole people, and not in the interest of the few, under suitable provisions for protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests equal privileges and equal rates for fares and freight.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

3. We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding these debts, and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their intent and spirit.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

4. The telegraph, like the Post Office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

The Public Lands

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

1. True policy demands that the National and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home, and therefore the land should not be monopolized for speculative purposes. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs should by lawful means be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only, and private land monopoly, as well as alien ownership, should be prohibited.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

2. We condemn the land grant frauds by which the Pacific railroad companies have, through the connivance of the Interior Department, robbed multitudes of bona-fide settlers of their homes and miners of their claims, and we demand legislation by Congress which will enforce the exemption of mineral land from such grants after as well as before the patent.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

3. We demand that bona-fide settlers on all public lands be granted free homes, as provided in the National Homestead Law, and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when opened for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand.

The Referendum

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.105

We favor a system of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, under proper Constitutional safeguards.

Direct Election of President and Senators By the People

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

We demand the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Sympathy for Cuba

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy for their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great Republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is, and of right ought to be, a free and independent state.

The Territories

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the Territories as States.

Public Salaries

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

All public salaries should be made to correspond to the price of labor and its products.

Employment to Be Furnished By Government

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

In times of great industrial depression, idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

Arbitrary Judicial Action

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

The arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison citizens for indirect contempt and ruling by injunction should be prevented by proper legislation.

Pensions

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

We favor just pensions for our disabled Union soldiers.

A Fair Ballot

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

Believing that the elective franchise and an untrammeled ballot are essential to a government of, for, and by the people, the People's party condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted in some States as unrepublican and undemocratic, and we declare it to be the duty of the several State legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free and fair ballot and an honest count.

The Financial Question "the Pressing Issue"

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1896, p.106

While the foregoing propositions constitute the platform upon which our party stands, and for the vindication of which its organization will be maintained, we recognize that the great and pressing issue of the pending campaign, upon which the present election will turn, is the financial question, and upon this great and specific issue between the parties we cordially invite the aid and co-operation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

Prohibition Platform of 1896

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1896, p.106

We the members of the Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, renewing our acknowledgment of allegiance to Almighty God as the Rightful Ruler of the Universe, lay down the following as our declaration of political purpose:

Platform

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1896, p.106

The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, declares its firm conviction that the manufacture, exportation, importation and sale of alcoholic beverages has produced such social, commercial, industrial, and political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions that the suppression of the same by a National party organized therefor, is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country, and is of such importance that it, of right, ought to control the political actions of all our patriotic citizens until such suppression is accomplished.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1896, p.106

The urgency of this cause demands the union without further delay of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic; therefore,

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1896, p.106

Resolved, That we favor the legal prohibition by State and National legislation of the manufacture, importation, exportation, and interstate transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages; that we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of prohibition into one party, and in order to accomplish this end we deem it but right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the change occasioned by prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand.

Republican Platform of 1896

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.107

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in National Convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.107

For the first time since the civil war the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequence of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by $262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the government shall be wrested from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable of conducting it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequaled success and prosperity. And in this connection, we heartily endorse the wisdom, patriotism and success of the administration of Benjamin Harrison. We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection, as the bulwark of American industrial independence, and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry. It puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer. It upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.107

We denounce the present tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with the American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation and the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of time and of production. The ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industries. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.107

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican Administration was a National calamity, and demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.107

Protection and Reciprocity are twin measures of American policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessaries of life which we do not produce; reciprocal agreement of mutual interests, which gain open markets for us in return for our open markets for others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus. We condemn the present administration for not keeping pace [faith] with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than one hundred million dollars annually. To all our products; to those of the mine and the fields, as well as to those of the shop and the factory, to hemp and wool, the product of the great industry sheep husbandry; as well as to the foundry, as to the mills, we promise the most ample protection. We favor the early American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine. To the protection of our shipping in the foreign-carrying trade, so that American ships, the product of American labor, employed in American ship-yards, sailing under the stars and stripes, and manned, officered and owned by Americans, may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of a law providing for the redemption [resumption] of specie payments in 1879. Since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth, which agreement we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be maintained. All of our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designated to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States, of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of most enlightened nations of the earth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

The veterans of the Union Armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in, the matter of employment. And they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

We denounce the practice in the pension bureau so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present Administration of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous and dignified, and all our interests in the western hemisphere should be carefully watched and guarded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them. The Nicaragua Canal should be built, owned and operated by the United States. And, by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a much needed Naval station in the West Indies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to gravest [grievous] dangers and American property destroyed. There, and everywhere, American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the rights of the United States to give the Doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American State for friendly intervention in ease of European encroachment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

We have not interfered and shall not interfere, with the existing possession of any European power in this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all the English speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants; from the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battles of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty. The government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its Treaty obligations, we believe that the government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the Island.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.108

The peace and security of the Republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibilities. We, therefore, favor the continued enlargement of the navy, and a complete system of harbor and sea-coast defenses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

For the protection of the equality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen, against the fatal competition of low priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

The civil service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and heartily, and honestly enforced, and extended wherever practicable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and preposterous [barbarous] practice well known as Iynching, and the killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime without process of law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

We favor the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employed engaged in inter-State commerce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

We believe in an immediate return to the free homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free homestead measure which has already passed the House, and is now pending in the senate.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. And the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from the bona-fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded them as far as practicable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

We believe that the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

We sympathize fully with all legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality. The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women, and believes that they should be accorded equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populist mismanagement and misrule.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1896, p.109

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will apply it to those policies and put them into execution. We rely on the faithful and considerate judgment of the American people, confident alike of the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, and we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that their selection will bring victory to the Republican party, and prosperity to the people of the United States.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1896

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.109

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.109

With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions, we hold furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.109

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.109

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economies is the direct opposite of our democratic system of polities, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.109

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose, to the enslavement of women and children

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

The time is fast coming, when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers, so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all modern factors of civilization.

Resolutions

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water-works, gas-works, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employees shall be discharged for political reasons.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

4. The public land to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals. clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, State and Nation).

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of women's wages to those of men where equal service is performed.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.110

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employer's liability law.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.111

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.111

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (National, State, or Municipal), wherever it exists.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.111

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.111

18. Municipal self-government.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.111

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed, or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representative [sic] to be introduced.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.111

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1896, p.111

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1900

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1900, p.112

In 1900 there were the two major parties and the well-established minor parties, namely,—the Prohibitionists and the Socialist Labor Party. The Prohibitionists called themselves the National Prohibition Party, but the word "National" does not appear to be a true part of the name. In addition, a new socialistic group appeared, calling itself the Social Democratic Party. It was a forerunner of the regular Socialist Party. A Silver Republican Party appeared, composed of Republicans who approved free silver. The People's Party was split. One faction, known as the "Fusionists," joined the Democratic Party. The other faction refused to do so, and was known as the "Middle-of-the-Road" Faction.

Democratic Platform of 1900

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.112

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States assembled in National Convention, on the Anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man, and our allegiance to the Constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the Republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our government, of which the Constitution is the form and letter.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.112

We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny; and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.112

We hold that the Constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress deriving their existence and their powers from the Constitution can exercise lawful authority beyond it or in violation of it. We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.112

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rican law, enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the Commanding General of our Army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It dooms to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity. In this, the first act of its imperialistic programme, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy, inconsistent with republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.113

We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exercise sovereignty jurisdiction, or control over the Island of Cuba, except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpet-bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory, to the disgrace of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.113

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has involved the Republic in an unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government; and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization nor to convert the Republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.113

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay; but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of "criminal aggression" against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.113

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to seizing or purchasing distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.113

We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but we believe that that influence should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.113

The importance of other questions, now pending before the American people is no wise diminished and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.113

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia Convention, held in June, 1900, that the Republican party "steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine" is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the Eastern Hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine in all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this Continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.113

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation, and will be a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined state militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This republic has no place for a vast military establishment, a sure forerunner of compulsory military service and conscription. When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history, and coeval with the Philippine conquest, has there been a wholesale departure from our time honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, un-Democratic, and un-Republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.114

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor, and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof; and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity of betterment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.114

They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked, all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the Republic destroyed. The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in State and national platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies, that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican administration, in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.114

We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in inter-State commerce requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside the State of their origin, that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted, and are not attempting, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise; and the whole constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce, the mails and all modes of inter-State communication, shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list, to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection. The failure of the present Republican administration, with an absolute control over all the branches of the national government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute-books proves that insincerity of the high-sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.114

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them, should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.114

We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve, and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.114

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the inter-State commerce law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discrimination, and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.114

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic Platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, and which shall restore and maintain a bi-metallic price-level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.114

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the National Government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and, if the bank currency is to increase with population and business, the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is, therefore, a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal tender qualities, and demand the retirement of national bank notes as fast as government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist, and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

In the interest of American labor and the uplifting of the workingman, as the cornerstone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform of 1896, that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We favor the immediate construction, ownership and control of the Nicaraguan Canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the Republican National Platform for an Isthmian Canal in face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests not to be tolerated by the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges to grant statehood to the territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those territories immediate statehood and home rule during their condition as territories, and we favor home rule and a territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for the purpose of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law, and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations- entangling alliance with none." We approve this wholesome doctrine, and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

Believing in the principles of self-government and rejecting, as did our forefathers, the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African Republics. Speaking, as we believe, for the entire American nation, except its Republican office-holders and for all freemen everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies. We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the shipping subsidy bill, which, under the false pretense of prospering American shipbuilding, would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund. We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes, and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1900, p.115

our constitutional republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy these blessed privileges of free government, which have made the United States great, prosperous and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles, the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

The People's party of the United States, in convention assembled, congratulating its supporters on the wide extension of its principles in all directions, does hereby reaffirm its adherence to the fundamental principles proclaimed in its two prior platforms and calls upon all who desire to avert the subversion of free institutions by corporate and imperialistic power to unite with it in bringing the Government back to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

It extends to its allies in the struggle for financial and economic freedom, assurances of its loyalty to the principles which animate the allied forces and the promise of honest and hearty cooperation in every effort for their success.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

To the people of the United States we offer the following platform as the expression of our unalterable convictions:

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

That we denounce the act of March 14, 1900, as the culmination of a long series of conspiracies to deprive the people of their constitutional rights over the money of the nation and relegate to a gigantic money trust the control of the purse and hence of the people.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

We denounce this act, first, for making all money obligations, domestic and foreign, payable in gold coin or its equivalent, thus enormously increasing the burdens of the debtors and enriching the creditors.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

For refunding "coin bonds" not to mature for years into long-time gold bonds, so as to make their payment improbable and our debt perpetual.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

For taking from the Treasury over $50,000,000 in a time of war and presenting it, at a premium, to bond-holders, to accomplish the refunding of bonds not due.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

For doubling the capital of bankers by returning to them the face value of their bonds in current money notes so that they may draw one interest from the Government and another from the people.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

For allowing banks to expand and contract their circulation at pleasure, thus controlling prices of all products.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

For authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue new gold bonds to an unlimited amount whenever he deems it necessary to replenish the gold hoard, thus enabling usurers to secure more bonds and more bank currency by drawing gold from the Treasury, thereby creating an "endless chain" for perpetually adding to a perpetual debt.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

For striking down the greenback in order to force the people to borrow $346,000,000 more from the banks at an annual cost of over $20,000,000.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

While barring out the money of the Constitution this law opens the printing mints of the Treasury to the free coinage of bank paper money, to enrich the few and impoverish the many.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

We pledge anew the People's party never to cease the agitation until this great financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute-books, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid, and all corporation money forever retired.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

We affirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privilege granted by law of March 14, 1900, and prior National banking laws, the remaining portion of the bank notes to be replaced with full legal-tender Government paper money, and its volume so controlled as to maintain at all times a stable money market and a stable price-level.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

We demand a graduated income and inheritance tax, to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.116

With Thomas Jefferson we declare the land, including all natural sources of wealth, the inalienable heritage of the people. Government should so act as to secure homes for the people and prevent land monopoly. The original home stead policy should be enforced, and future settlers upon the public domain should be entitled to a free homestead, while all who have paid an acreage price to the Government under existing laws should have their homestead rights restored.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the extortion, tyranny, and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment, if not the destruction, of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

Trusts, the overshadowing evil of the age, are the result and culmination of the private ownership and control of the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation, and the means of transmission of information—which instruments of commerce are public functions, and which our forefathers declared in the Constitution should be controlled by the people through their Congress for the public welfare. The one remedy for the trusts is that the ownership and control be assumed and exercised by the people.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

We further demand that all tariffs on goods controlled by a trust shall be abolished.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

To cope with the trust evil, the people must act directly, without the intervention of representatives, who may be controlled or influenced. We therefore demand direct legislation, giving the people the law-making and veto power under the initiative and referendum. A majority of the people can never be corruptly influenced.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

Applauding the valor of our army and navy in the Spanish war, we denounce the conduct of the Administration in changing a war for humanity into a war of conquest. The action of the Administration in the Philippines is in conflict with all the precedents of our National life; at war with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the plain precepts of humanity. Murder and arson have been our response to the appeals of the people who asked only to establish a free government in their own land. We demand a stoppage of this war of extermination by the assurance to the Philippines of independence and protection under a stable government of their own creation.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the American flag are one and inseparable. The island of Porto Rico is a part of the territory of the United States, and by levying special and extraordinary customs duties on the commerce of that island the Administration has violated the Constitution, abandoned the fundamental principles of American liberty, and has striven to give the lie to the contention of our fore-fathers that there should be no taxation without representation.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

Out of the Imperialism which would force an undesired domination on the people of the Philippines springs the un-American cry for a large standing army. Nothing in the character or purposes of our people justifies us in ignoring the plain lesson of history and putting our liberties in jeopardy by assuming the burden of militarism, which is crushing the people of the Old World. We denounce the Administration for its sinister efforts to substitute a standing army for the citizen soldiery, which is the best safeguard of the Republic.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

We extend to the brave Boers of South Africa our sympathy and moral support in their patriotic struggle for the right of self-government, and we are unalterably opposed to any alliance, open or covert, between the United States and any other nation that will tend to the destruction of human liberty.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

And a further manifestation of imperialism is to be found in the mining districts of Idaho. In the Coeur d'Alene soldiers have been used to overawe miners striving for a greater measure of industrial independence. And we denounce the State Government of Idaho and the Federal Government for employing the military arm of the Government to abridge the civil rights of the people, and to enforce an infamous permit system which denies to laborers their inherent liberty and compels them to forswear their manhood and their right before being permitted to seek employment.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.117

The importation of Japanese and other laborers under co tract to serve monopolistic corporations is a notorious and flagrant violation of the immigration laws. We demand that the Federal Government shall take cognizance of this menacing evil and repress it under existing laws. We further pledge ourselves to strive for the enactment of more stringent laws for the exclusion of Mongolian and Malayan immigration.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.118

We indorse municipal ownership of public utilities, and declare that the advantages which have accrued to the public under that system would be multiplied a hundredfold by its extension to natural inter-State monopolies.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.118

We denounce the practice of issuing injunctions in the cases of dispute between employers and employees, making criminal acts by organizations which are not criminal when performed by individuals, and demand legislation to restrain the evil.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.118

We demand that United States Senators and all other officials as far as practicable be elected by direct vote of the people, believing that the elective franchise and untrammeled ballot are essential to a government for and by the people.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.118

The People's party condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement by coercion and intimidation, adopted in some States, as un-republican and un-democratic. And we declare it to be the duty of the several State Legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free, and fair ballot, and an honest count.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.118

We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the Territories as States.

National Party Platforms, People's ( Fusion Faction ) Platform of 1900, p.118

We denounce the expensive red-tape system, political favoritism, cruel and unnecessary delay and criminal evasion of the statutes in the management of the Pension Office, and demand the simple and honest execution of the law, and the fulfillment by the nation of its pledges of service pension to all its honorably discharged veterans.

People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900

National Party Platforms, People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900, p.118

The People's party of the United States, assembled in National Convention this 10th day of May, 1900, affirming our unshaken belief in the cardinal tenets of the People's party as set forth in the Omaha platform, and pledging ourselves anew to continue advocacy of those grand principles of human liberty, until right shall triumph over might and love over greed, do adopt and proclaim this declaration of faith:

National Party Platforms, People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900, p.118

We demand the initiative and referendum, and the imperative mandate for such changes of existing fundamental and statute law as will enable the people in their sovereign capacity to propose and compel the enactment of such laws as they desire, to reject such as they deem injurious to their interests, and to recall unfaithful public servants.

National Party Platforms, People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900, p.118

We demand the public ownership and operation of those means of communication, transportation, and production which the people may elect, such as railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, coal mines, etc.

National Party Platforms, People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900, p.118

The land, including all natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

National Party Platforms, People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900, p.118

A scientific and absolute paper money, based upon the entire wealth and population of the nation, not redeemable in any specific commodity, but made a full legal tender for all debts, and receivable for all taxes and public dues, and issued by the Government only without the intervention of banks, and in sufficient quantity to meet the demands of commerce, is the best currency that can be devised, but until such a financial system is secured, which we shall press for adoption, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16 to 1.

National Party Platforms, People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900, p.118

We demand the levy and collection of a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances, and a constitutional amendment to secure the same, if necessary.

National Party Platforms, People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900, p.118

We demand the election of President, Vice President, Federal Judges, and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, People's (Middle-of-the-Road Faction) Platform of 1900, p.118

We are opposed to trusts, and declare the contention between the old parties on the monopoly question is a sham battle, and that no solution of this mighty problem is possible without the adoption of the principles of public ownership of public utilities.

Prohibition Platform of 1900

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.118

The National Prohibition party, in convention represented, at Chicago, June 21 and 28, 1900, acknowledge Almighty God as the Supreme Source of all just government. Realizing that this Republic was founded upon Christian principles and can endure only as it embodies justice and righteousness, and asserting that all authority should seek the best good of all the governed, to this end wisely prohibiting what is wrong and permitting only what is right, hereby records and proclaims:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.119

First—We accept and assert the definition given by Edmund Burke, that "a party is a body of men joined together for the purpose of promoting, by their joint endeavor, the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are all agreed ."

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.119

We declare that there is no principle now advocated, by any other party, which could be a fact in government with such beneficent moral and material results as the principle of prohibition, applied to the beverage liquor traffic; that the national interest could be promoted in no other way so surely and widely as by its adoption and assertion through a National policy, and the cooperation therein by every State, forbidding the manufacture, sale, exportation, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; that we stand for this as the only principle, proposed by any party anywhere, for the settlement of a question greater and graver than any other before the American people, and involving more profoundly than any other their moral future, and financial welfare; and that all the patriotic citizenship of this country, agreed upon this principle, however much disagreement there may be as to minor considerations and issues, should stand together at the ballot-box, from this time forward, until prohibition is the established policy of the United States, with a party in power to enforce it and to insure its moral and material benefits.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.119

We insist that such a party, agreed upon this principle and policy, having sober leadership, without any obligation for success to the saloon vote and to those demoralizing political combinations of men and money now allied therewith and suppliant thereto, can successfully cope with all other and lesser problems of government, in legislative halls and in the executive chair, and that it is useless for any party to make declarations in its platforms as to any questions concerning which there may be serious differences of opinion in its own membership, and as to which, because of such differences, the party could legislate only on a basis of mutual concessions when coming into power.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.119

We submit that the Democratic and Republican parties are alike insincere in their assumed hostility to trusts and monopolies. They dare not and do not attack the most dangerous of them all, the liquor power. So long as the saloon debauches the citizens and breeds the purchasable voter, money will continue to buy its way to power. Break down this traffic, elevate manhood, and a sober citizenship will find a way to control dangerous combinations of capital.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.119

We propose as a first step in the financial problems of the nation to save more than a billion of dollars every year, now annually expended to support the liquor traffic and to demoralize our people. When that is accomplished, conditions will have so improved that, with a clearer atmosphere, the country can address itself to the questions as to the kind and quantity of currency needed.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.119

Second—We reaffirm as true indisputably the declaration of William Windom when Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Arthur, that "Considered socially, financially, politically, or morally, the licensed liquor traffic is or ought to be the overwhelming issue in American politics," and that "the destruction of this iniquity stands next on the calendar of the world's progress." We hold that the existence of our party presents this issue squarely to the American people, and lays upon them the responsibility of choice between liquor parties, dominated by distillers and brewers, with their policy of saloon-perpetuation, breeding waste, wickedness, woe, pauperism, taxation, corruption and crime, and our one party of patriotic and moral principle, with a policy which defends it from domination by corrupt bosses and which insures it forever against the blighting control of saloon politics.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.119

We face with sorrow, shame, and fear the awful fact that this liquor traffic has a grip on our Government, municipal, State, and National, through the revenue system and saloon sovereignty, which no other party dares to dispute; a grip which dominates the party now in power, from caucus to Congress, from policeman to President, from the rumshop to the White House; a grip which compels the executive to consent that law shall be nullified in behalf of the brewer, that the canteen shall curse our army and spread intemperance across the seas, and that our flag shall wave as the symbol of partnership, at home and abroad, between this Government and the men who defy and defile it for their unholy gain.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.120

Third—We charge upon President McKinley, who was elected to his high office by appeal to Christian sentiment and patriotism almost unprecedented and by a combination of moral influences never before seen in this country, that, by his conspicuous example as a wine-drinker at public banquets and a wine-serving host in the White House, he has done more to encourage the liquor business, to demoralize the temperance habits of young men, and to bring Christian practices and requirements into disrepute, than any other President this republic has had. We further charge upon President McKinley responsibility for the army canteen, with all its dire brood of disease, immorality, sin, and death, in this country, in Cuba, in Porto Rico, and the Philippines; and we insist that by his attitude concerning the canteen, and his apparent contempt for the vast number of petitions and petitioners protesting against it, he has outraged and insulted the moral sentiment of this country in such a manner and to such a degree as calls for its righteous uprising and his indignant and effective rebuke.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.120

We challenge denial of the fact that our Chief Executive, as commander in chief of the military forces of the United States, at any time prior to or since March 2, 1899, could have closed every army saloon, called a canteen, by executive order, as President Hayes in effect did before him, and should have closed them, for the same reasons which actuated President Hayes; we assert that the act of Congress passed March 2, 1899, forbidding the sale of liquor "in any post-exchange or canteen," by any "officer or private soldier" or by "any other person on any premises used for military purposes in the United States," was and is as explicit an act of prohibition as the English language can frame.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.120

We declare our solemn belief that the Attorney-General of the United States in his interpretation of that law, and the Secretary of War in his acceptance of that interpretation and his refusal to enforce the law, were and are guilty of treasonable nullification thereof, and that President McKinley, through his assent to and indorsement of such interpretation and refusal, on the part of officials appointed by and responsible to him, shares responsibility in their guilt; and we record our conviction that a new and serious peril confronts our country, in the fact that its President, at the behest of the beer power, dares and does abrogate a law of Congress, through subordinates removable at will by him and whose acts become his, and thus virtually confesses that laws are to be administered or to be nullified in the interest of a law-defying business, by an Administration under mortgage to such business for support.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.120

Fourth--We deplore the fact that an Administration of this Republic claiming the right and power to carry our flag across seas, and to conquer and annex new territory, should admit its lack of power to prohibit the American saloon on subjugated soil, or should openly confess itself subject to liquor sovereignty under that flag. We are humiliated, exasperated and grieved, by the evidence painfully abundant, that this Administration's policy of expansion is bearing so rapidly its first fruits of drunkenness, insanity, and crime under the hot-house sun of the tropics; and when the president of the first Philippine commission said: "It was unfortunate that we introduced and established the saloon there, to corrupt the natives and to exhibit the vices of our race," we charge the inhumanity and unchristianity of this act upon the Administration of William McKinley and upon the party which elected and would perpetuate the same.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.120

Fifth—We declare that the only policy which the government of the United States can of right uphold as to the liquor traffic, under the national Constitution, upon any territory under the military or civic control of that Government, is the policy of prohibition; that "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," as the Constitution provides, the liquor traffic must neither be sanctioned nor tolerated, and that the revenue policy, which makes our Government a partner with distillers and brewers and barkeepers, is a disgrace to our civilization, an outrage upon humanity, and a crime against God.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.120

We condemn the present Administration at Washington because it has repealed the prohibitory laws in Alaska, and has given over the partly civilized tribes there to be the prey of the American grog-shop; and because it has entered upon a license policy in our new possessions by incorporating the same in the recent act of Congress in the code of laws for the government of the Hawaiian Islands.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.121

We call general attention to the fearful fact that exportation of liquors from the United States to the Philippine Islands increased from $337 in 1898 to $467,198 in the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900; and that while our exportation of liquors to Cuba never reached $30,000 a year previous to American occupation of that island, our exports of such liquors to Cuba during the fiscal year of 1899 reached the sum of $629,855.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.121

Sixth—One great religious body (the Baptist) having truly declared of the liquor traffic "that it has no defensible right to exist, that it can never be reformed, and that it stands condemned by its unrighteous fruits as a thing un-Christian, un-American, and perilous utterly to every interest in life"; another great religious body (the Methodist) having as truly asserted, and reiterated that "no political party has a right to expect, nor should receive, the votes of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license system, or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon"; other great religious bodies having made similar deliverances, in language plain and unequivocal, as to the liquor traffic and the duty of Christian citizenship in opposition thereto; and the fact being plain and undeniable that the Democratic party stands for license, the saloon, and the canteen, while the Republican party, in policy and administration, stands for the canteen, the saloon and revenue therefrom, we declare ourselves justified in expecting that Christian voters everywhere shall cease their complicity with the liquor curse by refusing to uphold a liquor party, and shall unite themselves with the only party which upholds the prohibition policy, and which for nearly thirty years has been the faithful defender of the church, the State, the home, and the school, against the saloon, its expanders and perpetrators, their actual and persistent foes. We insist that no differences of belief as to any other question or concern of government should stand in the way of such a union of moral and Christian citizenship as we hereby invite, for the speedy settlement of this paramount moral, industrial, financial and political issue, which our party presents; and we refrain from declaring ourselves upon all minor matters, as to which differences of opinion may exist, that hereby we may offer to the American people a platform so broad that all can stand upon it who desire to see sober citizenship actually sovereign over the allied hosts of evil, sin, and crime, in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1900, p.121

We declare that there are but two real parties to-day concerning the liquor traffic—Perpetuationists and Prohibitionists—and that patriotism, Christianity, and every interest of genuine republicanism and of pure democracy, besides the loyal demands of our common humanity, require the speedy union, in one solid phalanx at the ballot-box, of all who oppose the liquor traffic's perpetuation, and who covet endurance for this Republic

Republican Platform of 1900

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.121

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in National Convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.121

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, intrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed and the National credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. This commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any Government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any other nation. Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican Government means to the country than this—That while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years from 1790 to 1897 there was an excess of exports over imports of only $383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of $1,483,537,094.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.122

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of National aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.122

We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.122

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles, and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the Government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.122

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.122

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production. or to control prices; and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

We renew our faith in the policy of Protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The National defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade-carrying fleets of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

The Nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberally administered, and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service, to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

We commend the policy of the Republican party in maintaining the efficiency of the civil service. The Administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands, only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary, and should be condemned.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the several states.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

We favor the extension of the Rural Free Delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and territories.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

We favor home rule for, and the early admission to statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

The Dingley Act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of $40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly-funded two per cent bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.123

We favor the construction, ownership, control and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the Administration is warmly to be commended for its successful efforts to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries, in the charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet. The United States Consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new Department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the Nation's increasing trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the East and West Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

We commend the part taken by our Government in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of The Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American Government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by The Hague treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility; and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the latter this pledge shall be performed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

The Republican party, upon its history, and upon this declaration of its principles and policies confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

Silver Republican Platform of 1900

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

We, the Silver Republican party, in National Convention assembled, declare these as our principles and invite the co-operation of all who agree therewith:

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

We recognize that the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence are fundamental and everlastingly true in their application to governments among men. We believe the patriotic words of Washington's farewell to be the words of soberness and wisdom, inspired by the spirit of right and truth. We treasure the words of Jefferson as priceless gems of American statesmanship.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.124

We hold in sacred remembrance the broad philanthropy and patriotism of Lincoln, who was the great interpreter of American history and the great apostle of human rights and of industrial freedom; and we declare, as was declared by the convention that nominated the great emancipator, that the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

We declare our adherence to the principle of bimetallism as the right basis of a monetary system under our National Constitution, a principle that found place repeatedly in Republican platforms, from the demonetization of silver in 1873 to the St. Louis Republican Convention in 1896.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

Since that convention a Republican Congress and a Republican President, at the dictation of the trusts and money power, have passed and approved a currency bill which in itself is a repudiation of the doctrine of bimetallism advocated theretofore by the President and every great leader of his party.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

This currency law destroys the full money power of the silver dollar, provides for the payment of all government obligations and the redemption of all forms of paper money in gold alone; retires the time-honored and patriotic greenbacks, constituting one-sixth of the money in circulation, and surrenders to banking corporations a sovereign function of issuing all paper money, thus enabling these corporations to control the prices of labor and property by increasing or diminishing the volume of money in circulation, thus giving the banks power to create panics and bring disaster upon business enterprises.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

The provisions of this currency law making the bonded debt of the Republic payable in gold alone, change the contract between the Government and the bond-holders to the advantage of the latter, and is in direct opposition to the declaration of the Matthews resolution passed by Congress in 1878, for which resolution the present Republican President, then a member of Congress, voted, as did also all leading Republicans, both in the House and Senate.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the Constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the Constitution itself, and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the Government and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

We are in favor of a graduated tax upon incomes, and if necessary to accomplish this we favor an amendment to the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

We believe that United States Senators ought to be elected by a direct vote of the people, and we favor such amendment of the Constitution and such legislation as may be necessary to that end.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

We favor the maintenance and the extension wherever practicable of the merit system in the public service, appointments to be made according to fitness, competitively ascertained, and public servants to be retained in office only so long as shall be compatible with the efficiency of the service.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

Combinations, trusts, and monopolies contrived and arranged for the purpose of controlling the prices and quantity of articles supplied to the public are unjust, unlawful, and oppressive.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

Not only do these unlawful conspiracies fix the prices of commodities in many cases, but they invade every branch of the State and National Government with their polluting influence and control the actions of their employees and dependents in private life until their influence actually imperils society and the liberty of the citizen.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

We declare against them. We demand the most stringent laws for their destruction and the most severe punishment of their promoters and maintainers and the energetic enforcement of such laws by the courts.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.125

We believe the Monroe doctrine to be sound in principle and a wise National policy, and we demand a firm adherence thereto. We condemn acts inconsistent with it and that tend to make us parties to the interest and to involve us in the controversies of European nations and to recognition by pending treaty, of the right of England to be considered in the construction of an inter-oceanic canal. We declare that such a canal when constructed ought to be controlled by the United States in the interests of American nations.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We observe with anxiety and regard with disapproval the increasing ownership of American lands by aliens, and their growing control over international transportation, natural resources, and public utilities. We demand legislation to protect our public domain, our natural resources, our franchises, and our internal commerce and to keep them free and maintain their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions, and influences, and we declare our opposition to the leasing of the public lands of the United States whereby corporations and syndicates will be able to secure control thereof and thus monopolize the public domain, the heritage of the people.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We are in favor of the principles of direct legislation. In view of the great sacrifice made and patriotic services rendered, we are in favor of liberal pensions to deserving soldiers, their widows, orphans, and other dependents. We believe that enlistment and service should be accepted as conclusive proof that the soldier was free from disease and disability at the time of his enlistment. We condemn the present administration of the pension laws.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We tender to the patriotic people of the South African Republic our sympathy and express our admiration for them in their heroic attempts to preserve their political freedom and maintain their national independence. We declare the destruction of those republics and the subjugation of their people to be a crime against civilization.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We believe this sympathy should have been voiced by the American Congress, as was done in the case of the French, the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Polanders, the Armenians, and the Cubans, and as the traditions of this country would have dictated. We declare the Porto Rican Tariff law to be not only a serious but a dangerous departure from the principles of our form of government. We believe in a republican form of government and are opposed to monarchy and to the whole theory of imperialistic control.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We believe in self-government—a government by the consent of the governed—and are unalterably opposed to a government based upon force. It is clear and certain that the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago cannot be made citizens of the United States without endangering our civilization. We are, therefore, in favor of applying to the Philippine archipelago the principle we are solemnly and publicly pledged to observe in the ease of Cuba.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

There no longer being any necessity for collecting war taxes, we demand the repeal of the war taxes levied to carry on the war with Spain.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We favor the immediate admission into the Union of States the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We demand that our nation's promises to Cuba shall be fulfilled in every particular.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We believe the National Government should lend every aid, encouragement, and assistance toward the reclamation of the arid lands of the United States, and to that end we are in favor of a comprehensive survey thereof and an immediate ascertainment of the water supply available for such reclamation, and we believe it to be the duty of the General Government to provide for the construction of storage reservoirs and irrigation works so that the water supply of the arid region may be utilized to the greatest possible extent in the interests of the people, while preserving all rights of the State.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

Transportation is a public necessity and the means and methods of it are matters of public concern. Railway companies exercise a power over industries, business, and commerce which they ought not to do, and should be made to serve the public interests without making unreasonable charges of unjust discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We observe with satisfaction the growing sentiment among the people in favor of the public ownership and operation of public utilities.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We are in favor of expanding our commerce in the interests of American labor and for the benefit of all our people, by every honest and peaceful means. Our creed and our history justify the nations of the earth in expecting that wherever the American flag is unfurled in authority human liberty and political freedom will be found. We protest against the adoption of any policy that will change in the thought of the world, the meaning of our flag.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.126

We are opposed to the importation of Asiatic laborers in competition with American labor, and favor a more rigid enforcement of the laws relating thereto.

National Party Platforms, Silver Republican Platform of 1900, p.127

The Silver Republican party of the United States, in the foregoing principles, seeks to perpetuate the spirit and to adhere to the teachings of Abraham Lincoln.

Social Democratic Platform of 1900

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.127

The Social Democratic Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of International Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America to-day to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the powers of government. The party affirms its steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.127

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery, and means of transportation and communication), and the large and ever-increasing class of wage workers, possessing no means of production.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.127

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools, and the public press; it has thus made the capitalist class the arbiters of the fate of the workers, whom it is reducing to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and their political equality rendered a bitter mockery.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.127

The contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies goes the annihilation of small industries and of the middle class depending upon them; ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.127

The evil effects of capitalist production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises which render the existence of the greater part of the population still more precarious and uncertain.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

These facts amply prove that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women, and children.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are interested in upholding the system of private ownership in the means of production. The Democratic, Republican, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class only by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race, sex, or creed, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Social Democratic Party as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth established. Pending the accomplishment of this our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Social Democratic Party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor and for the securing of its progressive demands.

Immediate Demands

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

First--Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of Government by the people irrespective of sex.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Second--The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Third--The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs, and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Fourth--The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Fifth--The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to increasing facilities of production.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Sixth--The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventors to be remunerated by the public.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Eighth--Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Ninth--National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment, and want in old age.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Tenth--Equal civic and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

National Party Platforms, Social Democratic Platform of 1900, p.128

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1900

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States in Convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

With the founders of the American Republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

With the founders of this Republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1900, p.128

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1904

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1904, p.130

In 1904 there were the two major parties, the factions having been absorbed. The Social Democratic Party of 1900 now appears as the Socialist Party, along with the other well-established minor parties,—the Prohibitionists and the Social Labor Party. The People's Party of this year was the Middle-of-the-Road Faction of 1900.

Democratic Platform of 1904

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.130

The Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, declares its devotion to the essential principles of the Democratic faith which bring us together in party communion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.130

Under these principles local self-government and National unity and prosperity were alike established. They underlaid our independence, the structure of our free Republic, and every Democratic expansion from Louisiana to California, and Texas to Oregon, which preserved faithfully in all the States the tie between taxation and representation. They yet inspirit the masses of our people, guarding jealously their rights and liberties, and cherishing their fraternity, peace and orderly development. They remind us of our duties and responsibilities as citizens and impress upon us, particularly at this time, the necessity of reform and the rescue of the administration of Government from the headstrong, arbitrary and spasmodic methods which distract business by uncertainty, and pervade the public mind with dread, distrust and perturbation.

Fundamental Principles

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.130

The application of these fundamental principles to the living issues of the day constitutes the first step toward the assured peace, safety and progress of our nation. Freedom of the press, of conscience, and of speech; equality before the law of all citizens; right of trial by jury; freedom of the person defended by the Writ of Habeas Corpus; liberty of personal contract untrammeled by sumptuary laws; supremacy of the civil over military authority; a well-disciplined militia; separation of Church and State; economy in expenditures; low taxes, that labor may be lightly burdened; prompt and sacred fulfillment of public and private obligations; fidelity to treaties; peace and friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of Republics—these are doctrines which Democracy has established as proverbs of the Nation, and they should be constantly invoked, and enforced.

Economy of Administration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.130

Large reductions can easily be made in the annual expenditures of the Government without impairing the efficiency of any branch of the public service, and we shall insist upon the strictest economy and frugality compatible with vigorous and efficient civil, military and naval administration as a right of the people, too clear to be denied or withheld.

Honesty in the Public Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.131

We favor the enforcement of honesty in the public service, and to that end a thorough legislative investigation of those executive departments of the Government already known to teem with corruption, as well as other departments suspected of harboring corruption, and the punishment of ascertained corruptionists without fear or favor or regard to persons. The persistent and deliberate refusal of both the Senate and House of Representatives to permit such investigation to be made demonstrates that only by a change in the executive and in the legislative departments can complete exposure, punishment and correction be obtained.

Federal Government Contracts With Trusts

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.131

We condemn the action of the Republican party in Congress in refusing to prohibit an executive department from entering into contracts with convicted trusts or unlawful combinations in restraint of inter-State trade. We believe that one of the best methods of procuring economy and honesty in the public service is to have public officials, from the occupant of the White House down to the lowest of them, return, as nearly as may be, to Jeffersonian simplicity of living.

Executive Usurpation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.131

We favor the nomination and election of a President imbued with the principles of the Constitution, who will set his face sternly against executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions, whether that usurpation be veiled under the guise of executive construction of existing laws, or whether it take refuge in the tyrant's plea of necessity or superior wisdom.

Imperialism

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.131

We favor the preservation, so far as we can, of an open door for the world's commerce in the Orient without unnecessary entanglement in Oriental and European affairs, and without arbitrary, unlimited, irresponsible and absolute government anywhere within our jurisdiction. We oppose, as fervently as did George Washington, an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary and vague absolutism and a policy of colonial exploitation, no matter where or by whom invoked or exercised. We believe with Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, that no Government has a right to make one set of laws for those "at home" and another and a different set of laws, absolute in their character, for those "in the colonies." All men under the American flag are entitled to the protection of the institutions whose emblem the flag is; if they are inherently unfit for those institutions, then they are inherently unfit to be members of the American body politic. Wherever there may exist a people incapable of being governed under American laws, in consonance with the American Constitution, the territory of that people ought not to be part of the American domain.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.131

We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans, and it is our duty to make that promise now, and upon suitable guarantees of protection to citizens of our own and other countries resident there at the time of our withdrawal to set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent, to work out their own destiny.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.131

The endeavor of the Secretary of War, by pledging the Government's endorsement for "promoters" in the Philippine Islands to make the United States a partner in speculative exploitation of the archipelago, which was only temporarily held up by the opposition of Democratic Senators in the last session, will, if successful, lead to entanglements from which it will be difficult to escape.

Tariff

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.131

The Democratic party has been, and will continue to be, the consistent opponent of that class of tariff legislation by which certain interests have been permitted, through Congressional favor, to draw a heavy tribute from the American people. This monstrous perversion of those equal opportunities which our political institutions were established to secure, has caused what may once have been infant industries to become the greatest combinations of capital that the world has ever known. These special favorites of the Government have, through trust methods, been converted into monopolies, thus bringing to an end domestic competition, which was the only alleged check upon the extravagant profits made possible by the protective system. These industrial combinations, by the financial assistance they can give, now control the policy of the Republican party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.131

We denounce protectionism as a robbery of the many to enrich the few, and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the Government economically, effectively and constitutionally administered and so levied as not to discriminate against any industry, class or section, to the end that the burdens of taxation shall be distributed as equally as possible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

We favor a revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses and for the common weal, and not by the friend of its abuses, its extortions and its discriminations, keeping in view the ultimate end of "equality of burdens and equality of opportunities," and the constitutional purpose of raising a revenue by taxation, to wit: the support of the Federal Government in all its integrity and virility, but in simplicity.

Trusts and Unlawful Combinations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor, and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rule, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

Individual equality of opportunity and free competition are essential to a healthy and permanent commercial prosperity; and any trust, combination or monopoly tending to destroy these by controlling production, restricting competition or fixing prices and wages, should be prohibited and punished by law. We especially denounce rebates and discriminations by transportation companies as the most potent agency in promoting and strengthening these unlawful conspiracies against trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

We demand an enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to the end that the traveling public and shippers of this country may have prompt and adequate relief from the abuses to which they are subjected in the matter of transportation. We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations and monopolies; and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary effectually to suppress them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

Any trust or unlawful combination engaged in inter-State commerce which is monopolizing any branch of business or production, should not be permitted to transact business outside of the State of its origin, whenever it shall be established in any court of competent jurisdiction that such monopolization exists. Such prohibition should be enforced through comprehensive laws to be enacted on the subject.

Capital and Labor

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

We favor the enactment and administration of laws giving labor and capital impartially their just rights. Capital and labor ought not to be enemies. Each is necessary to the other. Each has its rights, but the rights of labor are certainly no less "vested," no less "sacred" and no less "inalienable" than the rights of capital.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

We favor arbitration of differences between corporate employers and their employees and a strict enforcement of the eight hour law on all Government work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

We approve the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

Constitutional Guaranties

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

Constitutional guaranties are violated whenever any citizen is denied the right to labor, acquire and enjoy property or reside where interest or inclination may determine. Any denial thereof by individuals, organizations or governments should be summarily rebuked and punished.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

We deny the right of any executive to disregard or suspend any constitutional privilege or limitation. Obedience to the laws and respect for their requirements are alike the supreme duty of the citizen and the official.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

The military should be used only to support and maintain the law. We unqualifiedly condemn its employment for the summary banishment of citizens without trial, or for the control of elections.

Waterways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.132

We favor liberal appropriations for the care and improvement of the waterways of the country. When any waterway like the Mississippi River is of sufficient importance to demand the special aid of the Government, such aid should be extended with a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We oppose the Republican policy of starving home development in order to feed the greed for conquest and the appetite for national "prestige" and display of strength.

Reclamation of Arid Lands and Domestic Development

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We congratulate our Western citizens upon the passage of the measure known as the Newlands Irrigation Act for the irrigation and reclamation of the arid lands of the West—a measure framed by a Democrat, passed in the Senate by a nonpartisan vote, and passed in the House against the opposition of almost all the Republican leaders by a vote the majority of which was Democratic. We call attention to this great Democratic measure, broad and comprehensive as it is, working automatically throughout all time without further action of Congress, until the reclamation of all the lands in the arid West capable of reclamation, is accomplished, reserving the lands reclaimed for homeseekers in small tracts and rigidly guarding against land monopoly, as an evidence of the policy of domestic development contemplated by the Democratic party, should it be placed in power.

The Isthmian Canal

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

The Democracy when entrusted with power will construct the Panama Canal speedily, honestly and economically, thereby giving to our people what Democrats have always contended for—a great inter-oceanic canal, furnishing shorter and cheaper lines of transportation, and broader and less trammeled trade relations with the other peoples of the world.

American Citizenship

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper measures to secure for them, whether native born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of laws and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under the covenants of our treaties of friendship and commerce; and if under existing treaties the right of travel and sojourn is denied to American citizens or recognition is withheld from American passports by any countries on the ground of race or creed, we favor the beginning of negotiations with the governments of such countries to secure by new treaties the removal of these unjust discriminations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We demand that all over the world a duly authenticated passport issued by the Government of the United States to an American citizen shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

Election of Senators By the People

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

Statehood for Territories

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We favor the admission of the Territory of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. We also favor the immediate admission of Arizona and New Mexico, as separate States, and territorial governments for Alaska and Porto Rico.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, as well as the District of Alaska, should be bona-fide residents at the time of their appointment of the Territory or district in which their duties are to be performed.

Condemnation of Polygamy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We demand the extermination of polygamy within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the complete separation of Church and State in political affairs.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We denounce the ship subsidy bill recently passed by the United States Senate as an iniquitous appropriation of public funds for private purposes and a wasteful, illogical and useless attempt to overcome by subsidy the obstructions raised by Republican legislation to the growth and development of American commerce on the sea.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We favor the upbuilding of a merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.

Reciprocity

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.133

We favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada, and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining or commerce.

Monroe Doctrine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

We favor the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine in its full integrity.

Army

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

We favor the reduction of the Army and of Army expenditures to the point historically demonstrated to be safe and sufficient.

Pensions: Our Soldiers and Sailors

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

The Democracy would secure to the surviving soldiers and sailors and their dependents generous pensions, not by an arbitrary executive order, but by legislation which a grateful people stand ready to enact.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

Our soldiers and sailors who defend with their lives the Constitution and the laws have a sacred interest in their just administration. They must, therefore, share with us the humiliation with which we have witnessed the exaltation of court favorites, without distinguished service, over the scarred heroes of many battles, or aggrandizement by executive appropriations out of the treasuries of prostrate peoples in violation of the act of Congress which fixes the compensation of allowance of the military officers.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

The Democratic party stands committed to the principles of civil service reform, and we demand their honest, just and impartial enforcement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

We denounce the Republican party for its continuous and sinister encroachments upon the spirit and operation of civil service rules, whereby it has arbitrarily dispensed with examinations for office in the interest of favorites, and employed all manner of devices to overreach and set aside the principles upon which the Civil Service is based.

Sectional and Race Agitation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

The race question has brought countless woes to this country. The calm wisdom of the American people should see to it that it brings no more.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

To revive the dead and hateful race and sectional animosities in any part of our common country means confusion, distraction of business, and the reopening of wounds now happily healed. North, South, East and West have but recently stood together in line of battle from the walls of Pekin to the hills of Santiago, and as sharers of a common glory and a common destiny, we should share fraternally the common burdens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

We therefore deprecate and condemn the Bourbon-like selfish, and narrow spirit of the recent Republican Convention at Chicago which sought to kindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife, and we appeal from it to the sober common sense and patriotic spirit of the American people.

The Republican Administration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

The existing Republican administration has been spasmodic, erratic, sensational, spectacular and arbitrary. It has made itself a satire upon the Congress, courts, and upon the settled practices and usages of national and international law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

It summoned the Congress in hasty and futile extra session and virtually adjourned it, leaving behind in its flight from Washington uncalled calendars and unaccomplished tasks.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

It made war, which is the sole power of Congress, without its authority, thereby usurping one of its fundamental prerogatives. It violated a plain statute of the United States as well as plain treaty obligations, international usages and constitutional law; and has done so under pretense of executing a great public policy which could have been more easily effected lawfully, constitutionally and with honor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

It forced strained and unnatural constructions upon statutes, usurping judicial interpretation, and substituting for congressional enactment executive decree.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

It withdrew from the Congress its customary duties of investigation which have heretofore made the representatives of the people and the States the terror of evildoers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

It conducted a secretive investigation of its own, and boasting of a few sample convicts, it threw a broad coverlet over the bureaus which had been their chosen field of operative abuses, and kept in power the superior officers under whose administration the crimes had been committed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

It ordered assault upon some monopolies, but paralyzed by a first victory, it flung out the flag of truce and cried out that it would not "run amuck"; leaving its future purposes beclouded by its vacillations.

Appeal to the People

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1904, p.134

Conducting the campaign upon this declaration of our principles and purposes, we invoke for our candidates the support not only of our great and time-honored organization, but also the active assistance of all of our fellow citizens who, disregarding past differences, desire the perpetuation of our constitutional Government as framed and established by the fathers of the Republic.

People's Platform of 1904

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

The People's party reaffirms its adherence to the basic truths of the Omaha platform of 1892, and of the subsequent platforms of 1896 and 1900. In session in its fourth national convention on July 4, 1904, in the city of Springfield, Ill., it draws inspiration from the day that saw the birth of the nation as well as its own birth as a party, and also from the soul of him who lives at its present place of meeting. We renew our allegiance to the old-fashioned American spirit that gave this nation existence, and made it distinctive among the peoples of the earth. We again sound the key-note of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal in a political sense, which was the sense in which that instrument, being a political document, intended that the utterance should be understood. We assert that the departure from this fundamental truth is responsible for the ills from which we suffer as a nation, that the giving of special privileges to the few has enabled them to dominate the many, thereby tending to destroy the political equality which is the corner-stone of democratic government.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

Holding fast to the truths of the fathers we vigorously protest against the spirit of mammonism and of thinly veiled monarchy that is invading certain sections of our national life, and of the very administration itself. This is a nation of peace, and we deplore the appeal to the spirit of force and militarism which is shown in ill-advised and vainglorious boasting and in more harmful ways in the denial of the rights of man under martial law.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

A political democracy and an industrial despotism cannot exist side by side; and nowhere is this truth more plainly shown than in the gigantic transportation monopolies which have bred all sorts of kindred trusts, subverted the governments of many of the States, or established their official agents in the National Government. We submit that it is better for the Government to own the railroads than for the railroads to own the Government, and that one or the other alternative seems inevitable.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

We call the attention of our fellow-citizens to the fact that the surrender of both of the old parties to corporative influences leaves the People's party the only party of reform in the nation.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

Therefore we submit the following platform of principles to the American people:

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

The issuing of money is a function of government, and should never be delegated to corporations or individuals. The Constitution gives to Congress alone power to issue money and regulate its value.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

We therefore demand that all money shall be issued by the Government in such quantity as shall maintain a stability in prices, every dollar to be full legal tender, none of which shall be a debt redeemable in other money.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

We demand that postal-savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

We believe in the right of labor to organize for the benefit and protection of those who toil; and pledge the efforts of the People's party to preserve this right inviolate. Capital is organized and has no right to deny to labor the privilege which it claims for itself. We feel that intelligent organization of labor is essential; that it raises the standard of workmanship; promotes the efficiency, intelligence, independence and character of the wage earner. We believe with Abraham Lincoln that labor is prior to capital, and is not its slave, but its companion, and we plead for that broad spirit of toleration and justice which will promote industrial peace through the observance of the principles of voluntary arbitration.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

We favor the enactment of legislation looking to the improvement of conditions for wage earners, the abolition of child labor, the suppression of sweat shops, and of convict labor in competition with free labor, and the exclusion from American shores of foreign pauper labor.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

We favor the shorter work day, and declare that if eight hours constitute a day's labor in Government service, that eight hours should constitute a day's labor in factories, workshops and mines.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.135

As a means of placing all public questions directly under the control of the people, we de- mand that legal provision be made under which the people may exercise the initiative, referendum and proportional representation and direct vote for all public officers with the right of recall.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.136

Land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of all the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.136

We demand a return to the original interpretation of the Constitution and a fair and impartial enforcement of laws under it, and denounce government by injunction and imprisonment without the right of trial by jury.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.136

To prevent unjust discrimination and monopoly the Government should own and control the railroads, and those public utilities which in their nature are monopolies. To perfect the postal service, the Government should own and operate the general telegraph and telephone systems and provide a parcels post.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.136

As to these trusts and monopolies which are not public utilities or natural monopolies, we demand that those special privileges which they now enjoy, and which alone enables them to exist, should be immediately withdrawn. Corporations being the creatures of government should be subjected to such governmental regulations and control as will adequately protect the public. We demand the taxation of monopoly privileges, while they remain in private hands, to the extent of the value of the privileges granted.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1904, p.136

We demand that Congress shall enact a general law uniformly regulating the power and duties of all incorporated companies doing interstate business.

Prohibition Platform of 1904

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.136

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, at Indianapolis, June 30, 1904, recognizing that the chief end of all government is the establishment of those principles of righteousness and justice which have been revealed to men as the will of the ever-living God, desiring His blessing upon our national life, and believing in the perpetuation of the high ideals of government of the people, by the people and for the people, established by our fathers, makes the following declaration of principles and purposes:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.136

The widely prevailing system of the licensed and legalized sale of alcoholic beverages is so ruinous to individual interests, so inimical to public welfare, so destructive of national wealth and so subversive of the rights of great masses of our citizenship, that the destruction of the traffic is, and for years has been, the most important question in American politics.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.136

We denounce the lack of statesmanship exhibited by the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties in their refusal to recognize the paramount importance of this question, and the cowardice with which the leaders of these parties have courted the favor of those whose selfish interests are advanced by the continuation and augmentation of the traffic, until to-day the influence of the liquor traffic practically dominates national, State and local government throughout the nation.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.136

We declare the truth, demonstrated by the experience of half a century, that all methods of dealing with the liquor traffic which recognize its right to exist, in any form, under any system of license or tax or regulation, have proved powerless to remove its evils, and useless as cheeks upon its growth, while the insignificant public revenues which have accrued therefrom have seared the public conscience against a recognition of its iniquity.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.136

We call public attention to the fact, proved by the experience of more than fifty years, that to secure the enactment and enforcement of prohibitory legislation, in which alone lies the hope of the protection of the people from the liquor traffic, it is necessary that the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government should be in the hands of a political party in harmony with the prohibition principle, and pledged to its embodiment in law, and to the execution of those laws.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.136

We pledge the Prohibition party, wherever given power by the suffrages of the people, to the enactment and enforcement of laws prohibiting and abolishing the manufacture, importation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.136

We declare that there is not only no other issue of equal importance before the American people to-day, but that the so-called issues upon which the Democratic and Republican parties seek to divide the electorate of the country are, in large part, subterfuges under the cover of which they wrangle for the spoils of office.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

Recognizing that the intelligent voters of the country may properly ask our attitude upon other questions of public concern, we declare ourselves in favor of:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

The impartial enforcement of all law.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

The safeguarding of the people's rights by a rigid application of the principles of justice to all combinations and organizations of capital and labor.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

The recognition of the fact that the right of suffrage should depend upon the mental and moral qualifications of the citizen.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

A more intimate relation between the people and government, by a wise application of the principle of the initiative and referendum.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

Such changes in our laws as will place tariff schedules in the hands of an omnipartisan commission.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

The application of uniform laws to all our country and dependencies.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

The election of United States Senators by vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

The extension and honest administration of the civil service laws.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

The safeguarding of every citizen in every place under the government of the people of the United States, in all the rights guaranteed by the laws and the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

International arbitration, and we declare that our nation should contribute, in every manner consistent with national dignity, to the permanent establishment of peace between all nations.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1904, p.137

The reform of our divorce laws, the final extirpation of polygamy, and the total overthrow of the present shameful system of the illegal sanction of the social evil, with its unspeakable traffic in girls, by the municipal authorities of almost all our cities.

Republican Platform of 1904

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.137

Fifty years ago the Republican party came into existence dedicated among other purposes to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first President. During twenty-four years of the forty-four which have elapsed since the election of Lincoln the Republican party has held complete control of the government. For eighteen more of the forty-four years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the government, while the Democratic party during the same period has had complete control for only two years. This long tenure of power by the Republican party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equalled in our history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.137

The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished, for it has added lustre even to the traditions of the party which carried the government through the storms of civil war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.137

We then found the country after four years of Democratic rule in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune, and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, the standard of values was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint and confidence was gone.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.137

We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively, and at once. We replaced a Democratic tariff law based on free trade principles and garnished with sectional protection by a consistent protective tariff, and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws, has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets, and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed, wages have risen, and all industries have revived and prospered.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.137

We firmly established the gold standard which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business, and with confidence an unexampled prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.137

For deficient revenues, supplemented by improvident issues of bonds, we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish War had closed to remove over one hundred millions of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt, and lower the interest charges of the Government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

The public credit which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent even in time of war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

We refuse to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years, and then gave it to the Cuban people with order restored, with ample revenues, with education and public health established, free from debt, and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order, and prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

In the Philippines we have suppressed insurrection, established order, and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration, and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

By our possession of the Philippines we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Peking and a decisive part in preventing the partition and preserving the integrity of China.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

The possession of a route for an Isthmian canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

We have reorganized the army and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

We have pushed forward the building of the navy, the defence and protection of our honor and our interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

Our administration of the great departments of the Government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrongdoing has been discovered, the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring offenders to justice without regard to party or political ties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

Laws enacted by the Republican party which the Democratic party failed to enforce and which were intended for the protection of the public against the united discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws insuring reasonable publicity as to the operations of great corporations, and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

In this record of achievement during the past eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican party has fulfilled. We promise to continue these policies, and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

Protection, which guards and develops our industries, is a cardinal policy of the Republican party. The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principle of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional, or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system. However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity: a Republican tariff by business prosperity. To a Republican Congress and a Republican President this great question can be safely intrusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection, the chief protective country should not falter in maintaining it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.138

We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages and heavy subsidies of foreign governments, has not for many years received from the Government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the Merchant Marine Commission to investigate and report upon this subject.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

A navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and watch over our commerce, is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a navy is the fixed policy of the Republican party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor, and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

The Civil Service Law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

We are always mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States, and we believe in making ample provision for them, and in the liberal administration of the pension laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

We favor the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the Administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all of our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discrimination the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral college shall be proportionately reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations, when lawfully formed for lawful purposes, are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was re-elected by the Republican party to the Presidency four years ago, was assassinated just at the threshold of his second term. The entire nation mourned his untimely death and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear hand, a brave heart, and earnest patriotism, and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to the principles of the Republican party and to the policies which that party had declared, he has also shown himself ready for every emergency and has met new and vital questions with ability and with success.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.139

The confidence of the people in his justice, inspired by his public career, enabled him to render personally an inestimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike, which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of Winter in 1902.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous, and dignified, but in the highest degree successful.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe doctrine was signally vindicated, and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secured to us the canal route, but avoided foreign complications which might have been of a very serious character.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient, and our position in China, signalized by our recent commercial treaty with that empire, has never been so high.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of the Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people, his protest has been made, and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with all the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

Pre-eminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage, but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law; that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed, or condition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1904, p.140

His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people.

Socialist Platform of 1904

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.140

1. The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.140

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.140

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.140

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.140

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

2. As an American socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

The socialist movement, therefore, is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interests

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

3. The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinctions from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.141

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.142

4. The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.142

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.142

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.142

5. To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the cooperative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work, in both the economic and the political struggle, for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage of men and women, municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.142

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1904, p.142

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that eco- nomic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1904

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right: but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive to their life, their liberty and their happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economies is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes, the capitalist class and the working class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle, and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1904, p.143

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1908

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1908, p.144

In 1908 there were, in addition to the two major parties, the well-established minor parties, namely,—the People's Party, the Prohibition Party, the Socialist Party, and the Socialist Labor Party. An entirely new party appeared also. It announced itself as the Independence Party. It was an outgrowth of the Independence League, led by Mr. William R. Hearst of New York.

Democratic Platform of 1908

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.144

We, the representatives of the Democracy of the United States, in National Convention assembled, reaffirm our belief in, and pledge our loyalty to, the principles of the party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.144

We rejoice at the increasing signs of an awakening throughout the country. The various investigations have traced graft and political corruption to the representatives of the predatory wealth, and laid bare the unscrupulous methods by which they have debauched elections and preyed upon a defenseless public through the subservient officials whom they have raised to place and power.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.144

The conscience of the nation is now aroused to free the Government from the grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations. It must become again a people's government, and be administered in all its departments according to the Jeffersonian maxim, "equal rights to all; special privileges to none."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.144

"Shall the people rule?" is the overshadowing issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion.

Increase of Office Holders

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.144

Coincident with the enormous increase in expenditures is a like addition to the number of office-holders. During the past year 23,784 were added, costing $16,156,000, and in the past six years of Republican administration the total number of new offices created, aside from many commissions, has been 99,319, entailing an additional expenditure of nearly $70,000,000 as against only 10,279 new offices created under the Cleveland and McKinley administrations, which involved an expenditure of only $6,000,000. We denounce this great and growing increase in the number of office-holders as not only unnecessary and wasteful, but also as clearly indicating a deliberate purpose on the part of the Administration to keep the Republican party in power at public expense by thus increasing the number of its retainers and dependents. Such procedure we declare to be no less dangerous and corrupt than the open purchase of votes at the polls.

Economy in Administration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.144

The Republican Congress in the session just ended made appropriations amounting to $1,008,000,000, exceeding the total expenditures of the past fiscal year by $90,000,000 and leaving a deficit of more than $60,000,000 for the fiscal year just ended. We denounce the heedless waste of the people's money which has resulted in this appalling increase as a shameful violation of all prudent considerations of government and as no less than a crime against the millions of working men and women, from whose earnings the great proportion of these colossal sums must be extorted through excessive tariff exactions and other indirect methods. It is not surprising that in the face of this shocking record the Republican platform contains no reference to economical administration or promise thereof in the future. We demand that a stop be put to this frightful extravagance, and insist upon the strictest economy in every department compatible with frugal and efficient administration

Arbitrary Power—the Speaker

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

The House of Representatives was designed by the fathers of the Constitution to be the popular branch of our Government, responsive to the public will.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

The House of Representatives, as controlled in recent years by the Republican party, has ceased to be a deliberative and legislative body, responsive to the will of a majority of its members, but has come under the absolute domination of the Speaker, who has entire control of its deliberations and powers of legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

We have observed with amazement the popular branch of our Federal Government helpless to obtain either the consideration or enactment of measures desired by a majority of its members.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

Legislative control becomes a failure when one member in the person of the Speaker is more powerful than the entire body.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

We demand that the House of Representatives shall again become a deliberative body, controlled by a majority of the people's representatives, and not by the Speaker; and we pledge ourselves to adopt such rules and regulations to govern the House of Representatives as will enable a majority of its members to direct its deliberations and control legislation.

Misuse of Patronage

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

We condemn as a violation of the spirit of our institutions the action of the present Chief Executive in using the patronage of his high office to secure the nomination for the Presidency of one of his Cabinet of officers. A forced succession to the Presidency is scarcely less repugnant to public sentiment than is life tenure in that office. No good intention on the part of the Executive, and no virtue in the one selected, can justify the establishment of a dynasty. The right of the people freely to select their officials is inalienable and cannot be delegated.

Publicity of Campaign Contributions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

We demand Federal legislation forever terminating the partnership which has existed between corporations of the country and the Republican party under the expressed or implied agreement that in return for the contribution of great sums of money wherewith to purchase elections, they should be allowed to continue substantially unmolested in their efforts to encroach upon the rights of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

Any reasonable doubt as to the existence of this relation has been forever dispelled by the sworn testimony of witnesses examined in the insurance investigation in New York, and the open admission of a single individual—unchallenged by the Republican National Committee—that he himself at the personal request of the Republican candidate for the Presidency raised over a quarter of a million dollars to be used in a single State during the closing hours of the last campaign. In order that this practice shall be stopped for all time, we demand the passage of a statute punishing by imprisonment any officer of a corporation who shall either contribute on behalf of, or consent to the contribution by, a corporation, of any money or thing of value to be used in furthering the election of a President or Vice-President of the United States or of any member of the Congress thereof.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

We denounce the Republican party, having complete control of the Federal Government for their failure to pass the bill, introduced in the last Congress, to compel the publication of the names of contributors and the amounts contributed toward campaign funds, and point to the evidence of their insincerity when they sought by an absolutely irrelevant and impossible amendment to defeat the passage of the bill. As a further evidence of their intention to conduct their campaign in the coming contest with vast sums of money wrested from favor-seeking corporations, we call attention to the fact that the recent Republican National Convention at Chicago refused, when the issue was presented to it, to declare against such practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.145

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing an amount above a reasonable maximum, and providing for the publication before election of all such contributions.

The Rights of the States

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.146

Believing, with Jefferson, in "the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies," and in "the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad," we are opposed to the centralization implied in the suggestion, now frequently made, that the powers of the General Government should be extended by judicial construction. There is no twilight zone between the Nation and the State in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both; and it is as necessary that the Federal Government shall exercise the powers delegated to it as it is that the State governments shall use the authority reserved to them; but we insist that Federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to, not substituted for, State remedies.

Tariff

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.146

We welcome the belated promise of tariff reform now offered by the Republican party in tardy recognition of the righteousness of the Democratic position on this question; but the people cannot safely entrust the execution of this important work to a party which is so deeply obligated to the highly protected interests as is the Republican party. We call attention to the significant fact that the promised relief is postponed until after the coming election—an election to succeed in which the Republican party must have that same support from the beneficiaries of the high protective tariff as it has always heretofore received from them; and to the further fact that during years of uninterrupted power no action whatever has been taken by the Republican Congress to correct the admittedly existing tariff iniquities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.146

We favor immediate revision of the tariff by the reduction of import duties. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products should be placed upon the free list, and material reductions should be made in the tariff upon the necessaries of life, especially upon articles competing with such American manufactures as are sold abroad more cheaply than at home; and gradual reductions should be made in such other schedules as may be necessary to restore the tariff to a revenue basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.146

Existing duties have given to the manufacturers of paper a shelter behind which they have organized combinations to raise the price of pulp and of paper, thus imposing a tax upon the spread of knowledge. We demand the immediate repeal of the tariff on wood pulp, print paper, lumber, timber and logs, and that these articles be placed upon the free list.

Trusts

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.146

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against guilty trust magnates and officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States. Among the additional remedies we specify three: First, a law preventing a duplication of directors among competing corporations; second, a license system which will, without abridging the right of each State to create corporations, or its right to regulate as it will foreign corporations doing business within its limits, make it necessary for a manufacturing or trading corporation engaged in interstate commerce to take out a Federal license before it shall be permitted to control as much as twenty-five per cent of the product in which it deals, the license to protect the public from watered stock and to prohibit the control by such corporation of more than fifty per cent of the total amount of any product consumed in the United States; and, third, a law compelling such licensed corporations to sell to all purchasers in all parts of the country on the same terms, after making due allowance for cost of transportation.

Railroad Regulation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.146

We assert the right of Congress to exercise complete control over interstate commerce and the right of each State to exercise like control over commerce within its borders.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.146

We demand such enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission as may be necessary to enable it to compel railroads to perform their duties as common carriers and prevent discrimination and extortion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.146

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads engaged in interstate com- merce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost of production and all elements of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

We favor such legislation as will prohibit the railroads from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers; also legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service, or do injustice to legitimate investments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

We heartily approve the laws prohibiting the pass and the rebate, and we favor any further necessary legislation to restrain, correct and prevent such abuses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

We favor such legislation as will increase the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, giving to it the initiative with reference to rates and transportation charges put into effect by the railroad companies, and permitting the Interstate Commerce Commission, on its own initiative, to declare a rate illegal and as being more than should be charged for such service. The present law relating thereto is inadequate, by reason of the fact that the Interstate Commerce Commission is without power to fix or investigate a rate until complaint has been made to it by the shipper.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

We further declare in favor of a law providing that all agreements of traffic or other associations of railway agents affecting interstate rates, service or classification, shall be unlawful, unless filed with and approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission .

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

We favor the enactment of a law giving to the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to inspect proposed railroad tariff rates or schedules before they shall take effect, and, if they be found to be unreasonable, to initiate an adjustment thereof.

Banking

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

The panic of 1907, coming without any legitimate excuse, when the Republican party had for a decade been in complete control of the Federal government, furnishes additional proof that it is either unwilling or incompetent to protect the interests of the general public. It has so linked the country to Wall street that the sins of the speculators are visited upon the whole people. While refusing to rescue the wealth producers from spoliation at the hands of the stock gamblers and speculators in farm products, it has deposited Treasury funds, without interest and without competition, in favorite banks. It has used an emergency for which it is largely responsible to force through Congress a bill changing the basis of bank currency and inviting market manipulation, and has failed to give to the 15,000,000 depositors of the country protection in their savings.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

We believe that in so far as the needs of commerce require an emergency currency, such currency should be issued and controlled by the Federal Government, and loaned on adequate security to National and State banks. We pledge ourselves to legislation under which the national banks shall be required to establish a guarantee fund for the prompt payment of the depositors of any insolvent national bank, under an equitable system which shall be available to all State banking institutions wishing to use it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

We favor a postal savings bank if the guaranteed bank can not be secured, and that it be constituted so as to keep the deposited money in the communities where it is established. But we condemn the policy of the Republican party in providing postal savings banks under a plan of conduct by which they will aggregate the deposits of the rural communities and redeposit the same while under Government charge in the banks of Wall street, thus depleting the circulating medium of the producing regions and unjustly favoring the speculative markets.

Income Tax

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

We favor an income tax as part of our revenue system, and we urge the submission of a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing Congress to levy and collect a tax upon individual and corporate incomes, to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burdens of the Federal Government.

Labor and Injunctions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.147

The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished judges, who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people create, and if the laws appear to work economic, social or political injustice, it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty and property. If judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

Experience has proved the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunctions, and we reiterate the pledge of our national platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

Questions of judicial practice have arisen especially in connection with industrial disputes. We deem that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgement of the right of wage earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

We favor the eight hour day on all Government work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law by Congress, as far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, for a general employer's liability act covering injury to body or loss of life of employes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a Department of Labor, represented separately in the President's Cabinet, in which Department shall be included the subject of mines and mining.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

We believe in the upbuilding of the American merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.

The Navy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

The constitutional provision that a navy shall be provided and maintained means an adequate navy, and we believe that the interests of this country would be best served by having a navy sufficient to defend the coasts of this country and protect American citizens wherever their rights may be in jeopardy.

Protection of American Citizens

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

We pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper methods to secure for them, whether native born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protection of the law and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under our treaties; and if, under existing treaties, the right of travel and sojourn is denied to American citizens, or recognition is withheld from American passports by any countries on the ground of race or creed, we favor prompt negotiations with the governments of such countries to secure the removal of these unjust discriminations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

We demand that all over the world a duly authenticated passport issued by the Government of the United States to an American citizen, shall be proof of the fact that he is an American citizen and shall entitle him to the treatment due him as such.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

The laws pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than services rendered to a political party.

Pensions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.148

We favor a generous pension policy, both as a matter of justice to the surviving veterans and their dependents, and because it tends to relieve the country of the necessity of maintaining a large standing army.

Health Bureau

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

We advocate the organization of all existing national public health agencies into a national bureau of public health with such power over sanitary conditions connected with factories, mines, tenements, child labor and other such subjects as are properly within the jurisdiction of the Federal government and do not interfere with the power of the States controlling public health agencies.

Agricultural and Mechanical Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

The Democratic party favors the extension of agricultural, mechanical and industrial education. We therefore favor the establishment of district agricultural experiment stations and secondary agricultural and mechanical colleges in the several States.

Popular Election of Senators

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and regard this reform as the gateway to other national reforms.

Oklahoma

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

We welcome Oklahoma to the sisterhood of States and heartily congratulate her upon the auspicious beginning of a great career.

Panama Canal

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

We believe that the Panama Canal will prove of great value to our country, and favor its speedy completion.

Arizona and New Mexico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

The National Democratic party has for the last sixteen years labored for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States of the Federal Union, and recognizing that each possesses every qualification successfully to maintain separate State governments, we favor the immediate admission of these Territories as separate States.

Grazing Lands

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

The establishment of rules and regulations, if any such are necessary, in relation to free grazing upon the public lands outside of forest or other reservations, until the same shall eventually be disposed of, should be left to the people of the States respectively in which such lands may be situated.

Waterways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

Water furnishes the cheaper means of transportation, and the National Government, having the control of navigable waters, should improve them to their fullest capacity. We earnestly favor the immediate adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for improving every water course in the Union which is justified by the needs of commerce; and, to secure that end, we favor, when practicable, the connection of the Great Lakes with the navigable rivers and with the Gulf through the Mississippi River, and the navigable rivers with each other, and the rivers, bays and sounds of our coasts with each other, by artificial canals, with a view of perfecting a system of inland waterways to be navigated by vessels of standard draught.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

We favor the co-ordination of the various services of the Government connected with waterways in one service, for the purpose of aiding in the completion of such a system of inland waterways; and we favor the creation of a fund ample for continuous work, which shall be conducted under the direction of a commission of experts to be authorized by law.

Post Roads

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

We favor Federal aid to State and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

Telegraph and Telephone

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law to regulate, under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the rates and services of telegraph and telephone companies engaged in the transmission of messages between the States.

Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.149

We repeat the demand for internal development and for the conservation of our natural resources contained in previous platforms, the enforcement of which Mr. Roosevelt has vainly sought from a reluctant party; and to that end we insist upon the preservation, protection and replacement of needed forests, the preservation of the public domain for home seekers, the protection of the national resources in timber, coal, iron and oil against monopolistic control, the development of our waterways for navigation and every other useful purpose, including the irrigation of arid lands, the reclamation of swamp lands, the clarification of streams, the development of water power, and the preservation of electric power, generated by this natural force, from the control of monopoly; and to such end we urge the exercise of all powers, national, State and municipal, both separately and in co-operation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

We insist upon a policy of administration of our forest reserves which shall relieve it of the abuses which have arisen thereunder, and which shall, as far as practicable, conform to the police regulations of the several States wherein the reserves are located, which shall enable homesteaders as of right to occupy and acquire title to all portions thereof which are especially adapted to agriculture, and which shall furnish a system of timber sales available as well to the private citizen as to the larger manufacturer and consumer.

Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

We favor the application of the principles of the land laws of the United States to our newly acquired territory, Hawaii, to the end that the public lands of that territory may be held and utilized for the benefit of bona-fide homesteaders.

The Philippines

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandoning a fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guarantee the independence of Cuba, until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our Government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

Alaska and Porto Rico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

We demand for the people of Alaska and Porto Rico the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a territorial form of government, and that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our territories and the District of Columbia should be thoroughly qualified by previous bona-fide residence.

Pan-American Relations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

The Democratic party recognizes the importance and advantage of developing closer ties of Pan-American friendship and commerce between the United States and her sister nations of Latin America, and favors the taking of such steps, consistent with Democratic policies, for better acquaintance, greater mutual confidence, and larger exchange of trade as will bring lasting benefit not only to the United States, but to this group of American Republics, having constitutions, forms of government, ambitions and interests akin to our own.

Asiatic Immigration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

We favor full protection, by both National and State governments within their respective spheres, of all foreigners residing in the United States under treaty, but we are opposed to the admission of Asiatic immigrants who can not be amalgamated with our population, or whose presence among us would raise a race issue and involve us in diplomatic controversies with Oriental powers.

Foreign Patents

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

We believe that where an American citizen holding a patent in a foreign country is compelled to manufacture under his patent within a certain time, similar restrictions should be applied in this country to the citizens or subjects of such a country.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

The Democratic party stands for Democracy; the Republican party has drawn to itself all that is aristocratic and plutocratic.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1908, p.150

The Democratic party is the champion of equal rights and opportunities to all; the Republican party is the party of privilege and private monopoly. The Democratic party listens to the voice of the whole people and gauges progress by the prosperity and advancement of the average man; the Republican party is subservient to the comparatively few who are the beneficiaries of governmental favoritism. We invite the co-operation of all, regardless of previous political affiliation or past differences, who desire to preserve a government of the people, by the people and for the people and who favor such an administration of the government as will insure, as far as human wisdom can, that each citizen shall draw from society a reward commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society.

Independence Platform of 1908

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

We, independent American citizens, representing the Independence party in forty-four States and two Territories, have met in national convention to nominate, absolutely independent of all other political parties, candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

Our action is based upon a determination to wrest the conduct of public affairs from the hands of selfish interests, political tricksters and corrupt bosses, and make the Government, as the founders intended, an agency for the common good.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

At a period of unexampled national prosperity and promise a staggering blow was dealt to legitimate business by the unmolested practice of stock watering and dishonest financiering. Multitudes of defenceless investors, thousands of honest business men, and an army of idle workingmen are paying the penalty. Year by year, fostered by wasteful and reckless governmental extravagance, by the manipulation of trusts and by a privilege creating tariff, the cost of living mounts higher and higher. Day by day the control of the Government drifts further away from the people and more firmly into the grip of machine politicians and party bosses.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

The Republican and Democratic parties are not only responsible for these conditions, but are committed to their indefinite continuance. Prodigal of promises, they are so barren of performance that to a new party of independent voters the country must look for the establishment of a new policy and a return to genuine popular government.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

Our object is not to introduce violent innovations or startlingly new features. We of the Independence party look back as Lincoln did, to the Declaration of Independence as the fountain-head of all political inspiration. It is not our purpose to attempt to revolutionize the American system of government, but to restore the action of the Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln. It is not our purpose, either, to effect a radical change in the American system of government, but to conserve for the citizens of the United States their privileges and liberties won for them by the founders of this Government and to perpetuate the principles and policies upon which the nation's greatness has been built.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

The Independence party is, therefore, a conservative force in American politics, devoted to the preservation of American liberty and independence, to honesty in elections, to opportunity in business and to equality before the law.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

Those who believe in the Independence party and work with it are convinced that a genuine democracy should exist; that a true republican form of government should continue; that the power of government should rest with the majority of the people, and that the Government should be conducted for the benefit of the whole citizenship, rather than for the special advantage of any particular class.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

As of first importance in order to restore the power of government to the people, to make their will supreme in the primaries, in the elections and in the control of public officials after they have been elected, we declare for direct nominations, the initiative and referendum and the right of recall.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

It is idle to cry out against the evil of bossism while we perpetuate a system under which the boss is inevitable. The destruction of the individual boss is of little value. The people in their politics must establish a system which will eliminate not only an objectionable boss but the system of bossism. Representative government is made a mockery by the system of modern party conventions dominated by the bosses and controlled by cliques. We demand the natural remedy of direct nominations by which the people not only elect, but which is far more important, select their representatives.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

We believe in the principle of the initiative and referendum, and we particularly demand that no franchise grant go into operation until the terms and conditions have been approved by popular vote in the locality interested.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.151

We demand for the people the right to recall public officials from the public service. The power to make officials reside in the people, and in them also should reside the power to unmake and remove from office any official who demonstrates his unfitness or betrays the public trust.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

Of next importance in destroying the power of selfish special interests and the corrupt political bosses whom they control is to wrest from their hands their main weapon—the corruption fund. We demand severe and effective legislation against all forms of corrupt practices at elections, and advocate prohibiting the use of any money at elections except for meetings, literature and the necessary travelling expenses of the candidates. Bidding for votes the Republican and Democratic candidates are making an outcry about publicity of contributions, although both the Republican and Democratic parties have for years consistently blocked every effort to pass a corrupt practices act. Publicity of contributions is desirable and should be required, but the main matter of importance is the use to which contributions are put. We believe that the dishonest use of money in the past, whether contributed by individuals or by corporations, has been chiefly responsible for the corruption which has undermined our system of popular government.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

We demand honest conduct of public office and business alike and an economical administration of public affairs, and we condemn the gross extravagance of Federal administration and its appalling annual increase in appropriations. Unnecessary appropriations mean unnecessary taxes, and unnecessary taxes, whether direct or indirect, are paid by the people, and add to the ever increasing cost of living.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

We condemn the evil of over-capitalization. Modern industrial conditions make the corporation and stock company a necessity, but over-capitalization in corporations is as harmful and criminal as is personal dishonesty in an individual. Compelling the payment of dividends upon great sums that have never been invested, upon masses of watered stock not justified by the property, over-capitalization prevents the better wages, the better public service and the lower cost that should result from American inventive genius and that wide organization which is replacing costly individual competition. The collapse of dishonestly inflated enterprises robs investors, closes banks, destroys confidence and engenders panics. The Independence party advocates as a primary necessity for sounder business conditions and improved public service the enactment of laws, State and national, to prevent watering of stock, dishonest issues of bonds and other forms of corporation frauds.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

We denounce the so-called labor planks of the Republican and Democratic platforms as political buncombe and contemptible claptrap, unworthy of national parties claiming to be serious and sincere.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

The Republican declaration that "no injunction or temporary or restraining order should not be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay," is empty verbiage, for a showing of irreparable injury can always be made and is always made in ex parte affidavits.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

The Democratic declaration that "injunctions should not be issued in any case in which injunctions should not issue if no industrial dispute were involved" is meaningless and worthless.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

Such insincere and meaningless declarations place a low estimate upon the intelligence of the average American workingman and exhibit either ignorance of or indifference to the real interest of labor.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

The Independence party condemns the arbitrary use of the writ of injunction and contempt proceedings as a violation of the fundamental American right of trial by jury.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

From the foundation of our Government down to 1872 the Federal Judiciary act prohibited the issue of any injunction without reasonable notice until after a hearing. We assert that in all actions growing out of a dispute between employers and employés concerning terms or conditions of employment no injunction should issue until after a trial upon the merits, that such trial should be held before a jury, and that in no case of alleged contempt should any person be deprived of liberty without a trial by jury.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

The Independence party believes that the distribution of wealth is as important as the creation of wealth, and indorses these organizations among farmers and workers which tend to bring about a just distribution of wealth through good wages for workers and good prices for farmers, and which protect the employer and the consumer through equality of price for labor and for product, and we favor such legislation as will remove them from the operation of the Sherman antitrust law.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.152

We indorse the eight hour work day, favor its application to all Government employés, and demand the enactment of laws requiring that all work done for the Government, whether Federal or State, and whether done directly or indirectly through contractors or sub-contractors shall be done on an eight hour basis.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

We favor the enactment of a law defining as illegal any combination or conspiracy to blacklist employés.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

We demand protection for workmen through enforced use of standard safety appliances and provisions of hygienic conditions in the operation of factories, railways, mills, mines and all industrial undertakings.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

We advocate State and Federal inspection of railways to secure a greater safety for railway employes and for the travelling public. We call for the enactment of stringent laws fixing employers' liabilities, and a rigid prohibition of child labor through co-operation between the State governments and the National Government.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

We condemn the manufacture and sale of prison-made goods in the open market in competition with free labor manufactured goods. We demand that convicts shall be employed direct by the different States in the manufacture of products for use in State institutions and in making good roads and in no case shall convicts be hired out to contractors or sub-contractors.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

We favor the creation of a Department of Labor, including mines and mining, the head of which shall be a member of the President's Cabinet.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

The great abuses of grain inspection, by which the producers are plundered, demand immediate and vigorous correction. To that end we favor Federal inspection under a strict civil service law.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

The Independence party declares the right to issue money is inherent in the Government, and it favors the establishment of a central governmental bank, through which the money so issued shall be put into general circulation.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

We demand a revision of the tariff, not by the friends of the tariff, but by the friends of the people, and declare for a gradual reduction of tariff duties, with just consideration for the rights of the consuming public and of established industry. There should be no protection for oppressive trusts which sell cheaply abroad and take advantage of the tariff at home to crush competition, raise prices, control production and limit work and wages.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

The railroads must be kept open to all upon exactly equal terms. Every form of rebate and discrimination in railroad rates is a crime against business and must be stamped out. We demand adequate railroad facilities and advocate a bill empowering shippers in time of need to compel railroads to provide sufficient cars for freight and passenger traffic and other railroad facilities through summary appeal to the courts. We favor the creation of an Interstate Commerce Court, whose sole function it shall be to review speedily and enforce summarily the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Interstate Commerce Commission has the power to initiate investigation into the reasonableness of rates and practices and no increase in rates should be put into effect until opportunity for such investigation is afforded. The Interstate Commerce Commission should proceed at once with a physical valuation of railroads engaged in interstate commerce.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

We believe that legitimate organizations in business designed to secure an economy of operation and increased production are beneficial wherever the public participates in the advantages which result. We denounce all combinations for restraint of trade and for the establishment of monopoly in all products of labor, and declare that such combinations are not combinations for production, but for extortion, and that activity in this direction is not industry, but robbery.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

In case of infractions of the Anti-Trust law or of the Interstate Commerce act, we believe in the enforcement of a prison penalty against the guilty and responsible individuals controlling the management of the offending corporations, rather than a fine imposed upon stockholders.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

We advocate the extension of the principle of public ownership of public utilities, including railroads, as rapidly as municipal, State, or National Government shall demonstrate ability to conduct public utilities for the public benefit. We favor specifically government ownership of the telegraphs, such as prevails in every other civilized country in the world, and demand as an immediate measure that the Government shall purchase and operate the telegraphs in connection with the postal service.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.153

The parcels post system should be rapidly and widely extended and Government postal savings banks should be established where the people's deposits will be secure, the money to be loaned to the people in the locality of the several banks at a rate of interest to be fixed by the Government.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We favor the immediate development of a national system of good roads connecting all States, and national aid to States in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We favor a court of review of the censorship and arbitrary rulings of the Post-Office Department.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We favor the admission of Arizona and New Mexico to separate Statehood.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We advocate such legislation, both State and national, as will suppress the bucket shop and prohibit the fictitious selling of farm products for future delivery.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We favor the creation of a national department of public health, to be presided over by a member of the medical profession, this department to exercise such authority over matters of public health, hygiene, and sanitation which come properly within the jurisdiction of the National Government and does not interfere with the rights of states or municipalities.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We oppose Asiatic immigration which does not amalgamate with our population, creates race issues and un-American conditions, and which reduces wages and tends to lower the high standard of living and the high standard of morality which American civilization has established.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We demand the passage of an exclusion act which shall protect American workingmen from competition with Asiatic cheap labor and which shall protect American civilization from the contamination of Asiatic conditions.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

The Independence party declares for peace and against aggression, and will promote the movement for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We believe, however, that a small navy is poor economy and that a strong navy is the best protection in time of war and the best preventive of war. We, therefore, favor the speedy building of a navy sufficiently strong to protect at the same time both the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We rejoice in the adoption by both the Democratic and Republican platforms of the demand of the Independence party for improved national waterways and the Mississippi inland deep-waters project, to complete a ship canal from the Gulf to the Great Lakes. We favor the extension of this system to the tributaries of the Mississippi by means of which thirty States shall be served and 20,000 miles added to the coast line of the United States. The reclamation of arid land should be continued and the irrigation programme now contemplated by the Government extended and steps taken for the conservation of the country's natural resources, which should be guarded not only against devastation and waste, but against falling into the control of the monopoly. The abuses growing out of the administration of our forest preserves must be corrected and provisions should be made for free grazing from public lands outside of forest or other reservations. In behalf of the people residing in arid portions of our Western States we protest vigorously against the policy of the Federal Government in selling the exclusive use of water and electric power derived from public works to private corporations, thus creating a monopoly and subjecting citizens living in those sections to exorbitant charges for light and power, and diverting enterprises originally started for public benefit into channels for corporate greed and oppression, and we demand that no more exclusive contracts be made.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

American citizens abroad, whether native born or naturalized, and of whatever race or creed, must be secured in the enjoyment of all rights and privileges under our treaties, and wherever such rights are withheld by any country on the ground of race or religious faith, steps should be taken to secure the removal of such unjust discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

We advocate the popular election of United States Senators and of judges, both State and Federal, and favor a graduated income tax and any constitutional amendment necessary to these ends.

National Party Platforms, Independence Platform of 1908, p.154

Equality of opportunity, the largest measure of individual liberty consistent with equal rights, the overthrow of the rule of special interest and the restoration of government by the majority exercised for the benefit of the whole community; these are the purposes to which the Independence party is pledged, and we invite the co-operation of all patriots and progressive citizens, irrespective of party, who are in sympathy with these principles and in favor of their practical enforcement.

People's Platform of 1908

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

The People's Party of the United States, in convention assembled, at St. Louis, Mo., this 2d day of April, 1908, with increased confidence in its contentions, reaffirms the declarations made by its first national convention at Omaha, in 1892.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

The admonitions of Washington's farewell address; the state papers of Jefferson, and the words of Lincoln, are the teachings of our greatest apostles of human rights and political liberty. There has been a departure from the teaching of these great patriots during recent administrations. The Government has been controlled so as to place the rights of property above the rights of humanity, and has brought the country to a condition that is full of danger to our national well-being. Financial combinations have had too much power over Congress, and too much influence with the administrative departments of the Government.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

Prerogatives of government have been unwisely and often corruptly surrendered to corporate monopoly and aggregations of predatory wealth. The supreme duty of the hour is for the people to insist that these functions of government be exercised in their own interest. Not the giver of the "thirty pieces of silver" has been condemned, but the "Judas" who received them, has been execrated through the ages. The sycophants of monopoly deserve no better fate.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

The issuance of money is a function of government and should not be delegated to corporation or individual. The Constitution gives Congress alone the power to issue money and regulate the value thereof; we, therefore, demand that all money shall be issued by the Government direct to the people without the intervention of banks, and shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and in quantity sufficient to supply the needs of the country.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

The issuance and distribution of full legal tender money from the Treasury, shall not be through private banks, preferred or otherwise, but direct to the people without interest, for the construction and purchase of Federal and internal improvements and utilities, and for the employment of labor.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

The public domain is a sacred heritage of all the people and should be held for homesteads for actual settlers only. Alien ownership should be forbidden, and lands now held by aliens or by corporations, who have violated the conditions of their grants, should be restored to the public domain.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

To prevent unjust discrimination and monopoly, the Government should own and control the railroads and those public utilities, which in their nature are monopolies. To perfect the postal service, the Government should own and operate the general telegraph and telephone systems and provide a parcels post.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

As to those trusts and monopolies which are not public utilities or national monopolies, we demand that those special privileges which they now enjoy, and which alone enable them to exist, shall be immediately withdrawn.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

Corporations being the creatures of government, should be subjected to such governmental regulation and control as will adequately protect the public.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

We demand the taxation of monopoly privileges while they remain in private hands, to the extent of the value of the privilege granted.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

We demand that Congress shall enact a general law uniformly regulating the powers and duties of all incorporated companies doing interstate business .

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

As a means of placing all public questions directly under the control of the people, we demand that legal provision be made under which the people may exercise the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and direct vote for all public officers, with the right of recall.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

We recommend a Federal statute that will recognize the principle of the initiative and referendum, and thereby restore to the voters the right to instruct their national representatives.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

We believe in the right of those who labor, to organize for their mutual protection and benefit, and pledge the efforts of the People's Party to preserve this right inviolate.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.155

We condemn the recent attempt to destroy the power of trades union through the unjust use of the Federal injunction, substituting government by injunction for free government.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We favor the enactment of legislation looking to the improvement of conditions for wage earners.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We demand the abolition of child labor in factories and mines, and the suppression of sweatshops.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We oppose the use of convict labor in competition with free labor.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We demand the exclusion from American shores of foreign pauper labor, imported to beat down the wages of intelligent American workingmen.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We favor the eight hour work day, and legislation protecting the lives and limbs of workmen through the use of safety appliances.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We demand the enactment of an employer's liability act within constitutional bounds.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We declare against the continuation of the criminal carelessness in the operation of mines, through which thousands of miners have lost their lives to increase the dividends of stockholders, and demand the immediate adoption of precautionary measures to prevent a repetition of such horrible catastrophes.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We declare that in times of depression, when workingmen are thrown into enforced idleness, that works of public improvement should be at once inaugurated and work provided for those who cannot otherwise secure employment.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We especially emphasize the declaration of the Omaha platform, that "Wealth belongs to him who creates it and every dollar taken from industry without a just equivalent is robbery."

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We congratulate the farmers of the country upon the enormous growth of their splendid organizations, and the good already accomplished through them, securing higher prices for farm products and better conditions generally, for those engaged in agricultural pursuits. We urge the importance of maintaining these organizations and extending their power and influence.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We condemn all unwarranted assumption of authority by inferior Federal courts, in annulling, by injunction, the laws of the States, and demand legislative action by Congress, which will prohibit such usurpation, and will restrict to the Supreme Court of the United States, the exercise of power in cases involving State legislation.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We are opposed to gambling in futures.

National Party Platforms, People's Platform of 1908, p.156

We present to all people the foregoing declaration of principles and policies as our deep, earnest and abiding convictions; and now, before the country and in the name of the great moral, but eternal power in the universe, that makes for right thinking and right living and determines the destiny of nations, this convention pledges that the People's Party will stand by these principles and policies in success and in defeat; that never again will the party by the siren songs and false promises of designing politicians, be tempted to change its course, or be drawn again upon the treacherous rocks of fusion.

Prohibition Platform of 1908

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

The Prohibition Party of the United States, assembled in convention at Columbus, Ohio, July 15-16, 1908, expressing gratitude to Almighty God for the victories of our principles in the past, for encouragement at present, and for confidence in early and triumphant success in the future, makes the following declaration of principles, and pledges their enactment into law when placed in power:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

1. The submission by Congress to the several States, of an amendment to the Federal constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation, or transportation of alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

2. The immediate prohibition of the liquor traffic for beverage purposes in the District of Columbia, in the Territories, and all places over which the National Government has jurisdiction; the repeal of the internal revenue tax on alcoholic liquors and the prohibition of interstate traffic therein.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

3. The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

4. Equitable graduated income and inheritance taxes.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

5. The establishment of postal savings banks and the guaranty of deposits in banks.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

6. The regulation of all corporations doing an interstate commerce business.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

7. The creation of a permanent tariff commission.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

8. The strict enforcement of law instead of official tolerance and practical license of the social evil which prevails in many of our cities, with its unspeakable traffic in girls.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

9. Uniform marriage and divorce laws.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.156

10. An equitable and constitutional employers liability act.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.157

11. Court review of Post-Office Department decisions.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.157

12. The prohibition of child labor in mines, workshops, and factories.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.157

13. Legislation basing suffrage only upon intelligence and ability to read and write the English language.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.157

14. The preservation of the mineral and forest resources of the country, and the improvement of the highways and waterways.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1908, p.157

Believing in the righteousness of our cause and the final triumph of our principles, and convinced of the unwillingness of the Republican and Democratic parties to deal with these issues, we invite to full party fellowship all citizens who are with us agreed.

Republican Platform of 1908

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.157

Once more the Republican Party, in National Convention assembled, submits its cause to the people. This great historic organization, that destroyed slavery, preserved the Union, restored credit, expanded the national domain, established a sound financial system, developed the industries and resources of the country, and gave to the nation her seat of honor in the councils of the world, now meets the new problems of government with the same courage and capacity with which it solved the old.

Republicanism Under Roosevelt

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.157

In this greatest era of American advancement the Republican party has reached its highest service under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. His administration is an epoch in American history. In no other period since national sovereignty was won under Washington, or preserved under Lincoln, has there been such mighty progress in those ideals of government which make for justice, equality and fair dealing among men. The highest aspirations of the American people have found a voice. Their most exalted servant represents the best aims and worthiest purposes of all his countrymen. American manhood has been lifted to a nobler sense of duty and obligation. Conscience and courage in public station and higher standards of right and wrong in private life have become cardinal principles of political faith; capital and labor have been brought into closer relations of confidence and interdependence, and the abuse of wealth, the tyranny of power, and all the evils of privilege and favoritism have been put to scorn by the simple, manly virtues of justice and fair play.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.157

The great accomplishments of President Roosevelt have been, first and foremost, a brave and impartial enforcement of the law, the prosecution of illegal trusts and monopolies, the exposure and punishment of evil-doers in the public service; the more effective regulation of the rates and service of the great transportation lines; the complete overthrow of preferences, rebates and discriminations; the arbitration of labor disputes; the amelioration of the condition of wage-workers everywhere; the conservation of the natural resources of the country; the forward step in the improvement of the inland waterways; and always the earnest support and defence of every wholesome safeguard which has made more secure the guarantees of life, liberty and property.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.157

These are the achievements that will make for Theodore Roosevelt his place in history, but more than all else the great things he has done will be an inspiration to those who have yet greater things to do. We declare our unfaltering adherence to the policies thus inaugurated, and pledge their continuance under a Republican administration of the Government.

Equality of Opportunity

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.157

Under the guidance of Republican principles the American people have become the richest nation in the world. Our wealth to-day exceeds that of England and all her colonies, and that of France and Germany combined. When the Republican Party was born the total wealth of the country was $16,000,000,000. It has leaped to $110,000,000,000 in a generation, while Great Britain has gathered but $60,000,000,000 in five hundred years. The United States now owns one-fourth of the world's wealth and makes one-third of all modern manufactured products. In the great necessities of civilization, such as coal, the motive power of all activity; iron, the chief basis of all industry; cotton, the staple foundation of all fabrics; wheat, corn and all the agricultural products that feed mankind, America's supremacy is undisputed. And yet her great natural wealth has been scarcely touched. We have a vast domain of 3,000,000 square miles, literally bursting with latent treasure, still waiting the magic of capital and industry to be converted to the practical uses of mankind; a country rich in soil and climate, in the unharnessed energy of its rivers and in all the varied products of the field, the forest and the factory. With gratitude for God's bounty, with pride in the splendid productiveness of the past and with confidence in the plenty and prosperity of the future, the Republican party declares for the principle that in the development and enjoyment of wealth so great and blessings so benign there shall be equal opportunity for all.

The Revival of Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.158

Nothing so clearly demonstrates the sound basis upon which our commercial, industrial and agricultural interests are founded, and the necessity of promoting their continued welfare through the operation of Republican policies, as the recent safe passage of the American people through a financial disturbance which, if appearing in the midst of Democratic rule or the menace of it, might have equalled the familiar Democratic panics of the past. We congratulate the people upon this renewed evidence of American supremacy and hail with confidence the signs now manifest of a complete restoration of business prosperity in all lines of trade, commerce and manufacturing.

Recent Republican Legislation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.158

Since the election of William McKinley in 1896, the people of this country have felt anew the wisdom of intrusting to the Republican party, through decisive majorities, the control and direction of national legislation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.158

The many wise and progressive measures adopted at recent sessions of Congress have demonstrated the patriotic resolve of Republican leadership in the legislative department to keep step in the forward march toward better government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.158

Notwithstanding the indefensible filibustering of a Democratic minority in the House of Representatives during the last session, many wholesome and progressive laws were enacted, and we especially commend the passage of the emergency currency bill; the appointment of the national monetary commission; the employer's and Government liability laws, the measures for the greater efficiency of the Army and Navy; the widow's pension bill; the child labor law for the District of Columbia; the new statutes for the safety of railroad engineers and firemen, and many other acts conserving the public welfare.

Republican Pledges for the Future

Tariff

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.158

The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress, which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.158

In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discriminations by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets, and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home; the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage-earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system. Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests.

Currency

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.158

We approve the emergency measures adopted by the Government during the recent financial disturbance, and especially commend the passage by Congress, at the last session of the law designed to protect the country from a repetition of such stringency. The Republican party is committed to the development of a permanent currency system, responding to our greater needs; and the appointment of the National Monetary Commission by the present Congress, which will impartially investigate all proposed methods, insures the early realization of this purpose. The present currency laws have fully justified their adoption, but an expanding commerce, a marvellous growth in wealth and population, multiplying the centres of distribution, increasing the demand for the movement of crops in the West and South, and entailing periodic changes in monetary conditions, disclose the need of a more elastic and adaptable system. Such a system must meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants and business men generally, must be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations of interest rates, and above all, must be in harmony with that Republican doctrine, which insists that every dollar shall be based upon, and as good as, gold.

Postal Savings

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.159

We favor the establishment of a postal savings bank system for the convenience of the people and the encouragement of thrift.

Trusts

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.159

The Republican party passed the Sherman Antitrust law over Democratic opposition, and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. It has been a wholesome instrument for good in the hands of a wise and fearless administration. But experience has shown that its effectiveness can be strengthened and its real objects better attained by such amendments as will give to the Federal Government greater supervision and control over, and secure greater publicity in, the management of that class of corporations engaged in interstate commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies.

Railroads

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.159

We approve the enactment of the railroad rate law and the vigorous enforcement by the present administration of the statutes against rebates and discriminations, as a result of which the advantages formerly possessed by the large shipper over the small shipper have substantially disappeared; and in this connection we commend the appropriation by the present Congress to enable the Interstate Commerce Commission to thoroughly investigate, and give publicity to, the accounts of interstate railroads. We believe, however, that the interstate commerce law should be further amended so as to give railroads the right to make and publish tariff agreements, subject to the approval of the Commission, but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever. We favor such national legislation and supervision as will prevent the future over-issue of stocks and bonds by interstate carriers.

Railroad and Government Employees

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.159

The enactment in constitutional form at the present session of Congress of the employer's liability law; the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statutes, as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen; the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers; the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between interstate railroads and their employes, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employes of the Government, are among the most commendable accomplishments of the present administration. But there is further work in this direction yet to be done, and the Republican party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contributes so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

Wage-Earners Generally

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.159

The same wise policy which has induced the Republican party to maintain protection to American labor; to establish an eight hour day in the construction of all public works; to increase the list of employes who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy laws; to adopt a child labor statute for the District of Columbia; to direct an investigation into the condition of working women and children, and later, of employes of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in interstate business; to appropriate $150,000 at the recent session of Congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of catastrophes and loss of life in the mines; and to amend and strengthen the laws prohibiting the importation of contract labor, will be pursued in every legitimate direction within Federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and advancement of all who toil. The Republican party recognizes the special needs of wage-workers generally, for their well-being means the well-being of all. But more important than all other considerations is that of good citizenship and we especially stand for the needs of every American, whatever his occupation, in his capacity as a self-respecting citizen.

Court Procedure

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.160

The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, State and Federal, and will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the Federal Courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which ease a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.

The American Farmer

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.160

Among those whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wage-earner, is the American farmer. The prosperity of the country rests peculiarly upon the prosperity of agriculture. The Republican party during the last twelve years has accomplished extraordinary work in bringing the resources of the National Government to the aid of the farmer, not only in advancing agriculture itself, but in increasing the conveniences of rural life. Free rural mail delivery has been established; it now reaches millions of our citizens, and we favor its extension until every community in the land receives the full benefits of the postal service. We recognize the social and economical advantages of good country roads, maintained more and more largely at public expense, and less and less at the expense of the abutting owner. In this work we commend the growing practice of State aid, and we approve the efforts of the National Agricultural Department by experiments and otherwise to make clear to the public the best methods of road construction.

Rights of the Negro

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.160

The Republican party has been for more than fifty years the consistent friend of the American Negro. It gave him freedom and citizenship. It wrote into the organic law the declarations that proclaim his civil and political rights, and it believes to-day that his noteworthy progress in intelligence, industry and good citizenship has earned the respect and encouragement of the nation. We demand equal justice for all men, without regard to race or color; we declare once more, and without reservation, for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution which were designed for the protection and advancement of the negro, and we condemn all devices that have for their real aim his disfranchisement for reasons of color alone, as unfair, un-American and repugnant to the Supreme law of the land.

Natural Resources and Waterways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.160

We indorse the movement inaugurated by the administration for the conservation of natural resources; we approve all measures to prevent the waste of timber; we commend the work now going on for the reclamation of arid lands, and reaffirm the Republican policy of the free distribution of the available areas of the public domain to the landless settler. No obligation of the future is more insistent and none will result in greater blessings to posterity. In line with this splendid undertaking is the further duty, equally imperative, to enter upon a systematic improvement upon a large and comprehensive plan, just to all portions of the country, of the waterways, harbors, and Great Lakes, whose natural adaptability to the increasing traffic of the land is one of the greatest gifts of a benign Providence.

The Army and Navy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.160

The 60th Congress passed many commendable acts increasing the efficiency of the Army and Navy; making the militia of the States an integral part of the national establishment; authorizing joint manoeuvres of army and militia; fortifying new naval bases and completing the construction of coaling stations; instituting a female nurse corps for naval hospitals and ships, and adding two new battleships, ten torpedo boat destroyers, three steam colliers, and eight submarines to the strength of the Navy. Although at peace with all the world, and secure in the consciousness that the American people do not desire and will not provoke a war with any other country, we nevertheless declare our unalterable devotion to a policy that will keep this Republic ready at all times to defend her traditional doctrines, and assure her appropriate part in promoting permanent tranquillity among the nations.

Protection of American Citizens Abroad

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands, and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the Government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts tending to that end.

Extension of Foreign Commerce

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

Under the administration of the Republican party, the foreign commerce of the United States has experienced a remarkable growth, until it has a present annual valuation of approximately $3,000,000,000, and gives employment to a vast amount of labor and capital which would otherwise be idle. It has inaugurated, through the recent visit of the Secretary of State to South America and Mexico a new era of Pan-American commerce and comity, which is bringing us into closer touch with our twenty sister American republics, having a common historical heritage, a republican form of government, and offering us a limitless field of legitimate commercial expansion.

Arbitration and the Hague Treaties

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

The conspicuous contributions of American statesmanship to the great cause of international peace so signally advanced in the Hague conferences, are an occasion for just pride and gratification. At the last session of the Senate of the United States eleven Hague conventions were ratified, establishing the rights of neutrals, laws of war on land, restriction of submarine mines, limiting the use of force for the collection of contractual debts, governing the opening of hostilities, extending the application of Geneva principles and, in many ways, lessening the evils of war and promoting the peaceful settlement of international controversies. At the same session twelve arbitration conventions with great nations were confirmed, and extradition, boundary and neutralization treaties of supreme importance were ratified. We indorse such achievements as the highest duty a people can perform and proclaim the obligation of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and good-will with all the nations of the world.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

We adhere to the Republican doctrine of encouragement to American shipping and urge such legislation as will revive the merchant marine prestige of the country, so essential to national defence, the enlargement of foreign trade and the industrial prosperity of our own people.

Veterans of the Wars

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

Another Republican policy which must ever be maintained is that of generous provision for those who have fought the country's battles, and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen. We commend the increase in the widows' pensions, made by the present Congress, and declare for a liberal administration of all pension laws, to the end that the people's gratitude may grow deeper as the memories of heroic sacrifice grow more sacred with the passing years.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

We reaffirm our former declarations that the civil service laws, enacted, extended, and enforced by the Republican party, shall continue to be maintained and obeyed.

Public Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

We commend the efforts designed to secure greater efficiency in National Public Health agencies and favor such legislation as will effect this purpose.

Bureau of Mines and Mining

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

In the interest of the great mineral industries of our country, we earnestly favor the establishment of a Bureau of Mines and Mining.

Cuba, Porto Rico, Philippines, and Panama

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.161

The American Government, in Republican hands, has freed Cuba, given peace and protection to Porto Rico and the Philippines under our flag, and begun the construction of the Panama Canal. The present conditions in Cuba vindicate the wisdom of maintaining, between that Republic and this, imperishable bonds of mutual interest, and the hope is now expressed that the Cuban people will soon again be ready to assume complete sovereignty over their land.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

In Porto Rico the Government of the United States is meeting loyal and patriotic support; order and prosperity prevail, and the well-being of the people is in every respect promoted and conserved .

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

We believe that the native inhabitants of Porto Rico should be at once collectively made citizens of the United States, and that all others properly qualified under existing laws residing in said island should have the privilege of becoming naturalized.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

In the Philippines insurrection has been suppressed, law is established and life and property made secure. Education and practical experience are there advancing the capacity of the people for government, and the policies of McKinley and Roosevelt are leading the inhabitants step by step to an ever-increasing measure of home rule.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

Time has justified the selection of the Panama route for the great Isthmian Canal, and events have shown the wisdom of securing authority over the zone through which it is to be built. The work is now progressing with a rapidity far beyond expectation, and already the realization of the hopes of centuries has come within the vision of the near future.

New Mexico and Arizona

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

We favor the immediate admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as separate States in the Union.

Centenary of the Birth of Lincoln

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

February 12, 1909, will be the 100th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, an immortal spirit whose fame has brightened with the receding years, and whose name stands among the first of those given to the world by the great Republic. We recommend that this centennial anniversary be celebrated throughout the confines of the nation, by all the people thereof, and especially by the public schools, as an exercise to stir the patriotism of the youth of the land.

Democratic Incapacity for Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

We call the attention of the American people to the fact that none of the great measures here advocated by the Republican party could be enacted, and none of the steps forward here proposed could be taken under a Democratic administration or under one in which party responsibility is divided. The continuance of present policies, therefore, absolutely requires the continuance in power of that party which believes in them and which possesses the capacity to put them into operation.

Fundamental Differences Between Democracy and Republicanism

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican party and its chief opponent which make the one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

In history, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that the one stood for debased currency, the other for honest currency; the one for free silver, the other for sound money; the one for free trade, the other for protection; the one for the contraction of American influence, the other for its expansion; the one has been forced to abandon every position taken on the great issues before the people, the other has held and vindicated all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

In experience, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one means adversity, while the other means prosperity; one means low wages, the other means high; one means doubt and debt, the other means confidence and thrift.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

In principle, the difference between Democracy and Republicanism is that one stands for vacillation and timidity in government, the other for strength and purpose; one stands for obstruction, the other for construction; one promises, the other performs, one finds fault, the other finds work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.162

The present tendencies of the two parties are even more marked by inherent differences. The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while the Republican party stands for a wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth, Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take; Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess, Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions. In line with this tendency the Democratic party of to-day believes in Government ownership, while the Republican party believes in Government regulation. Ultimately Democracy would have the nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1908, p.163

Upon this platform of principles and purposes, reaffirming our adherence to every Republican doctrine proclaimed since the birth of the party, we go before the country, asking the support not only of those who have acted with us heretofore, but of all our fellow citizens who, regardless of past political differences, unite in the desire to maintain the policies, perpetuate the blessings and make secure the achievements of a greater America.

Socialist Platform of 1908

Principles

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employing workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage-working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

The wage-workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessaries of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.163

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed, and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

To maintain their rule over their fellow men the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

The struggle between wage-workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society. The small farmer, who is to-day exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principle industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

In the struggle for freedom the interests of the modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

Platform for 1908

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessaries and comforts of life are forced into idleness and starvation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

Within recent years the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.164

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organization of labor.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

The Congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellowmen, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

Individually competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

While our courts, legislatures and executive officers remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, and the so-called "Independence" parties and all parties other than the Socialist party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave-owning aristocracy of the south, which was the backbone of the

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interests of the possessing class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

Program

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

General Demands

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

1—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cutover and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight hour work day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

2—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

3—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.165

4—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water-power.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

5—The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

6—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

Industrial Demands

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

7—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers,

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accident, invalidism, old age and death.

Political Demands

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

8—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and the nearness of kin.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

9—A graduated income tax.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

11—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

12—The abolition of the senate.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

13—The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

14—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

16—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

17—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

18—The free administration of justice.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1908, p.166

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole power of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1908

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.166

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.166

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right: but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of their life, their liberty, and their happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.166

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.166

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes, the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle, and perverts Government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.166

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.167

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.167

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.167

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1908, p.167

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1912

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1912, p.168

In this year there were the two major parties and three well-established minor parties,—the Prohibitionists, the Socialists, and the Socialist Labor Party.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1912, p.168

But the year 1912 is marked chiefly by the advent of a very powerful minor party which broke away from the Republicans. They adopted the name Progressive Party.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1912, p.168

It is to be observed that the People's Party disappeared at this time.

Democratic Platform of 1912

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.168

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government formulated by Thomas Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents.

Tariff Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.168

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal government, under the Constitution, as no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government honestly and economically administered.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.168

The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth; it is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessaries of life to them, but does not protect their product or wages. The farmer sells largely in free markets and buys almost entirely in the protected markets. In the most highly protected industries, such as cotton and wool, steel and iron, the wages of the laborers are the lowest paid in any of our industries. We denounce the Republican pretence on that subject and assert that American wages are established by competitive conditions, and not by the tariff.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.168

We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high and in many cases prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessaries of life. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home should be put upon the free list.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.168

We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country, and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.168

We denounce the action of President Taft in vetoing the bills to reduce the tariff in the cotton, woolen, metals, and chemical schedules and the Farmers' free bill, all of which were designed to give immediate relief to the masses from the exactions of the trusts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

The Republican party, while promising tariff revision, has shown by its tariff legislation that such revision is not to be in the people's interest, and having been faithless to its pledges of 1908, it should not longer enjoy the confidence of the nation. We appeal to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only.

High Cost of Living

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject, and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessaries of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

Anti-Trust Law

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trusts and trust officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

We favor the declaration by law of the conditions upon which corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate trade, including, among others, the prevention of holding companies, of interlocking directors, of stock watering, of discrimination in price, and the control by any one corporation of so large a proportion of any industry as to make it a menace to competitive conditions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

We condemn the action of the Republican administration in compromising with the Standard Oil Company and the tobacco trust and its failure to invoke the criminal provisions of the anti-trust law against the officers of those corporations after the court had declared that from the undisputed facts in the record they had violated the criminal provisions of the law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

We regret that the Sherman anti-trust law has received a judicial construction depriving it of much of its efficiency and we favor the enactment of legislation which will restore to the statute the strength of which it has been deprived by such interpretation.

Rights of the States

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three co-ordinate branches of the Federal government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—each keeping within its own bounds and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

Believing that the most efficient results under our system of government are to be attained by the full exercise by the States of their reserved sovereign powers, we denounce as usurpation the efforts of our opponents to deprive the States of any of the rights reserved to them, and to enlarge and magnify by indirection the powers of the Federal government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

We insist upon the full exercise of all the powers of the Government, both State and national, to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the government a private asset in business. There is no twilight zone between the nation and the State in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both. It is as necessary that the Federal government shall exercise the powers delegated to it as it is that the States shall exercise the powers reserved to them, but we insist that Federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly, shall be added to, and not substituted for State remedies.

Income Tax and Popular Election of

Senators

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

We congratulate the country upon the triumph of two important reforms demanded in the last national platform, namely, the amendment of the Federal Constitution authorizing an income tax, and the amendment providing for the popular election of senators, and we call upon the people of all the States to rally to the support of the pending propositions and secure their ratification.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.169

We note with gratification the unanimous sentiment in favor of publicity, before the election, of campaign contributions—a measure demanded in our national platform of 1908, and at that time opposed by the Republican party—and we commend the Democratic House of Representatives for extending the doctrine of publicity to recommendations, verbal and written, upon which presidential appointments are made, to the ownership and control of newspapers, and to the expenditures made by and in behalf of those who aspire to presidential nominations, and we point for additional justification for this legislation to the enormous expenditures of money in behalf of the President and his predecessor in the recent contest for the Republican nomination for President.

Presidential Primary

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

The movement toward more popular government should be promoted through legislation in each State which will permit the expression of the preference of the electors for national candidates at presidential primaries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

We direct that the National Committee incorporate in the call for the next nominating convention a requirement that all expressions of preference for Presidential candidates shall be given and the selection of delegates and alternates made through a primary election conducted by the party organization in each State where such expression and election are not provided for by State law. Committeemen who are hereafter to constitute the membership of the Democratic National Committee, and whose election is not provided for by law, shall be chosen in each State at such primary elections, and the service and authority of committeemen, however chosen, shall begin immediately upon the receipt of their credentials, respectively.

Campaign Contributions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund and any individual from contributing any amount above a reasonable maximum.

Term of President

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

We favor a single Presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible to reelection, and we pledge the candidates of this Convention to this principle.

Democratic Congress

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

At this time, when the Republican party, after a generation of unlimited power in its control of the Federal Government, is rent into factions, it is opportune to point to the record of accomplishment of the Democratic House of Representatives in the Sixty-second Congress. We indorse its action and we challenge comparison of its record with that of any Congress which has been controlled by our opponents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

We call the attention of the patriotic citizens of our country to its record of efficiency, economy and constructive legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

It has, among other achievements, revised the rules of the House of Representatives so as to give to the Representatives of the American people freedom of speech and of action in advocating, proposing and perfecting remedial legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

It has passed bills for the relief of the people and the development of our country; it has endeavored to revise the tariff taxes downward in the interest of the consuming masses and thus to reduce the high cost of living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

It has proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

It has secured the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as two sovereign States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

It has required the publicity of campaign expenses both before and after election and fixed a limit upon the election expenses of United States Senators and Representatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

It has passed a bill to prevent the abuse of the writ of injunction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

It has passed a law establishing an eight hour day for workmen on all national public work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

It has passed a resolution which forced the President to take immediate steps to abrogate the Russian treaty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

And it has passed the great supply bills which lessen waste and extravagance, and which reduce the annual expenses of the government by many millions of dollars.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.170

We approve the measure reported by the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives for the creation of a council of national defence, which will determine a definite naval program with a view to increased efficiency and economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe Doctrine, and was sponsor for the new navy, will continue faithfully to observe the constitutional requirements to provide and maintain an adequate and well-proportioned navy sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens and uphold the honor and dignity of the nation.

Republican Extravagance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

Railroads, Express Companies, Telegraph and Telephone Lines

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of reproduction, and any element of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

We favor such legislation as will effectually prohibit the railroads, express, telegraph and telephone companies from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers or patrons; also legislation preventing the overissue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines, and legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service, or do injustice to legitimate investments.

Banking Legislation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill or the establishment of a central bank; and we believe our country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control of dominion by what is known as the money trust.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

Banks exist for the accommodation of the public, and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public and of complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

We condemn the present methods of depositing government funds in a few favored banks, largely situated in or controlled by Wall Street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, national and State, without discrimination as to locality, upon approved securities and subject to call by the Government.

Rural Credits

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore, we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States; and we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real estate security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

We recognize the value of vocational education, and urge Federal appropriations for such training and extension teaching in agriculture in co-operation with the several States.

Waterways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.171

We renew the declaration in our last platform relating to the conservation of our natural resources and the development of our waterways. The present devastation of the Lower Mississippi Valley accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and the diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and the development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for the purpose of navigation, the building of levees to maintain the integrity of its channel and the prevention of the overflow of the land and its consequent devastation, resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the general government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

To maintain an adequate depth of water the entire year, and thereby encourage water transportation, is a consummation worthy of legislative attention, and presents an issue national in its character. It calls for prompt action on the part of Congress, and the Democratic party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation leading to that end.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

We favor the co-operation of the United States and the respective States in plans for the comprehensive treatment of all waterways with a view of co-ordinating plans for channel improvement, with plans for drainage of swamp and overflowed lands, and to this end we favor the appropriation by the Federal Government of sufficient funds to make surveys of such lands, to develop plans for draining of the same, and to supervise the work of construction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our inland waterways, with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

Post Roads

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

We favor national aid to State and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

Rights of Labor

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

We repeat our declarations of the platform of 1908, as follows:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

"The courts of justice are the bulwarks of our liberties, and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished justices who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be jealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

"It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people enact, and if the laws appear to work economic, social or political injustice, it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can stand is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, personal liberty, and property. As judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

"Experience has proved the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunction, and we reiterate the pledges of our platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of a measure which passed the United States Senate in 1898, relating to contempt in Federal Courts, and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

"Questions of judicial practice have arisen especially in connection with industrial disputes. We believe that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality, and that injunctions should not be issued in any case in which an injunction would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

"The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgement of the right of the wage earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

"We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor, represented separately in the President's cabinet in which department shall be included the subject of mines and mining."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

We pledge the Democratic party, so far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, to an employés' compensation law providing adequate indemnity for injury to body or loss of life.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.172

We believe in the conservation and the development, for the use of all the people, of the natural resources of the country. Our forests, our sources of water supply, our arable and our mineral lands, our navigable streams, and all the other material resources with which our country has been so lavishly endowed, constitute the foundation of our national wealth. Such additional legislation as may be necessary to prevent their being wasted or absorbed by special or privileged interests, should be enacted and the policy of their conservation should be rigidly adhered to.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

The public domain should be administered and disposed of with due regard to the general welfare. Reservations should be limited to the purposes which they purport to serve and not extended to include land wholly unsuited therefor. The unnecessary withdrawal from sale and settlement of enormous tracts of public land, upon which tree growth never existed and cannot be promoted, tends only to retard development, create discontent, and bring reproach upon the policy of conservation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

The public land laws should be administered in a spirit of the broadest liberality toward the settler exhibiting a bona-fide purpose to comply therewith, to the end that the invitation of this government to the landless should be as attractive as possible, and the plain provisions of the forest reserve act permitting homestead entries to be made within the national forests should not be nullified by administrative regulations which amount to a withdrawal of great areas of the same from settlement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

Immediate action should be taken by Congress to make available the vast and valuable coal deposits of Alaska under conditions that will be a perfect guarantee against their falling into the hands of monopolizing corporations, associations or interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

We rejoice in the inheritance of mineral resources unequalled in extent, variety, or value, and in the development of a mining industry unequalled in its magnitude and importance. We honor the men who, in their hazardous toil underground, daily risk their lives in extracting and preparing for our use the products of the mine, so essential to the industries, the commerce, and the comfort of the people of this country. And we pledge ourselves to the extension of the work of the bureau of mines in every way appropriate for national legislation with a view to safeguarding the lives of the miners, lessening the waste of essential resources, and promoting the economic development of mining, which, along with agriculture, must in the future, even more than in the past, serve as the very foundation of our national prosperity and welfare, and our international commerce.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

We believe in encouraging the development of a modern system of agriculture and a systematic effort to improve the conditions of trade in farm products so as to benefit both consumer and producer. And as an efficient means to this end we favor the enactment by Congress of legislation that will suppress the pernicious practice of gambling in agricultural products by organized exchanges or others.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

We believe in fostering, by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister republics of the south, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the public treasury.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

We urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life and property at sea; and we favor the repeal of all laws, and the abrogation of so much of our treaties with other nations, as provide for the arrest and imprisonment of seamen charged with desertion, or with violation of their contract of service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

Such laws and treaties are un-American, and violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama canal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

We also favor legislation forbidding the use of the Panama Canal by ships owned or controlled by railroad carriers engaged in transportation competitive with the canal.

Pure Food and Public Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.173

We reaffirm our previous declarations advocating the union and strengthening of the various governmental agencies relating to pure foods, quarantine, vital statistics and human health. Thus united, and administered without partiality to or discrimination against any school of medicine or system of healing, they would constitute a single health service, not subordinated to any commercial or financial interests, but devoted exclusively to the conservation of human life and efficiency. Moreover, this health service should co-operate with the health agencies of our various States and cities, without interference with their prerogatives, or with the freedom of individuals to employ such medical or hygienic aid as they may see fit.

Civil Service Law

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion, rather than service rendered to a political party; and we favor a reorganization of the evil service, with adequate compensation commensurate with the class of work performed for all officers and employés; and also favor the extension to all classes of civil service employés of the benefits of the provisions of the employers' liability law. We also recognize the right of direct petition to Congress by employes for the redress of grievances.

Law Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

We recognize the urgent need of reform in the administration of civil and criminal law in the United States, and we recommend the enactment of such legislation and the promotion of such measures as will rid the present legal system of the delays, expense, and uncertainties incident to the system as now administered.

The Philippines

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder, which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other Powers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

In recognizing the independence of the Philippines, our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

Arizona and New Mexico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

We welcome Arizona and New Mexico to the sisterhood of States, and heartily congratulate them upon their auspicious beginnings of great and glorious careers.

Alaska

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

We demand for the people of Alaska the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a Territorial form of government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our Territories and the District of Columbia should be qualified by previous bona-fide residence.

The Russian Treaty

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

We commend the patriotism of the Democratic members of the Senate and House of Representatives which compelled the termination of the Russian treaty of 1832, and we pledge ourselves anew to preserve the sacred rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our government which does not recognize the equality of all of our citizens, irrespective of race or creed, and which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States government, both for himself and his property.

Parcels Post and Rural Delivery

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

We favor the establishment of a parcels post or postal express, and also the extension of the rural delivery system as rapidly as practicable.

Panama Canal Exposition

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.174

We hereby express our deep interest in the great Panama Canal Exposition to be held in San Francisco in 1915, and favor such encouragement as can be properly given.

Protection of National Uniform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.175

We commend to the several States the adoption of a law making it an offence for the proprietors of places of public amusement and entertainment to discriminate against the uniform of the United States, similar to the law passed by Congress applicable to the District of Columbia and the Territories in 1911.

Pensions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.175

We renew the declaration of our last platform relating to a generous pension policy.

Rule of the People

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.175

We direct attention to the fact that the Democratic party's demand for a return to the rule of the people expressed in the national platform four years ago, has now become the accepted doctrine of a large majority of the electors. We again remind the country that only by a larger exercise of the reserved power of the people can they protect themselves from the misuse of delegated power and the usurpation of government instrumentalities by special interests. For this reason the National Convention insisted on the overthrow of Cannonism and the inauguration of a system by which United States Senators could be elected by direct vote. The Democratic party offers itself to the country as an agency through which the complete overthrow and extirpation of corruption, fraud, and machine rule in American politics can be effected.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1912, p.175

Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office, as well as relied upon during the campaign, and we invite the co-operation of all citizens, regardless of party, who believe in maintaining unimpaired the institutions and traditions of our country.

Progressive Platform of 1912

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's sense of justice. We of the Progressive party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain the government of the people, by the people and for the people whose foundations they laid.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

We hold with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln that the people are the masters of their Constitution, to fulfill its purposes and to safeguard it from those who, by perversion of its intent, would convert it into an instrument of injustice. In accordance with the needs of each generation the people must use their sovereign powers to establish and maintain equal opportunity and industrial justice, to secure which this Government was founded and without which no republic can endure.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Its resources, its business, its institutions and its laws should be utilized, maintained or altered in whatever manner will best promote the general interest.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

It is time to set the public welfare in the first place.

The Old Parties

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside. Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare, they have become the tools of corrupt interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party, the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues of the new time, have compelled the people to forge a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

Unhampered by tradition, uncorrupted by power, undismayed by the magnitude of the task, the new party offers itself as the instrument of the people to sweep away old abuses, to build a new and nobler commonwealth.

A Covenant With the People

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.175

This declaration is our covenant with the people, and we hereby bind the party and its candidates in State and Nation to the pledges made herein.

The Rule of the People

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

The National Progressive party, committed to the principles of government by a self-controlled democracy expressing its will through representatives of the people, pledges itself to secure such alterations in the fundamental law of the several States and of the United States as shall insure the representative character of the government.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

In particular, the party declares for direct primaries for the nomination of State and National officers, for nation-wide preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency; for the direct election of United States Senators by the people; and we urge on the States the policy of the short ballot, with responsibility to the people secured by the initiative, referendum and recall.

Amendment of Constitution

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

The Progressive party, believing that a free people should have the power from time to time to amend their fundamental law so as to adapt it progressively to the changing needs of the people, pledges itself to provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution.

Nation and State

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

Up to the limit of the Constitution, and later by amendment of the Constitution, it found necessary, we advocate bringing under effective national jurisdiction those problems which have expanded beyond reach of the individual States.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

It is as grotesque as it is intolerable that the several States should by unequal laws in matter of common concern become competing commercial agencies, barter the lives of their children, the health of their women and the safety and well being of their working people for the benefit of their financial interests.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

The extreme insistence on States' rights by the Democratic party in the Baltimore platform demonstrates anew its inability to understand the world into which it has survived or to administer the affairs of a union of States which have in all essential respects become one people.

Equal Suffrage

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

Corrupt Practices

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures, and detailed publicity of both before as well as after primaries and elections.

Publicity and Public Service

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

We pledge our party to legislation compelling the registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings except on foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; and forbidding federal appointees from holding office in State or National political organizations, or taking part as officers or delegates in political conventions for the nomination of elective State or National officials.

The Courts

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end, it pledges itself to provide:

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

1. That when an Act, passed under the police power of the State is held unconstitutional under the State Constitution, by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the Act to become law, notwithstanding such decision.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

2. That every decision of the highest appellate court of a State declaring an Act of the Legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.

Administration of Justice

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.176

The Progressive party, in order to secure to the people a better administration of justice and by that means to bring about a more general respect for the law and the courts, pledges itself to work unceasingly for the reform of legal procedure and judicial methods.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

We also believe that a person cited for contempt in labor disputes, except when such contempt was committed in the actual presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the proper administration of justice, should have a right to trial by jury.

Social and Industrial Justice

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The supreme duty of the Nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in State and Nation for:

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurous effects incident to modern industry;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations, and the exercise of the public authority of State and Nation, including the Federal Control over interstate commerce, and the taxing power, to maintain such standards;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The prohibition of child labor;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

Minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a "living wage" in all industrial occupations;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The general prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight hour day for women and young persons;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

One day's rest in seven for all wage workers;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The eight hour day in continuous twenty-four hour industries;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The abolition of the convict contract labor system; substituting a system of prison production for governmental consumption only; and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor; full reports upon industrial accidents and diseases, and the opening to public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures and check systems on labor products;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident and injury and trade disease which will transfer the burden of lost earnings from the families of working people to the industry, and thus to the community;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment and old age through the adoption of a system of social insurance adapted to American use;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The development of the creative labor power of America by lifting the last load of illiteracy from American youth and establishing continuation schools for industrial education under public control and encouraging agricultural education and demonstration in rural schools;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The establishment of industrial research laboratories to put the methods and discoveries of science at the service of American producers;

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

We favor the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress.

Department of Labor

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

We pledge our party to establish a department of labor with a seat in the cabinet, and with wide jurisdiction over matters affecting the conditions of labor and living.

Country Life

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The development and prosperity of country life are as important to the people who live in the cities as they are to the farmers. Increase of prosperity on the farm will favorably affect the cost of living, and promote the interests of all who dwell in the country, and all who depend upon its products for clothing, shelter and food.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

We pledge our party to foster the development of agricultural credit and co-operation, the teaching of agriculture in schools, agricultural college extension, the use of mechanical power on the farm, and to re-establish the Country Life Commission, thus directly promoting the welfare of the farmers, and bringing the benefits of better farming, better business and better living within their reach.

High Cost of Living

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

The high cost of living is due partly to worldwide and partly to local causes; partly to natural and partly to artificial causes. The measures proposed in this platform on various subjects such as the tariff, the trusts and conservation, will of themselves remove the artificial causes.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.177

There will remain other elements such as the tendency to leave the country for the city, waste, extravagance, bad system of taxation, poor methods of raising crops and bad business methods in marketing crops.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

To remedy these conditions requires the fullest information and based on this information, effective government supervision and control to remove all the artificial causes. We pledge ourselves to such full and immediate inquiry and to immediate action to deal with every need such inquiry discloses.

Health

National Party Platforms, Prowressive Platform of 1912, p.178

We favor the union of all the existing agencies of the Federal Government dealing with the public health into a single national health service without discrimination against or for any one set of therapeutic methods, school of medicine, or school of healing with such additional powers as may be necessary to enable it to perform efficiently such duties in the protection of the public from preventable diseases as may be properly undertaken by the Federal authorities, including the executing of existing laws regarding pure food, quarantine and cognate subjects, the promotion of vital statistics and the extension of the registration area of such statistics, and co-operation with the health activities of the various States and cities of the Nation.

Business

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

We believe that true popular government, justice and prosperity go hand in hand, and, so believing, it is our purpose to secure that large measure of general prosperity which is the fruit of legitimate and honest business, fostered by equal justice and by sound progressive laws.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

We demand that the test of true prosperity shall be the benefits conferred thereby on all the citizens, not confined to individuals or classes, and that the test of corporate efficiency shall be the ability better to serve the public; that those who profit by control of business affairs shall justify that profit and that control by sharing with the public the fruits thereof.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

We therefore demand a strong National regulation of inter-State corporations. The corporation is an essential part of modern business. The concentration of modem business, in some degree, is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency. But the existing concentration of vast wealth under a corporate system, unguarded and uncontrolled by the Nation, has placed in the hands of a few men enormous, secret, irresponsible power over the daily life of the citizen—a power insufferable in a free Government and certain of abuse.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

This power has been abused, in monopoly of National resources, in stock watering, in unfair competition and unfair privileges, and finally in sinister influences on the public agencies of State and Nation. We do not fear commercial power, but we insist that it shall be exercised openly, under publicity, supervision and regulation of the most efficient sort, which will preserve its good while eradicating and preventing its ill.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

To that end we urge the establishment of a strong Federal administrative commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in inter-State commerce, or such of them as are of public importance, doing for them what the Government now does for the National banks, and what is now done for the railroads by the Inter-State Commerce Commission.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

Such a commission must enforce the complete publicity of those corporation transactions which are of public interest; must attack unfair competition, false capitalization and special privilege, and by continuous trained watchfulness guard and keep open equally all the highways of American commerce.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

Thus the business man will have certain knowledge of the law, and will be able to conduct his business easily in conformity therewith; the investor will find security for his capital; dividends will be rendered more certain, and the savings of the people will be drawn naturally and safely into the channels of trade.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

Under such a system of constructive regulation, legitimate business, freed from confusion, uncertainty and fruitless litigation, will develop normally in response to the energy and enterprise of the American business man.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

We favor strengthening the Sherman Law by prohibiting agreement to divide territory or limit output; refusing to sell to customers who buy from business rivals; to sell below cost in certain areas while maintaining higher prices in other places; using the power of transportation to aid or injure special business concerns; and other unfair trade practices.

Patents

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a patent

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.178

law which will make it impossible for patents to be suppressed or used against the public welfare in the interests of injurious monopolies.

Inter-State Commerce Commission

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

We pledge our party to secure to the Inter-State Commerce Commission the power to value the physical property of railroads. In order that the power of the commission to protect the people may not be impaired or destroyed, we demand the abolition of the Commerce Court.

Currency

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

We believe there exists imperative need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our National currency system. We believe the present method of issuing notes through private agencies is harmful and unscientific.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

The issue of currency is fundamentally a Government function and the system should have as basic principles soundness and elasticity. The control should be lodged with the Government and should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall Street or any special interests.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich currency bill, because its provisions would place our currency and credit system in private hands, not subject to effective public control.

Commercial Development

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

The time has come when the Federal Government should co-operate with manufacturers and producers in extending our foreign commerce. To this end we demand adequate appropriations by Congress, and the appointment of diplomatic and consular officers solely with a view to their special fitness and worth, and not in consideration of political expediency.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

It is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

In every way possible our Federal Government should co-operate in this important matter. Germany's policy of co-operation between government and business has, in comparatively few years, made that nation a leading competitor for the commerce of the world.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

The natural resources of the Nation must be promptly developed and generously used to supply the people's needs, but we cannot safely allow them to be wasted, exploited, monopolized or controlled against the general good. We heartily favor the policy of conservation, and we pledge our party to protect the National forests without hindering their legitimate use for the benefit of all the people.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

Agricultural lands in the National forests are, and should remain, open to the genuine settler. Conservation will not retard legitimate development. The honest settler must receive his patent promptly, without hindrance, rules or delays.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

We believe that the remaining forests, coal and oil lands, water powers and other natural resources still in State or National control (except agricultural lands) are more likely to be wisely conserved and utilized for the general welfare if held in the public hands.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

In order that consumers and producers, managers and workmen, now and hereafter, need not pay toll to private monopolies of power and raw material, we demand that such resources shall be retained by the State or Nation, and opened to immediate use under laws which will encourage development and make to the people a moderate return for benefits conferred.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

In particular we pledge our party to require reasonable compensation to the public for water power rights hereafter granted by the public.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

We pledge legislation to lease the public grazing lands under equitable provisions now pending which will increase the production of food for the people and thoroughly safeguard the rights of the actual homemaker. Natural resources, whose conservation is necessary for the National welfare, should be owned or controlled by the Nation.

Good Roads

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

We recognize the vital importance of good roads and we pledge our party to foster their extension in every proper way, and we favor the early construction of National highways. We also favor the extension of the rural free delivery service.

Alaska

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

The coal and other natural resources of Alaska should be opened to development at once. They are owned by the people of the United States, and are safe from monopoly, waste or destruction only while so owned.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.179

We demand that they shall neither be sold nor given away, except under the Homestead Law, but while held in Government ownership shall be opened to use promptly upon liberal terms requiring immediate development.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

Thus the benefit of cheap fuel will accrue to the Government of the United States and to the people of Alaska and the Pacific Coast; the settlement of extensive agricultural lands will be hastened; the extermination of the salmon will be prevented and the just and wise development of Alaskan resources will take the place of private extortion or monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

We demand also that extortion or monopoly in transportation shall be prevented by the prompt acquisition, construction or improvement by the Government of such railroads, harbor and other facilities for transportation as the welfare of the people may demand.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

We promise the people of the Territory of Alaska the same measure of legal self-government that was given to other American territories, and that Federal officials appointed there shall be qualified by previous bona-fide residence in the Territory.

Waterways

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

The rivers of the United States are the natural arteries of this continent. We demand that they shall be opened to traffic as indispensable parts of a great Nation-wide system of transportation, in which the Panama Canal will be the central link, thus enabling the whole interior of the United States to share with the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards in the benefit derived from the canal.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

It is a National obligation to develop our rivers, and especially the Mississippi and its tributaries, without delay, under a comprehensive general plan covering each river system from its source to its mouth, designed to secure its highest usefulness for navigation, irrigation, domestic supply, water power and the prevention of floods.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

We pledge our party to the immediate preparation of such a plan, which should be made and carried out in close and friendly co-operation between the Nation, the States and the cities affected.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

Under such a plan, the destructive floods of the Mississippi and other streams, which represent a vast and needless loss to the Nation, would be controlled by forest conservation and water storage at the headwaters, and by levees below; land sufficient to support millions of people would be reclaimed from the deserts and the swamps, water power enough to transform the industrial standings of whole States would be developed, adequate water terminals would be provided, transportation by river would revive, and the railroads would be compelled to co-operate as freely with the boat lines as with each other.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

The equipment, organization and experience acquired in constructing the Panama Canal soon will be available for the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway and other portions of this great work, and should be utilized by the Nation in co-operation with the various States, at the lowest net cost to the people.

Panama Canal

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

The Panama Canal, built and paid for by the American people, must be used primarily for their benefit.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

We demand that the canal shall be so operated as to break the transportation monopoly now held and misused by the transcontinental railroads by maintaining sea competition with them; that ships directly or indirectly owned or controlled by American railroad corporations shall not be permitted to use the canal, and that American ships engaged in coastwise trade shall pay no tolls.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

The Progressive party will favor legislation having for its aim the development of friendship and commerce between the United States and Latin-American nations.

Tariff

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

We believe in a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, and which shall maintain for labor an adequate standard of living.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

Primarily the benefit of any tariff should be disclosed in the pay envelope of the laborer. We declare that no industry deserves protection which is unfair to labor or which is operating in violation of Federal law. We believe that the presumption is always in favor of the consuming public.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.180

We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the people of the United States. Fair dealing toward the people requires an immediate downward revision of those schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We pledge ourselves to the establishment of a non-partisan scientific tariff commission, reporting both to the President and to either branch of Congress, which shall report, first, as to the costs of production, efficiency of labor, capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress; second, as to the revenue producing power of the tariff and its relation to the resources of Government; and, third, as to the effect of the tariff on prices, operations of middlemen, and on the purchasing power of the consumer.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We believe that this commission should have plenary power to elicit information, and for this purpose to prescribe a uniform system of accounting for the great protected industries. The work of the commission should not prevent the immediate adoption of acts reducing these schedules generally recognized as excessive.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We condemn the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people. The Republican organization is in the hands of those who have broken, and cannot again be trusted to keep, the promise of necessary downward revision.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

The Democratic party is committed to the destruction of the protective system through a tariff for revenue only—a policy which would inevitably produce widespread industrial and commercial disaster.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We demand the immediate repeal of the Canadian Reciprocity Act.

Inheritance and Income Tax

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We believe in a graduated inheritance tax as a National means of equalizing the obligations of holders of property to Government, and we hereby pledge our party to enact such a Federal law as will tax large inheritances, returning to the States an equitable percentage of all amounts collected.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We favor the ratification of the pending amendment to the Constitution giving the Government power to levy an income tax.

Peace and National Defense

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

The Progressive party deplores the survival in our civilization of the barbaric system of warfare among nations with its enormous waste of resources even in time of peace, and the consequent impoverishment of the life of the toiling masses. We pledge the party to use its best endeavors to substitute judicial and other peaceful means of settling international differences.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We favor an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces. Pending such an agreement, and as the best means of preserving peace, we pledge ourselves to maintain for the present the policy of building two battleships a year.

Treaty Rights

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We pledge our party to protect the rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our Government which discriminates between American citizens because of birthplace, race, or religion, or that does not recognize the absolute right of expatriation.

The Immigrant

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

Through the establishment of industrial standards we propose to secure to the able-bodied immigrant and to his native fellow workers a larger share of American opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We denounce the fatal policy of indifference and neglect which has left our enormous immigrant population to become the prey of chance and cupidity.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We favor Governmental action to encourage the distribution of immigrants away from the congested cities, to rigidly supervise all private agencies dealing with them and to promote their assimilation, education and advancement.

Pensions

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We pledge ourselves to a wise and just policy of pensioning American soldiers and sailors and their widows and children by the Federal Government. And we approve the policy of the southern States in granting pensions to the ex-Confederate soldiers and sailors and their widows and children.

Parcel Post

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We pledge our party to the immediate creation of a parcel post, with rates proportionate to distance and service.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.181

We condemn the violations of the Civil Service Law under the present administration, including the coercion and assessment of subordinate employees, and the President's refusal to punish such violation after a finding of guilty by his own commission; his distribution of patronage among subservient congressmen, while withholding it from those who refuse support of administration measures; his withdrawal of nominations from the Senate until political support for himself was secured, and his open use of the offices to reward those who voted for his renomination.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.182

To eradicate these abuses, we demand not only the enforcement of the civil service act in letter and spirit, but also legislation which will bring under the competitive system postmasters, collectors, marshals, and all other non-political officers, as well as the enactment of an equitable retirement law, and we also insist upon continuous service during good behavior and efficiency.

Government Business Organization

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.182

We pledge our party to readjustment of the business methods of the National Government and a proper co-ordination of the Federal bureaus, which will increase the economy and efficiency of the Government service, prevent duplications, and secure better results to the taxpayers for every dollar expended.

Government Supervision Over

Investments

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.182

The people of the United States are swindled out of many millions of dollars every year, through worthless investments. The plain people, the wage earner and the men and women with small savings, have no way of knowing the merit of concerns sending out highly colored prospectuses offering stock for sale, prospectuses that make big returns seem certain and fortunes easily within grasp.

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.182

We hold it to be the duty of the Government to protect its people from this kind of piracy. We, therefore, demand wise, carefully thought out legislation that will give us such Governmental supervision over this matter as will furnish to the people of the United States this much-needed protection, and we pledge ourselves thereto.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Progressive Platform of 1912, p.182

On these principles and on the recognized desirability of uniting the Progressive forces of the Nation into an organization which shall unequivocally represent the Progressive spirit and policy we appeal for the support of all American citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

Prohibition Platform of 1912

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

The Prohibition Party in National Convention at Atlantic City, N. J., July 10, 1912, recognizing God as the source of all governmental authority, makes the following declarations of principles and policies:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

1. The alcoholic drink traffic is wrong; is the most serious drain on the wealth and resources of the nation; is detrimental to the general welfare and destructive of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. All laws taxing or licensing a traffic which produces crime, poverty and political corruption, and spreads disease and death should be repealed. To destroy such a traffic there must be elected to power a political party which will administer the government from the standpoint that the alcoholic drink traffic is a crime and not a business, and we pledge that the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages shall be prohibited.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

We favor:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

2. Suffrage for women on the same terms as for men.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

3. A uniform marriage and divorce law. The extermination of polygamy. And the complete suppression of the traffic in girls.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

4. Absolute protection of the rights of labor, without impairment of the rights of capital.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

5. The settlement of all international disputes by arbitration.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

6. The abolition of child labor in mines, workshops and factories, with the rigid enforcement of the laws now flagrantly violated.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

7. The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

8. A Presidential term of six years, and one term only.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

9. Court review of Post Office and other departmental decisions and orders; the extension of the Postal Savings Bank system, and of Rural Delivery, and the establishment of an efficient parcels post.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

10. The initiative, referendum and recall.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

11. As the tariff is a commercial question it should be fixed on the scientific basis of accurate knowledge, secured by means of a permanent, omni-partisan tariff commission, with ample powers.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.182

12. Equitable graduated income and inheritance taxes.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.183

13. Conservation of our forest and mineral reserves, and the reclamation of waste lands. All mineral and timber lands, and water powers, now owned by the government, should be held perpetually, and leased for revenue purposes.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.183

14. Clearly defined laws for the regulation and control of corporations transacting an inter-State business.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.183

15. Efficiency and economy in governmental administration.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.183

16. The protection of one day in seven as a day of rest.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1912, p.183

To these fundamental principles, the National Prohibition Party renews its long allegiance, and on these issues invites the co-operation of all good citizens, to the end that the true object of government may be attained, namely, equal and exact justice for all.

Republican Platform of 1912

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.183

The Republican party, assembled by its representatives in National Convention, declares its unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. We renew our allegiance to the principles of the Republican party and our devotion to the cause of Republican institutions established by the fathers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.183

It is appropriate that we should now recall with a sense of veneration and gratitude the name of our first great leader, who was nominated in this city, and whose lofty principles and superb devotion to his country are an inspiration to the party he honored—Abraham Lincoln.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.183

In the present state of public affairs we should be inspired by his broad statesmanship and by his tolerant spirit toward men.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.183

The Republican party looks back upon its record with pride and satisfaction, and forward to its new responsibilities with hope and confidence. Its achievements in government constitute the most luminous pages in our history. Our greatest national advance has been made during the years of its ascendancy in public affairs. It has been genuinely and always a party of progress; it has never been either stationary or reactionary. It has gone from the fulfilment of one great pledge to the fulfilment of another in response to the public need and to the popular will.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.183

We believe in our self-controlled representative democracy which is a government of laws, not of men, and in which order is the prerequisite of progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.183

The principles of constitutional government, which make provisions for orderly and effective expression of the popular will, for the protection of civil liberty and the rights of man, and for the interpretation of the law by an untrammelled and independent judiciary, have proved themselves capable of sustaining the structure of a government which, after more than a century of development, embraces one hundred millions of people, scattered over a wide and diverse territory, but bound by common purpose, common ideals and common affection to the Constitution of the United States. Under the Constitution and the principles asserted and vitalized by it, the United States has grown to be one of the great civilized and civilizing powers of the earth. It offers a home and an opportunity to the ambitious and the industrious from other lands. Resting upon the broad basis of a people's confidence and a people's support, and managed by the people themselves, the government of the United States will meet the problems of the future as satisfactorily as it has solved those of the past.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.183

The Republican party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statemanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions, which social, economic and political development have brought into the forefront of the nation's interest. It will strive, not only in the nation but in the several States, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health; to limit effectively the labor of women and children, and to protect wage earners engaged in dangerous occupations; to enact comprehensive and generous workman's compensation laws in place of the present wasteful and unjust system of employers' liability; and in all possible ways to satisfy the just demand of the people for the study and solution of the complex and constantly changing problems of social welfare.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.183

In dealing with these questions, it is important that the rights of every individual to the freest possible development of his own powers and resources and to the control of his own justly acquired property, so far as those are compatible with the rights of others, shall not be interfered with or destroyed. The social and political structure of the United States rests upon the civil liberty of the individual; and for the protection of that liberty the people have wisely, in the National and State Constitutions, put definite limitations upon themselves and upon their governmental officers and agencies. To enforce these limitations, to secure the orderly and coherent exercise of governmental powers, and to protect the rights of even the humblest and least favored individual are the function of independent Courts of Justice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.184

The Republican party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the Courts, both State and Federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. An orderly method is provided under our system of government by which the people may, when they choose, alter or amend the constitutional provisions which underlie that government. Until these constitutional provisions are so altered or amended, in orderly fashion, it is the duty of the courts to see to it that when challenged they are enforced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.184

That the Courts, both Federal and State, may bear the heavy burden laid upon them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion, we favor legislation to prevent long delays and the tedious and costly appeals which have so often amounted to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.184

Since the responsibility of the Judiciary is so great, the standards of judicial action must be always and everywhere above suspicion and reproach. While we regard the recall of judges as unnecessary and unwise, we favor such action as may be necessary to simplify the process by which any judge who is found to be derelict in his duty may be removed from office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.184

Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth. It believes most earnestly in the peaceful settlement of international disputes and in the reference of all justiciable controversies between nations to an International Court of Justice.

Monopoly and Privilege

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.184

The Republican party is opposed to special privilege and to monopoly. It placed upon the statute-book the interstate commerce act of 1887, and the important amendments thereto, and the anti-trust act of 1890, and it has consistently and successfully enforced the provisions of these laws. It will take no backward step to permit the reestablishment in any degree of conditions which were intolerable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.184

Experience makes it plain that the business of the country may be carried on without fear or without disturbance and at the same time without resort to practices which are abhorrent to the common sense of justice. The Republican party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing anti-trust act which will define as criminal offences those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action and those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished. The same certainty should be given to the law prohibiting combinations and monopolies that characterize other provisions of commercial law; in order that no part of the field of business opportunity may be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honorably achieved may not be converted into crime, and that the right of every man to acquire commodities, and particularly the necessaries of life, in an open market uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination, may be preserved.

Federal Trade Commission

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.184

In the enforcement and administration of Federal Laws governing interstate commerce and enterprises impressed with a public use engaged therein, there is much that may be committed to a Federal trade commission, thus placing in the hands of an administrative board many of the functions now necessarily exercised by the courts. This will promote promptness in the administration of the law and avoid delays and technicalities incident to court procedure.

The Tariff

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.184

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living. The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment. The products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.185

We hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages. Some of the existing import duties are too high, and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to changing conditions and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry. To accomplish this correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the Tariff Board has demonstrated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.185

The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. The Republican party has shown by its creation of a Tariff Board its recognition of this situation, and its determination to be equal to it. We condemn the Democratic party for its failure either to provide funds for the continuance of this board or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation. We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on these vitally important subjects without careful investigation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.185

We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress as sectional, as injurious to the public credit, and as destructive to business enterprise.

Cost of Living

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.185

The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of national but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions in countries which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.185

The Republican party will support a prompt scientific inquiry into the causes which are operative, both in the United States and elsewhere, to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts are known, it will take the necessary steps to remove any abuses that may be found to exist, in order that the cost of the food, clothing and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

Banking and Currency

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.185

The Republican party has always stood for a sound currency and for safe banking methods. It is responsible for the resumption of specie payments and for the establishment of the gold standard. It is committed to the progressive development of our banking and currency systems. Our banking arrangements to-day need further revision to meet the requirements of current conditions. We need measures which will prevent the recurrence of money panics and financial disturbances and which will promote the prosperity of business and the welfare of labor by producing constant employment. We need better currency facilities for the movement of crops in the West and South. We need banking arrangements under American auspices for the encouragement and better conduct of our foreign trade. In attaining these ends, the independence of individual banks, whether organized under national or State charters, must be carefully protected, and our banking and currency system must be safeguarded from any possibility of domination by sectional, financial, or political interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.185

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business. Therefore, we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries and the passage of State and Federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for their purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

The Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.185

We reaffirm our adherence to the principle of appointment to public office based on proved fitness, and tenure during good behavior and efficiency. The Republican party stands committed to the maintenance, extension and enforcement of the Civil Service Law, and it favors the passage of legislation empowering the President to extend the competitive service as far as practicable. We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the Civil Service in order that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We favor the amendment of the Federal Employers' Liability Law so as to extend its provisions to all government employés, as well as to provide a more liberal scale of compensation for injury and death.

Campaign Contributions

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We favor such additional legislation as may be necessary more effectually to prohibit corporations from contributing funds, directly or indirectly, to campaigns for the nomination or election of the President, the Vice-President, Senators, and Representatives in Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We heartily approve the recent Act of Congress requiring the fullest publicity in regard to all campaign contributions, whether made in connection with primaries, conventions, or elections.

Conservation Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our National resources, for their use by the people without waste and without monopoly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of such a policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We favor such fair and reasonable rules and regulations as will not discourage or interfere with actual bona-fide homeseekers, prospectors and miners in the acquisition of public lands under existing laws.

Parcels Post

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

In the interest of the general public, and particularly of the agricultural or rural communities, we favor legislation looking to the establishment, under proper regulations, of a parcels post, the postal rates to be graduated under a zone system in proportion to the length of carriage.

Protection of American Citizenship

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We approve the action taken by the President and the Congress to secure with Russia as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native-born or aliens, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted.

The Navy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We believe in the maintenance of an adequate navy for the National defence, and we condemn the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing to authorize the construction of additional ships.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We believe that one of the country's most urgent needs is a revived merchant marine. There should be American ships, and plenty of them, to make use of the great American Inter-Oceanic canal now nearing completion.

Flood Prevention in the Mississippi Valley

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

The Mississippi River is the nation's drainage ditch. Its flood waters, gathered from thirty-one States and the Dominion of Canada, constitute an overpowering force which breaks the levees and pours its torrents over many millions of acres of the richest land in the Union, stopping mails, impeding commerce, and causing great loss of life and property. These floods are national in scope, and the disasters they produce seriously affect the general welfare. The States unaided cannot cope with this giant problem; hence, we believe the Federal Government should assume a fair proportion of the burden of its control, so as to prevent the disasters from recurring floods.

Reclamation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We favor the continuance of the policy of the government with regard to the reclamation of arid lands; and for the encouragement of the speedy settlement and improvement of such lands we favor an amendment to the law that will reasonably extend the time within which the cost of any reclamation project may be repaid by the landowners under it.

Rivers and Harbors

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.186

We favor a liberal and systematic policy for the improvement of our rivers and harbors. Such improvements should be made upon expert information and after a careful comparison of cost and prospective benefits.

Alaska

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We favor a liberal policy toward Alaska to promote the development of the great resources of that district, with such safeguards as will prevent waste and monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We favor the opening of the coal lands to development through a law leasing the lands on such terms as will invite development and provide fuel for the navy and the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, while retaining title in the United States to prevent monopoly.

Philippine Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

The Philippine policy of the Republican party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from partisan polities.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of appropriate laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration, which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States.

Safety at Sea

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, and that life and property at sea shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with lifesaving appliances and with full complements of skilled, able-bodied seamen to operate them.

Republican Accomplishment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

The approaching completion of the Panama Canal, the establishment of a Bureau of Mines, the institution of postal savings banks, the increased provision made in 1912 for the aged and infirm soldiers and sailors of the Republic and for their widows, and the vigorous administration of ,laws relating to Pure Foods and Drugs, all mark the successful progress of Republican administration, and are additional evidences of its effectiveness.

Economy and Efficiency in Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We commend the earnest effort of the Republican administration to secure greater economy and increased efficiency in the conduct of government business; extravagant appropriations and the creation of unnecessary offices are an injustice to the taxpayer and a bad example to the citizen.

Civic Duty

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and the observance of it. Indifferent citizenship is an evil against which the law affords no adequate protection and for which legislation can provide no remedy.

Arizona and New Mexico

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We congratulate the people of Arizona and New Mexico upon the admission of those States, thus merging in the Union in final and enduring form the last remaining portion of our continental territory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We retify [ratify] in all its parts the platform of 1908 respecting citizenship for the people of Porto Rico.

Republican Administration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We challenge successful criticism of the sixteen years of Republican administration under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. We heartily reaffirm the indorsement of President McKinley contained in the platforms of 1900 and of 1904, and that of President Roosevelt contained in the Platforms of 1904 and 1908.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We invite the intelligent judgment of the American people upon the administration of William H. Taft. The country has prospered and been at peace under his Presidency. During the years in which he had the co-operation of a Republican Congress an unexampled amount of constructive legislation was framed and passed in the interest of the people and in obedience to their wish. That legislation is a record on which any administration might appeal with confidence to the favorable judgment of history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1912, p.187

We appeal to the American Electorate upon the record of the Republican party, and upon this declaration of its principles and purposes. We are confident that under the leadership of the candidates here to be nominated our appeal will not be in vain; that the Republican party will meet every just expectation of the people whose servant it is; that under its administration and its laws our nation will continue to advance; that peace and prosperity will abide with the people; and that new glory will be added to the great Republic.

Socialist Platform of 1912

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

The Socialist party declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of hundreds of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water-powers of every State in the Union.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from State to State awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rents, freight rates and storage charges.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage-earners of this Nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage-earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administration of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave-power before the civil war. They have been used as instruments for the oppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assembly.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.188

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly out-numbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such a class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities to-day are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage-earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present-day revolution which marks the transition from economic individualism to socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

Working Program

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following programme:

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

Collective Ownership

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express service, steamboat lines, and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.189

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

Unemployment

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a work day of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

Industrial Demands

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

1. By shortening the work day in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

5. By the co-operative organization of the industries in the federal penitentiaries for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

6. By forbidding the interstate transportation

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

7. By abolishing the profit system in government work and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to cooperative groups of workers.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

8. By establishing minimum wage scales.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-eontributory system of old age pensions, a general system of insurance by the State of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

Political Demands

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

6. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

7. The election of the President and Vice-President by direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

9. Abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the States.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.190

10. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a Department.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

13. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions as will secure full liberty to all schools of practice.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit courts of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

17. The free administration of the law.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1912, p.191

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1912

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America in National Convention assembled in New York on April 10th, 1912, re-affirming its previous platform pronouncements, and in accord with the International Socialist Movement, declares:

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

Social conditions, as illustrated by the events that crowded into the last four years, have ripened so fast that each and all the principles, hitherto proclaimed by the Socialist Labor Party, and all and each of the methods that the Socialist Labor Party has hitherto advocated, stand to-day most conspicuously demonstrated.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

The Capitalist Social System has wrought its own destruction. Its leading exponents, the present incumbent in the presidential chair, and his "illustrious predecessor," however, seemingly at war with each other on principles, cannot conceal the identity of their political views. The oligarchy proclaimed by the tenets of the one, the monarchy proclaimed by the tenets of the other, jointly proclaim the conviction of the foremost men of the Ruling Class that the Republic of Capital is at the end of its tether.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

True to the economic laws from which Socialism proceeds, dominant wealth has to such an extent concentrated into the hands of a select few, the Plutocracy, that the lower layers of the Capitalist Class feel driven to the ragged edge, while the large majority of the people, the Working Class, are being submerged.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

True to the sociologic laws, by the light of which Socialism reads its forecasts, the Plutocracy is breaking through its republic-democratic shell and is stretching out its hands towards Absolutism in government; the property-holding layers below it are turning at bay; the proletariat is awakening to its consciousness of class, and thereby to the perception of its historic mission.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

In the midst of this hurly, all the colors of the rainbow are being projected upon the social mists from the prevalent confusion of thought.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

From the lower layers of the Capitalist Class the bolder, yet foolhardy, portion bluntly demands that "the Trust be smashed."

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

Even if the Trust could, it should not be smashed; even if it should, it cannot. The law of social progress pushes toward a system of production that shall crown the efforts of man, without arduous toil, with an abundance of the necessaries for material existence, to the end of allowing leisure for mental and spiritual expansion. The Trust is a mechanical contrivance wherewith to solve the problem. To smash the contrivance were to re-introduce the days of small-fry competition, and set back the hands of the dial of time. The mere thought is foolhardy. He who undertakes the feat might as well brace himself against the cascade of Niagara. The cascade of Social Evolution would whelm him.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.191

The less bold among the smaller property-holding element proposes to "curb" the Trust with a variety of schemes. The very forces of social evolution that propel the development of the Trust stamp the "curbing" schemes, whether political or economic, as childish. They are attempts to hold back a runaway horse by the tail. The laws by which the attempt has been tried strew the path of the runaway. They are splintered to pieces with its kicks, and serve only to furnish a livelihood for the Corporation and the Anti-Corporation lawyer.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

From still lower layers of the same property-holding class, social layers that have sniffed the breath of Socialism and imagine themselves Socialists, comes the iridescent theory of capturing the Trust for the people by the ballot only. The "capture of the Trust for the people" implies the Social Revolution. To imply the Social Revolution with the ballot only, without the means to enforce the ballot's fiat, in case of Reaction's attempt to override it, is to fire blank cartridges at a foe. It is worse. It is to threaten his existence without the means to carry out the threat. Threats of revolution, without provisions to carry them out, result in one of two things only—either the leaders are bought out, or the revolutionary class, to which the leaders appeal and which they succeed in drawing after themselves, are led like cattle to the shambles. The Commune disaster of France stands a monumental warning against the blunder.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

An equally iridescent hue of the rainbow is projected from a still lower layer, a layer that lies almost wholly within the submerged class—the theory of capturing the Trust for the Working Class with the fist only. The capture of the Trust for the people implies something else besides revolution. It implies revolution carried on by the masses. For reasons parallel to those that decree the day of small-fry competition gone by, mass-revolutionary conspiracy is, to-day, an impossibility. The Trust-holding Plutocracy may successfully put through a conspiracy of physical force. The smallness of its numbers makes a successful conspiracy possible on its part The hugeness of the numbers requisite for a revolution against the Trust-holding Plutocracy excludes Conspiracy from the arsenal of the Revolution. The idea of capturing the Trust with physical force only is a wild chimera.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

Only two programs—the program of the Plutocracy and the programme of the Socialist Labor Party—grasp the situation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

The Political State, another name for the Class State, is worn out in this, the leading capitalist nation of the world, most prominently. The Industrial or Socialist State is throbbing for birth. The Political State, being a Class State, is government separate and apart from the productive energies of the people; it is government mainly for holding the ruled class in subjection. The Industrial or Socialist State, being the denial of the Class State, is government that is part and parcel of the productive energies of the people.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

As their functions are different, so are the structures of the two States different.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

The structure of the Political State contemplates territorial "representation" only; the structure of the Industrial State contemplates representation of industries, of useful occupations only.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

The economic or industrial evolution has reached that point where the Political State no longer can maintain itself under the forms of democracy. While the Plutocracy has relatively shrunk, the enemies it has raised against itself have become too numerous to be dallied with. What is still worse, obedient to the law of its own existence the Political State has been forced not merely to multiply enemies against itself; it has been forced to recruit and group the bulk of these enemies, the revolutionary bulk, at that.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

The Working Class of the land, the historically revolutionary element, is grouped by the leading occupations, agricultural as well as industrial, in such manner that the "autonomous craft union" one time the palladium of the workers, has become a harmless scarecrow upon which the capitalist birds roost at ease, while the Industrial Unions cast ahead of them the constituencies of the government of the future, and, jointly, point to the Industrial State.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

Nor yet is this all. Not only has the Political State raised its own enemies; not only has itself multiplied them; not only has itself recruited and drilled them; not only has itself grouped them into shape and form to succeed it; it is, furthermore, driven by its inherent necessities, prodding on the Revolutionary Class by digging ever more fiercely into its flanks the harpoon of exploitation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.192

With the purchasing power of wages sinking to ever lower depths; with certainty of work hanging on ever slenderer threads; with an ever more gigantically swelling army of the unemployed; with the needs of profits pressing the Plutocracy harder and harder recklessly to squander the workers' limbs and life; what with all this and the parallel process of merging the workers of all industries into one interdependent solid mass, the final break-up is rendered inevitable and at hand.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.193

No wild schemes and no rainbow-chasing will stead in the approaching emergency. The Plutocracy knows this—and so does the Socialist Labor Party—and logical is the programme of each.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.193

The programme of the Plutocracy is feudalic Autocracy, translated into Capitalism. Where a Social Revolution is pending, and, for whatever reason, is not enforced, reaction is the alternative.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.193

The programme of the Socialist Labor Party is revolution—the Industrial or Socialist Republic, the Social Order where the Political State is overthrown; where the Congress of the land consists of the representatives of the useful occupations of the land; where, accordingly, a government is an essential factor in production; where the blessings to man that the Trust is instinct with, are freed from the trammels of the private ownership that now turn the potential blessings into a curse; where, accordingly, abundance can be the patrimony of all who work; and the shackles of wage slavery are no more.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.193

In keeping with the goals of the different programmes are the means of their execution.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.193

The means in contemplation by reaction is the bayonet. To this end reaction is seeking, by means of the police spy and other agencies, to lash the proletariat into acts of violence that may give a color to the resort to the bayonet. By its manoeuvres, it is egging the Working Class on to deeds of fury. The capitalist press echoes the policy, while the pure and simple political Socialist Party press, generally, is snared into the trap.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.193

On the contrary, the means firmly adhered to by the Socialist Labor Party is the constitutional method of political action, backed by the industrially and class-consciously organized proletariat, to the exclusion of Anarchy, and all that thereby hangs.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1912, p.193

At such a critical period in the Nation's existence the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the Working Class of America, more deliberately serious than ever before to rally at the polls under the Party's banner. And the Party also calls upon all intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder, the Social or Industrial Commonwealth—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1916

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1916, p.194

In 1916 there were the two major parties and three minor parties, namely,—the Prohibitionists, the Socialists, and the Socialist Labor Party.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1916, p.194

The Progressives disappeared in 1916. Mr. Roosevelt refused to be their candidate and they did not name another. Some irreconcilables attempted to keep up the organization and stayed in the field with a candidate for vice-president only.

Democratic Platform of 1916

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.194

The Democratic Party, in National Convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be apprised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of National affairs.

I. Record of Achievement

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.194

We endorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.194

We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges and our constructive legislation, with those of any party of any time.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.194

We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican Party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our Administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.194

Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster under Republican administrations,—long the refuge of the money trust,—has been supplanted by the Federal Reserve Act, a true democracy of credit under government control, already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry and making a currency panic impossible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.194

We have created a Federal Trade Commission to accommodate perplexing questions arising under the anti-trust laws, so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.194

We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions, and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress, and will largely exceed the expenditures for the current fiscal year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.194

We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the workingman the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.195

We have advanced the parcel post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the postal savings system, added ten thousand rural delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching two and one-half millions additional people, improved the postal service in every branch, and for the first time in our history, placed the post-office system on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1916.

II. Economic Freedom

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.195

The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away special privilege, prevent unfair discrimination and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages, have been effected by recent legislation. We must now remove, as far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America, and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity.

III. Tariff

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.195

We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the government economically administered, and unreservedly endorse the Underwood tariff law as truly exemplifying that doctrine. We recognize that tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions in the world's productions and trade. The events of the last two years have brought about many momentous changes. In some respects their effects are yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed, particularly in regard to our foreign trade. Two years of a war which has directly involved most of the chief industrial nations in the world, and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations are bringing about economic changes more varied and far-reaching than the world has ever before experienced. In order to ascertain just what those changes may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a non-partisan tariff commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on. We

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.195

cordially endorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with clearly established facts rather than in accordance with the demands of selfish interests or upon information provided largely, if not exclusively, by them.

Iv. Americanism

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.195

The part that the United States will play in the new day of international relationships that is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic party, therefore, recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the nation as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. It summons all men of whatever origin or creed who would count themselves Americans, to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America. This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test, America must show itself not a nation of partisans but a nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the whole world, the elements of a great race and a magnificent society to be welded into a mighty and splendid Nation. Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and is disloyal to his country. We therefore condemn as subversive to this Nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the Nation and its free institutions. We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country, of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

V. Preparedness

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.196

Along with the proof of our character as a Nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which cannot be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of National life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves and to the role of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We therefore favor the maintenance of an army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety, and of the protection of the nation's rights, the fullest development of modern methods of seacoast defence and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise; and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a navy, worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which this Nation hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

Vi. International Relation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.196

The Democratic administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and to the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our National life which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and, both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of people and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve those principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.196

The present Administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the Nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller states even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of these States for the United States by refusing to make a more material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

VII. Pan-American Concord

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.197

We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States and the other peoples and republics of the Western Hemisphere in all matters of National independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and her neighbors to the south of us, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.197

We commend the action of the Democratic administration in holding the Pan-American Financial Conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the International High Commission, which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin-American Republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the Western Hemisphere.

ViII. Mexico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.197

The Monroe Doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the independent republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the most scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. We court their good will. We seek not to despoil them. The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly state. Until, by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue. Intervention, implying as it does, military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last recourse. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it, is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

Ix. Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.197

Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation of Republican Congresses. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation, it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation. Until the recent banking legislation, it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine, it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea. We heartily endorse the purposes and policy of the pending shipping bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be requisite to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

X. Conservation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.197

For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people, we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative, a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, reaffirming the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.197

The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to.

Xi. the Administration and the Farmer

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.197

We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive, and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the nation as well as of the States. With all its recent improvement, farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion. Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration, far more than under any previous administration. In the Federal Reserve Act of the last Congress, and the Rural Credits Act of the present Congress, the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, placing him at last upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises. Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established or are in the course of establishment by law. The long-needed Cotton Futures Act, passed by the Sixty-Third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years. A Grain Grades Bill, long needed, and a permissive Warehouse Bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress. Both Houses have passed a good-roads measure, which will be of far reaching benefit to all agricultural communities. Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, in extending and perfecting practical farm demonstration work which is so rapidly substituting scientific for empirical farming. But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through co-operation and organization, that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated and the conditions requisite for the just, orderly and economical marketing of farm products created. We approve the Democratic administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interests of agriculture involved in farm marketing and finance, for creating the Office of Markets and Rural Organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture, and for extending the co-operative machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstration. We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life.

XII. Good Roads

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

The happiness, comfort and prosperity of rural life, and the development of the city, are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. We, therefore, favor national aid in the construction of post roads and roads for like purposes.

XiII. Government Employment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the Nation are its greatest asset and that in the conservation of these the Federal Government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

1. A living wage for all employees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

2. A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

5. The standards of the "Uniform Child Labor Law," wherever minors are employed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

6. Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the States with regard to labor within their borders and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the nation should be conserved.

Xiv. Labor

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.198

We declare our faith in the Seamen's Act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We favor the speedy enactment of an effective Federal Child Labor Law and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We favor the creation of a Federal Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor, to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means already begun under the present administration, to assist laborers throughout the Nation to seek and obtain employment, and the extension of the Federal Government of the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its fine record in settling strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

Xv. Public Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the Federal Government handles questions of public health to the end that human life may be conserved by the elimination of loathsome disease, the improvement of sanitation and the diffusion of a knowledge of disease prevention

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We favor the establishment by the Federal Government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy tubercular patients.

Xvi. Senate Rules

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the Nation's legislative business.

XvII. Economy and the Budget

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the government, and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be central, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service as much as possible avoided. We favor this as a practicable first step towards a budget system.

XviII. Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We reaffirm our declarations for the rigid enforcement of the civil service laws.

Xix. Philippine Islands

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We heartily endorse the provisions of the bill, recently passed by the House of Representatives, further promoting self-government in the Philippine Islands as being in fulfillment of the policy declared by the Democratic Party in its last national platform, and we reiterate our endorsement of the purpose of ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands, expressed in the preamble of that measure.

Xx. Woman Suffrage

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

Xxi. Protection of Citizens

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We again declare the policy that the sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad, and that no treaty shall receive the sanction of our Government which does not expressly recognize the absolute equality of all our citizens irrespective of race, creed or previous nationality, and which does not recognize the right of expatriation. The American Government should protect American citizens in their rights, not only at home but abroad, and any country having a government should be held to strict accountability for any wrongs done them, either to person or property. At the earliest practical opportunity our country should strive earnestly for peace among the warring nations of Europe and seek to bring about the adoption of the fundamental principle of justice and humanity, that all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination in the lands wherein they dwell.

XxII. Prison Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.199

We demand that the modern principles of prison reform be applied in our Federal Penal System. We favor such work for prisoners as shall give them training in remunerative occupations so that they may make an honest living when released from prison; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner to be paid to his dependent family or to be reserved for his own use upon his release; the liberal extension of the principles of the Federal Parole Law, with due regard both to the welfare of the prisoner and the interests of society; the adoption of the Probation System especially in the case of first offenders not convicted of serious crimes.

XxiII. Pensions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows, and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

Xxiv. Waterways and Flood Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

We renew the declaration in our last two platforms relating to the development of our waterways. The recent devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley and several other sections by floods accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and development of water-power, instead of permitting the floods to continue as heretofore agents of destruction. We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a National problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for purposes of navigation, the building of levees and works of bank protection to maintain the integrity of its channel and prevent the overflow of its valley resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the National Government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our harbors and inland waterways with economy and efficiency so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

Xxv. Alaska

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources.

Xxvi. Territories

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

We favor granting to the people of Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico the traditional territorial government accorded to the territories of the United States since the beginning of our government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of those several territories should be qualified by previous bona-fide residence.

XxvII. Candidates

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

We unreservedly endorse our President and Vice-President, Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, and Thomas Riley Marshall of Indiana, who have performed the functions of their great offices faithfully and impartially and with distinguished ability.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

In particular, we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our Government and its citizens, and kept us out of war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

Woodrow Wilson stands to-day the greatest American of his generation.

XxviII. Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1916, p.200

This is a critical hour in the history of America, a critical hour in the history of the world. Upon the record above set forth, which shows great constructive achievement in following out a consistent policy for our domestic and internal development; upon the record of the Democratic administration, which has maintained the honor, the dignity and the interests of the United States, and, at the same time, retained the respect and friendship of all the nations of the world; and upon the great policies for the future strengthening of the life of our country, the enlargement of our National vision and the ennobling of our international relations, as set forth above, we appeal with confidence to the voters of the country.

Prohibition Platform of 1916

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.200

The Prohibition Party, assembled in its Twelfth National Convention in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota, on this Twentieth day of July, 1916, grateful to Almighty God for the blessings of liberty, for our institutions and the multiplying signs of early victory for the cause for which the Party stands in order that the people may know the source of its faith and the basis of its action, should it be clothed with governmental power, challenges the attention of the Nation and asks the votes of the people on this Declaration of principles.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

We denounce the traffic in intoxicating liquors. We believe in its abolition. It is a crime—not a business—and should not have governmental sanction.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

We demand—and if given power, we will effectuate the demand—that the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverage purposes shall be prohibited.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

To the accomplishment of that end, we pledge the exercise of all governmental power and amendment of statutes and the amendment of constitutions, State and National. Only by a political party committed to this purpose can such policy be made effective. We call upon all voters, so believing, to place the Prohibition Party in power upon this issue as a necessary step in the solution of the liquor problem.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

The right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. We declare in favor of the enfranchisement of women by amendments to State and Federal Constitutions.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

We condemn the Republican and Democratic parties for their failure to submit an equal suffrage amendment to the National Constitution. We remind the four million women voters that our Party was the first to declare for their political rights, which it did in 1872. We invite their cooperation in electing the Prohibition Party to power.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

We are committed to the policy of peace and friendliness with all nations. We are unalterably opposed to the wasteful military programme of the Democratic Republican Parties. Militarism protects no worthy institution. It endangers them all. It violates the high principles which have brought us as a Nation to the present hour. We are for a constructive programme in preparedness for peace. We declare for and will promote a world court, to which national differences shall be submitted, so maintained as to give its decrees binding force.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

We will support a compact among nations to dismantle navies and disband armies, but until such court and compact are established we pledge ourselves to maintain an effective army and navy and to provide coast defenses entirely adequate for national protection.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

We are opposed to universal military service, and to participation in the rivalry that has brought Europe to the shambles and now imperils the civilization of the race.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

Private profit, so far as constitutionally possible, should be taken out of the manufacture of war munitions and all war equipment.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

In normal times we favor the employment of the army in vast reclamation plans, in reforesting hills and mountains, in building State and National highways, in the construction of an inland waterway from Florida to Maine, in the opening of Alaska and in unnumbered other projects which will make our soldiers constructive builders of peace. For such service there should be paid an adequate individual wage.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

Those units of our navy which are capable of being converted into merchantmen and passenger vessels should be constructed with that purpose in view, and chiefly so utilized in times of peace.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

We condemn the political parties, which for more than thirty years have allowed munition and war equipment manufacturers to plunder the people and to jeopardize the highest interest of the Nation by furnishing honey-combed armour plate and second rate battleships which the Navy League now declares are wholly inadequate.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

We will not allow the country to forget that the first step toward physical, economic, moral and political preparedness is the enactment of National Prohibition.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.201

The countries at war are preparing for a fierce industrial struggle to follow the cessation of hostilities. As a matter of commercial economy, international friendliness, business efficiency, and as a help to peace, we demand that reciprocal trade treaties be negotiated with all nations with which we have trade relations. A Commission of specialists, free from the control of any party, should be appointed with power to gather full information of all phases of the questions of tariff and reciprocity, and to recommend such legislation as it deems necessary for the welfare of American business and labor.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

The necessity of legislation to enable American ship builders or owners to meet foreign competition, on the most favorable terms, is obvious.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

Materials for construction should be admitted free of duty.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

The purchase of ships abroad, when low prices invite, should be allowed and, when so purchased, should be admitted to American registry.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

Harbor rules and charges and navigation laws should not be onerous, but favorable to the highest degree.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

Liberal payment should be made by the Government for the carrying of mails or for transport services.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

All shipping from the United States to any of our possessions should be reserved to ships of American registry.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

The people should not overlook the fact that the effect of Nationwide Prohibition, on labor and industry generally, will be such as to lower the cost of ship building per unit, and at the same time permit the payment of higher wages. The increased volume of trade and commerce, which will result, when the wastage of the liquor traffic is stopped, will quicken our shipping on every sea and send our flag on peaceful missions into every port. This is urged as an incidental effect of wise action on the liquor question, but is none the less to be desired and will aid in the solution of the problem of our merchant marine.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

Mexico needs not a conqueror, but a good Samaritan. We are opposed to the violation of the sovereignty of the Mexican people, and we will countenance no war of aggression against them. We pledge the help of this country in the suppression of lawless bands of marauders and murderers, who have taken the lives of American citizens, on both sides of the border, as well as of Mexicans in their own country.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

The lives and property of our citizens, when about their lawful pursuits, either in the United States or in Mexico, must and will be protected. In the event of a break-down of government across the border, we would use, in the interests of civilization, the force necessary for the establishment of law and order.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

In this connection we affirm our faith in the Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed in the early days of the Nation's life and unswervingly maintained for nearly a hundred years.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

We cannot claim the benefits of the Doctrine and refuse to assume or discharge the responsibility and the duties which inhere therein and flow therefrom.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

Those duties have long been unmet in Mexico. We should meet them now, acting, not for territory, not for conquest or for ourselves alone, but for and with all the nations of North and South

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

America.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

The Democratic party has blundered, and four years ago the Republican party evaded and passed on the problem it now asks the opportunity to solve.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

The abandonment of the Philippines at this time would be an injustice to them and a violation of our plain duty. As soon as they are prepared for self-government, by education and training, they should be granted their independence on terms just to themselves and us.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

We reaffirm our declaration in favor of conservation of forests, water power and other natural resources .

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

Departmental decisions ought not to be final, but the rights of the people should be protected by provision for court review.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

In order that the public service may be of the highest standard, the government should be a model employer in all respects. To enforce the civil service law in spirit as well as in letter, all promotions should be non-political, based only upon proven fitness; all recommendations for demotions or removals from the service should be subjected to the review of a non-partisan board or commission.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

The merit system should be extended to cover all postmasters, collectors of revenue, marshals and other such public officials whose duties are purely administrative.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

We reaffirm our allegiance to the principle of secure tenure of office, during good behavior and capable effort, as the means of obtaining expert service. We declare for the enactment of an equitable retirement law for disabled and superannuated employees, in return for faithful service rendered, to maintain a high degree of efficiency in public office.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.202

We stand for Americanism. We believe this country was created for a great mission among the nations of the earth. We rejoice in the fact that it has offered asylum to the oppressed of other lands and for those, more fortunately situated, who yet wished to improve their condition. It is the land of all peoples and belongs not to any one—it is the heritage of all. It should come first in the affections of every citizen, and he who loves another land more than this is not fit for citizenship here, but he is a better citizen who, loving his country, has reverence for the land of his fathers and gains from its history and traditions that which inspires him to nobler service to the one in which he lives.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

The Federal Government should interest itself in helping the newcomer into that vocation and locality where he shall most quickly become an American. Those fitted by experience and training for agricultural pursuits should be encouraged to develop the millions of acres of rich and idle land.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We favor uniform marriage and divorce laws, the extermination of polygamy and the complete suppression of the traffic in women and girls.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

Differences between capital and labor should be settled through arbitration, by which the rights of the public are conserved as well as those of the disputants. We declare for the prohibition of child labor in factories, mines and workshops; an eight hour maximum day, with one day of rest in seven; for more rigid sanitary requirements and such working conditions as shall foster the physical and moral well-being of the unborn; for the protection of all who toil, by the extension of Employers' Liability Acts; for the adoption of safety appliances for the safeguarding of labor; and for laws that will promote the just division of the wealth which labor and capital jointly produce. Provision should be made for those who suffer from industrial accidents and occupational diseases.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We pledge a business-like administration of the Nation's affairs; the abolition of useless offices, bureaus and commissions; economy in the expenditure of public funds; efficiency in governmental service; and the adoption of the budget system. The president should have power to veto any single item or items of an appropriation bill.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We condemn, and agree when in power to remedy, that which is known as "pork barrel" legislation, by which millions of dollars have been appropriated for rivers where there is no commerce, harbors where there are no ships and public buildings where there is no need.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We are in favor of a single presidential term of six years.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

Public utilities and other resources that are natural monopolies are at the present time exploited for personal gain under a monopolistic system. We demand the public ownership or control of all such utilities by the people and their operation and administration in the interests of all the people.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We stand for the preservation and development of our free institutions and for absolute separation of church and state with the guaranty of full religious and civil liberty.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We stand for the rights, safety, justice and development of humanity; we believe in the equality of all before the law; in old-age pensions and insurance against unemployment and in help for needy mothers, all of which could be provided from what is now wasted for drink.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We favor the initiative, referendum and recall.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

While it is admitted that grain and cotton are fundamental factors in our national life, it cannot be denied that proper assistance and protection are not given these commodities at terminal markets, in the course of inter-state commerce.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We favor and pledge our efforts to obtain grain elevators at necessary terminal markets, such elevators to be owned and operated by the Federal Government; also to secure Federal grain inspection under a system of civil service and to secure the abolition of any Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce, or other place of gambling in grain or trading in "options" or "futures" or "shortselling," or any other form of so-called speculation wherein products are not received or delivered, but wherein so-called contracts are settled by the payment of "margins" or "differences" through clearing houses or otherwise.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

This Party stands committed to free and open markets based upon legitimate supply and demand, absolutely free from questionable practices of market manipulation. We also favor government warehouses for cotton at proper terminals where the interests of producers require the same; and the absolute divorce of all railroad elevators or warehouses owned by railroad companies, either public or private, from operation and control of private individuals in competition with the public in merchandising grain, cotton or other farm products.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

We furthermore endorse all proper methods among producers of those means of co-operative mutual enterprise, which tend toward broader and better markets for both producer and consumer.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.203

This is the clay of opportunity for the American people. The triumph of neither old political party is essential to our safety or progress. The defeat of either will be no public misfortune. They are one party. By age and wealth, by membership and traditions, by platforms and in the character of their candidates, they are the Conservative Party of the United States. The Prohibition Party as the promoter of every important measure of social justice presented to the American people in the last two generations, and as the originator of nearly all such legislation, remains now the only great Progressive Party.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.204

The patriotic voters, who compose the Republican and Democratic parties, can, by voting the Prohibition ticket this year, elect the issue of National Prohibition.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1916, p.204

To those, in whatever party, who have the vision of a land redeemed from drink, we extend a cordial invitation to join with us in carrying the banner of Prohibition to Nationwide victory.

Republican Platform of 1916

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.204

In 1861 the Republican party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government, and to the Flag of the United States. We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

Protection of American Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.204

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, by treaties and the laws of nations, at home and abroad, by land and by sea. These rights, which in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

Foreign Relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.204

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a strict and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, cannot be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrase-making, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure votes or voters. The present Administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.204

We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes, and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

Mexico

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.204

We deeply sympathize with the fifteen million people of Mexico who, for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered and their women outraged, by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who when temporarily successful in any locality have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.204

We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of that country and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this Administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly, and second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.204

We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty, and property.

Monroe Doctrine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

Latin America

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

We favor the continuance of Republican policies which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

Philippines

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress, and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the Islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in their government, and if persisted in will bring still greater benefits in the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

We accepted the responsibility of the Islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done would break our pledges, injure our prestige among nations, and imperil what has already been accomplished.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

Right of Expatriation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

We reiterate the unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens whether native-born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

Protection of the Country

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defence ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective Regular Army and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

We must have a Navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our Western or our Eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent continuous policy of national defence, which even in these perilous days the Democratic party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country.

Tariff

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

The Republican party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industries and American labor and so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States as in the case of dye-stuffs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.205

Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this Act deprived the American producer and the American wage earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war, would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

It has not in the least degree reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. The welfare of our people demands its repeal and its substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

The Republican party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and of the great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer and in an inferior product.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

The Republican party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business, should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican party believes in encouraging American business as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

Rural Credits

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

We favor an effective system of Rural Credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic Administration.

Rural Free Delivery

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

We favor the extension of the Rural Free Delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interest, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American Merchant Marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the Government in time of national emergency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

We are utterly opposed to the Government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic party, because Government-owned ships, while effectively preventing the development of the American Merchant Marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation, or, if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as will result in placing it under complete Federal control.

Economy and a National Budget

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

The increasing cost of the national government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple businesslike budget system to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

necessary to effect a real reform in the administration of national finance.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.206

We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the nation—a husbandry which means development without waste; use without abuse.

Civil Service Reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

The Civil Service Law has always been sustained by the Republican party, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The Democratic party has created since March 4, 1913, thirty thousand offices outside of the Civil Service Law at an annual cost of forty-four million dollars to the taxpayers of the country

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

We condemn the gross abuse and the misuse of the law by the present Democratic Administration and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

Territorial Officials

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any territory should be bona-fide residents of the territory in which their duties are to be performed.

Labor Laws

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education, the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all Government employees. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

Suffrage

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each state to settle this question for itself.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

Such are our principles, such are our "purposes and policies." We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with peril. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native-born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and above all things, to keep the faith.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

Socialist Platform of 1916

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

In the midst of the greatest crisis and bloodiest struggle of all history the socialist party of America re-affirms its steadfast adherence to the principles of international brotherhood, world peace and industrial democracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

The great war which has engulfed so much of civilization and destroyed millions of lives is one of the natural results of the capitalist system of production.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

The socialist party, as the political expression of the economic interests of the working class, calls upon them to take a determined stand on the question of militarism and war, and to recognize the opportunity which the great war has given them of forcing disarmament and furthering the cause of industrial freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.207

An armed force in the hands of the ruling class serves two purposes: to protect and further the policy of imperialism abroad and to silence by force the protest of the workers against industrial despotism at home. Imperialism and militarism plunged Europe into this world war. America's geographical and industrial situation has kept her out of the cataclysm. But Europe's extremity has been the opportunity of America's ruling class to amass enormous profits. As a result there is a surfeit of capital which demands the policy of imperialism to protect and further investments abroad. Hence the frenzy of militarism into which the ruling class has made every attempt to force the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

The workers in Europe were helpless to avert the war because they were already saddled with the burden of militarism. The workers of the United States are yet free from this burden and have the opportunity of establishing a working class policy and program against war. They can compel the government of the United States to lead the way in an international movement for disarmament and to abandon the policy of imperialism which is forcing the conquest of Mexico and must, if carried out, eventually plunge the United States into a world war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

The working class must recognize the cry of preparedness against foreign invasion as a mere cloak for the sinister purpose of imperialism abroad and industrial tyranny at home. The class struggle, like capitalism, is international. The proletariat of the world has but one enemy, the capitalist class, whether at home or abroad. We must refuse to put into the hands of this enemy an armed force even under the guise of a "democratic army," as the workers of Australia and Switzerland have done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

Therefore the socialist party stands opposed to military preparedness, to any appropriations of men or money for war or militarism, while control of such forces through the political state rests in the hands of the capitalist class. The socialist party stands committed to the class war, and urges upon the workers in the mines and forests, on the railways and ships, in factories and fields, the use of their economic and industrial power, by refusing to mine the coal, to transport soldiers, to furnish food or other supplies for military purposes, and thus keep out of the hands of the ruling class the control of armed forces and economic power, necessary for aggression abroad and industrial despotism at home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

The working class must recognize militarism as the greatest menace to all efforts toward industrial freedom, and regardless of political or industrial affiliations must present a united front in the fight against preparedness and militarism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

Hideous as they are, the horrors of the far-stretched battle field of the old world are dwarfed by the evil results of the capitalist system, even in normal times. Instead of being organized to provide all members of society with an abundance of food, clothing and shelter, and the highest attainable freedom and culture, industry is at present organized and conducted for the benefit of a parasite class. All the powers of government and all our industrial genius are directed to the end of securing to the relatively small class of capital investors the largest amount of profits which can be wrung from the labor of the ever-increasing class whose only property is muscle and brain, manual and mental labor power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

The dire consequences of this system are everywhere apparent. The workers are oppressed and deprived of much that makes for physical, mental and moral well-being. Year by year poverty and industrial accidents destroy more lives than all the armies and navies in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

To preserve their privilege and power is the most vital interest of the possessing class, while it is the most vital interest of the working class to resist oppression, improve its position and struggle to obtain security of life and liberty. Hence there exists a conflict of interests, a social war within the nation, which can know neither truce nor compromise. So long as the few own and control the economic life of the nation the many must be enslaved, poverty must coexist with riotous luxury and civil strife prevail.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

The socialist party would end these conditions by reorganizing the life of the nation upon the basis of socialism. Socialism would not abolish private property, but greatly extend it. We believe that every human being should have and own all the things which he can use to advantage, for the enrichment of his own life, without imposing disadvantage or burden upon any other human being. Socialism admits the private ownership and individual direction of all things, tools, economic processes and functions which are individualistic in character, and requires the collective ownership and democratic control and direction of those which are social or collectivistic in character.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.208

We hold that this country cannot enjoy happiness and prosperity at home and maintain lasting peace with other nations so long as its industrial wealth is monopolized by a capitalist oligarchy. In this, as in every other campaign, all special issues arising from temporary situations, whether domestic or foreign, must be subordinated to the major issue—the need of such are organization of our economic life as will remove the land, the mines, forests, railroads, mill and factories, all the things required for our physical existence, from the clutches of industrial and financial freebooters and place them securely and permanently in the hands of the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.209

If men were free to labor to satisfy their desires there could be in this country neither poverty nor involuntary unemployment. But the men in this country are not free to labor to satisfy their desires. The great industrial population can labor only when the capitalist class who own the industries believe they can market their product at a profit. The needs of millions are subordinated to the greeds of a few. The situation is not unlike that of a pyramid balanced upon its apex. Oftentimes this pyramid tumbles and industrial depression comes. There was such a crash in 1907. If the capitalist owners had been willing to get out of the way, industry could have been revived in a day. But the capitalist owners are never willing to get out of the way. Their greeds come first—the people's needs, if at all, afterwards. Therefore, business did not quickly revive after the industrial depression in 1907. Mr. Taft was elected to bring good times, but in four years failed to bring them. Mr. Wilson was elected to bring good times, but not all of the measures he advocated had the slightest effect upon industry. The European war has brought to this country tremendous orders for military supplies and has created a period of prosperity for the few. For the masses of the people there is but an opportunity to work hard for a bare living, which is not prosperity, but slavery. As against the boast of the present national administration that its political program, now fully in force, had brought prosperity to the masses, we call attention to the statement of the federal public health service that $800 is required a year to enable a family to avoid physical deterioration through lack of decent living conditions, that more than half of the families of working men receive less than that amount, that nearly a third receive less than $500 a year, and that one family in twelve received less than $300 a year.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.209

The capitalist class for a great many years has been trying to saddle upon this country a great army and a greater navy. A greater army is desired to keep the working class of the United States in subjection. A greater navy is desired to safeguard the foreign investments of American capitalists and to "back-up" American diplomacy in its efforts to gain foreign markets for American capitalists. The war in Europe, which diminished and is still diminishing the remote possibility of European attack upon the United States, was nevertheless seized upon by capitalists and by unscrupulous politicians as a means of spreading fear throughout the country, to the end that, by false pretenses, great military establishments might be obtained. We denounce such "preparedness" as both false in principle, unnecessary in character and dangerous in its plain tendencies toward militarism. We advocate that sort of social preparedness which expresses itself in better homes, better bodies and better minds, which are alike the products of plenty and the necessity of effective defense in war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.209

The socialist party maintains its attitude of unalterable opposition to war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.209

We reiterate the statement that the competitive nature of capitalism is the cause of modern war and that the co-operative nature of socialism is alone adapted to the task of ending war by removing its causes. We assert, however, that, even under the present capitalist order, additional measures can be taken to safeguard peace, and to this end we demand:

Measures to Insure Peace

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.209

1. That all laws and appropriations for the increase of the military and naval forces of the United States shall be immediately repealed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.209

2. That the power be taken from the president to lead the nation into a position which leaves no escape from war. No one man, however exalted in official station, should have the power to decide the question of peace or war for a nation of a hundred millions. To give one man such power is neither democratic nor safe. Yet the president exercises such power when he determines what shall be the nation's foreign policies and what shall be the nature and tone of its diplomatic intercourse with other nations. We, therefore, demand that the power to fix foreign policies and conduct diplomatic negotiations shall be lodged in congress and shall be exercised publicly, the people reserving the right to order congress, at any time, to change its foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.209

3. That no war shall be declared or waged by the United States without a referendum vote of the entire people, except for the purpose of repelling invasion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

4. That the Monroe doctrine shall be immediately abandoned as a danger so great that even its advocates are agreed that it constitutes perhaps our greatest single danger of war. The Monroe doctrine was originally intended to safeguard the peace of the United States. Though the doctrine has changed from a safeguard to a menace, the capitalist class still defends it for the reason that our great Capitalists desire to retain South and Central America as their private trade preserve. We favor the cultivation of social, industrial and political friendship with all other nations in the western hemisphere, as an approach to a world confederation of nations, but we oppose the Monroe doctrine because it takes from our hands the peace of America and places it in the custody of any nation, that would attack the sovereignty of any state in the western world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

5. That the independence of the Philippine Islands be immediately recognized as a measure of justice both to the Philippines and to ourselves. The Filipinos are entitled to self-government, we are entitled to be freed from the necessity of building and maintaining enough dreadnoughts to defend them in the event of war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

6. The government of the United States shall call a congress of all neutral nations to mediate between the belligerent powers in an effort to establish an immediate and lasting peace without indemnities or forcible annexation of territory and based on a binding and enforcible international treaty, which shall provide for concerted disarmament on land and at sea and for an international congress with power to adjust all disputes between nations and which shall guarantee freedom and equal rights to all oppressed nations and races.

Working Program

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

As general measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capital oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

Political Demands

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

1. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

2. The immediate adoption of the so-called "Susan B. Anthony amendment" to the constitution of the United States granting the suffrage to women on equal terms with men.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

3. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

4. The abolition of the senate and of the veto power of the president.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

5. The election of the president and the vice-president by direct vote of the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

6. The abolition of the present restriction upon the amendment of the constitution so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in the country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

7. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

9. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

10. The election of all judges of the United States courts for short terms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

11. The free administration of the law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

12. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

13. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

14. The freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

15. The increase of the rates of the present income tax and corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

16. The enactment of further measures for general education in useful pursuits. The bureau of education to be made a department.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

17. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health and the creation of an independent department of health.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.210

18. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

Collective Ownership

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, express service, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, and the states of the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies, in order to relieve the farmer from the extortionate charges of the middlemen and to reduce the present high cost of living.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

(a) By scientific afforestation and timber protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and the products of mines and oil wells.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and, in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all lands held for speculation or exploitation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

6. All currency shall be issued by the government of the United States and shall be legal tender for the payment of taxes and impost duties and for the discharge of public and private debts. The government shall lend money on bonds to counties and municipalities at a nominal rate of interest for the purpose of taking over or establishing public utilities and for building or maintaining public roads or highways and public schools—up to 25 per cent of the assessed valuation of such counties or municipalities. Said bonds are to be repaid in twenty equal and annual installments, and the currency issued for that purpose by the government is to be canceled and destroyed seriatim as the debt is paid. All banks and banking institutions shall be owned by the government of the United States or by the states.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

7. Government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such work to be engaged directly by the government under a work day of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works; to contribute money to unemployment funds of labor unions and other organizations of workers, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

Industrial Demands

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

1. By shortening the work-day in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

3. By securing the freedom of political and economic organization and activities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

4. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

5. By forbidding the employment of children under eighteen years of age.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

7. By establishing minimum wage scales.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

8. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state against invalidism, and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1916, p.211

9. By establishing mothers' pensions.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1916

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.211

The Socialist Labor Party, in national convention assembled, reaffirming its previous platform declarations, reasserts the right of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.211

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of their life, their liberty, and their happiness.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.212

We hold that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must be owned, operated, and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on, and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty, and his fate fall into the hands of that class which owns these essentials for work and production.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.212

We hold that the existing contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation—the latter resulting from the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government in the interests of the Capitalist Class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.212

Thus Labor is robbed of the wealth it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and by compulsory idleness in wage-slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.212

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class. In place of such a system the Socialist Labor Party aims to substitute a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the Working Class—the workers to assume control and direction as well as operation of their industrial affairs.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.212

This solution of necessity requires the organization of the Working Class as a class upon revolutionary political and industrial lines.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.212

We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party; and to organize themselves likewise upon the industrial field into a revolutionary industrial union in keeping with their political aims.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1916, p.212

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation, and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Cooperative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder—a Commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the factors of modern civilization.

National Party Platforms,

1920-1956

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1920

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1920, p.213

In 1920, there were the two major parties and three minor parties, namely the Prohibitionists, the Socialists, and the Socialist Labor Party.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1920, p.213

In addition a new party appeared which adopted the name Farmer-Labor Party.

Democratic Platform of 1920

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.213

The Democratic Party, in its National Convention now assembled, sends greetings to the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and hails with patriotic pride the great achievements for country and the world wrought by a Democratic administration under his leadership.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.213

It salutes the mighty people of this great republic, emerging with imperishable honor from the severe tests and grievous strains of the most tragic war in history, having earned the plaudits and the gratitude of all free nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.213

It declares its adherence to the fundamental progressive principles of social, economic and industrial justice and advance, and purposes to resume the great work of translating these principles into effective laws, begun and carried far by the Democratic administration and interrupted only when the war claimed all the national energies for the single task of victory.

League of Nations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.213

The Democratic Party favors the League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this that America broke away from traditional isolation and spent her blood and treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest. It was upon this basis that the President of the United States, in prearrangement with our allies, consented to a suspension of hostilities against the Imperial German Government; the Armistice was granted and a Treaty of Peace negotiated upon the definite assurance to Germany, as well as to the powers pitted against Germany, that "a general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." Hence, we not only congratulate the President on the vision manifested and the vigor exhibited in the prosecution of the war; but we felicitate him and his associates on the exceptional achievement at Paris involved in the adoption of a league and treaty so near akin to previously expressed American ideals and so intimately related to the aspirations of civilized peoples everywhere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.213

We commend the President for his courage and his high conception of good faith in steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to by all the associated and allied nations at war with Germany, and we condemn the Republican Senate for its refusal to ratify the treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic statesmanship, thus interposing partisan envy and personal hatred in the way of the peace and renewed prosperity of the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.213

By every accepted standard of international morality the President is justified in asserting that the honor of the country is involved in this business; and we point to the accusing fact that, before it was determined to initiate political antagonism to the treaty, the now Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee himself publicly proclaimed that any proposition for a separate peace with Germany, such as he and his party associates thereafter reported to the Senate, would make us "guilty of the blackest crime."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

On May 15 last the Knox substitute for the Versailles Treaty was passed by the Republican Senate; and this Convention can contrive no more fitting characterization of its obloquy than that made in the Forum magazine of December, 1918, by Henry Cabot Lodge, when he said:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

"If we send our armies and young men abroad to be killed and wounded in northern France and Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify. The intent of Congress and the intent of the President was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

"We cannot make peace except in company with our allies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

"It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

Thus, to that which Mr. Lodge, in saner moments, considered "the blackest crime" he and his party in madness sought to give the sanctity of law; that which eighteen months ago was of "everlasting dishonor," the Republican Party and its candidates to-day accept as the essence of faith.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

We endorse the President's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles Treaty and we commend the Democrats in Congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

We advocate the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity; but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the league associates. Only by doing this may we retrieve the reputation of this nation among the powers of the earth and recover the moral leadership which President Wilson won and which Republican politicians at Washington sacrificed. Only by doing this may we hope to aid effectively in the restoration of order throughout the world and to take the place which we should assume in the front rank of spiritual, commercial and industrial advancement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

We reject as utterly vain, if not vicious, the Republican assumption that ratification of the treaty and membership in the League of Nations would in any wise impair the integrity or independence of our country. The fact that the covenant has been entered into by twenty-nine nations, all as jealous of their independence as we of ours, is a sufficient refutation of such a charge. The President repeatedly has declared, and this Convention reaffirms, that all our duties and obligations as a member of the league must be fulfilled in strict conformity with the Constitution of the United States, embodied in which is the fundamental requirement of declaratory action by the Congress before this nation may become a participant in any war.

Senate Rules

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

We favor such alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

Conduct of the War

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

During the war President Wilson exhibited the very broadest conception of liberal Americanism. In his conduct of the war, as in the general administration of his high office, there was no semblance of partisan bias. He invited to Washington as his councilors and coadjutors hundreds of the most prominent and pronounced Republicans in the country. To these he committed responsibilities of the gravest import and most confidential nature. Many of them had charge of vital activities of the government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

And yet, with the war successfully prosecuted and gloriously ended, the Republican Party in Congress, far from applauding the masterly leadership of the President and felicitating the country on the amazing achievements of the American government, has meanly requited the considerate course of the chief magistrate by savagely defaming the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and by assailing nearly every public officer of every branch of the service intimately concerned in winning the war abroad and preserving the security of the government at home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.214

We express something that the Republican Convention omitted to express—we express to the soldiers and sailors of America the admiration of their fellow countrymen. Guided by the genius of such commanders as General John J. Pershing, the armed forces of America constituted a decisive factor in the victory and brought new lustre to the flag.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

We commend the patriotic men and women, who sustained the efforts of their government in the crucial hours of the war, and contributed to the brilliant administrative success, achieved under the broad-visioned leadership of the President.

Financial Achievements

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

A review of the record of the Democratic Party during the administration of Woodrow Wilson presents a chapter of substantial achievements unsurpassed in the history of the republic. For fifty years before the advent of this administration periodical convulsions had impeded the industrial progress of the American people and caused unestimatable loss and distress. By the enactment of the Federal Reserve Act the old system, which bred panics, was replaced by a new system, which insured confidence. It was an indispensable factor in winning the war, and to-day it is the hope and inspiration of business. Indeed, one vital danger against which the American people should keep constantly on guard, is the commitment of this system to partisan enemies who struggled against its adoption and vainly attempted to retain in the hands of speculative bankers a monopoly of the currency and credits of the nation. Already there are well defined indications of an assault upon the vital principles of the system in the event of Republican success at the elections in November.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

Under Democratic leadership the American people successfully financed their stupendous part in the greatest war of all time. The Treasury wisely insisted during the war upon meeting an adequate portion of the war expenditure from current taxes and the bulk of the balance from popular loans, and, during the first full fiscal year after fighting stopped, upon meeting current expenditures from current receipts notwithstanding the new and unnecessary burdens thrown upon the Treasury by the delay, obstruction and extravagance of a Republican Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

The non-partisan Federal Reserve authorities have been wholly free of political interference or motive; and, in their own time and their own way, have used courageously, though cautiously, the instruments at their disposal to prevent undue expansion of credit in the country. As a result of these sound Treasury and Federal Reserve policies, the inevitable war inflation has been held down to a minimum, and the cost of living has been prevented from increasing in this country in proportion to the increase in other belligerent countries and in neutral countries which are in close contact with the world's commerce and exchanges.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

After a year and a half of fighting in Europe, and despite another year and a half of Republican obstruction at home, the credit of the Government of the United States stands unimpaired, the Federal Reserve note is the unit of value throughout all the world; and the United States is the one great country in the world which maintains a free gold market.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

We condemn the attempt of the Republican party to deprive the American people of their legitimate pride in the financing of the war—an achievement without parallel in the financial history of this or any other country, in this or any other war. And in particular we condemn the pernicious attempt of the Republican Party to create discontent among the holders of the bonds of the Government of the United States and to drag our public finance and our banking and currency system back into the arena of party politics .

Tax Revision

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

We condemn the failure of the present Congress to respond to the oft-repeated demand of the President and the Secretaries of the Treasury to revise the existing tax laws. The continuance in force in peace times of taxes devised under pressure of imperative necessity to produce a revenue for war purposes is indefensible and can only result in lasting injury to the people. The Republican Congress persistently failed, through sheer political cowardice, to make a single move toward a readjustment of tax laws which it denounced before the last election and was afraid to revise before the next election.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

We advocate reform and a searching revision of the War Revenue Acts to fit peace conditions so that the wealth of the nation may not be withdrawn from productive enterprise and diverted to wasteful or non-productive expenditure.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.215

We demand prompt action by the next Congress for a complete survey of existing taxes and their modification and simplification with a view to secure greater equity and justice in the tax burden and improvement in administration.

Public Economy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.216

Claiming to have effected great economies in Government expenditures, the Republican Party cannot show the reduction of one dollar in taxation as a corollary of this false pretense. In contrast, the last Democratic Congress enacted legislation reducing taxes from eight billions, designed to be raised, to six billions for the first year after the Armistice, and to four billions thereafter; and there the total is left undiminished by our political adversaries. Two years after Armistice Day a Republican Congress provides for expending the stupendous sum of $5,403,390,.327.30, and wouldn't even lop off the thirty cents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.216

Affecting great paper economies by reducing departmental estimates of sums which would not have been spent in any event, and by reducing formal appropriations, the Republican statement of expenditures omits the pregnant fact that the Congress authorized the use of one and a half billion dollars in the hands of various departments and bureaus, which otherwise would have been covered back into the Treasury, and which should be added to the Republican total of expenditures.

High Cost of Living

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.216

The high cost of living and the depreciation of bond values in this country are primarily due to the war itself, to the necessary governmental expenditures for the destructive purposes of war, to private extravagance, to the world shortage of capital, to the inflation of foreign currencies and credits, and, in large degree, to conscienceless profiteering.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.216

The Republican Party is responsible for the failure to restore peace and peace conditions in Europe, which is a principal cause of post-armistice inflation the world over. It has denied the demand of the President for necessary legislation to deal with secondary and local causes. The sound policies pursued by the Treasury and the Federal Reserve system have limited in this country, though they could not prevent, the inflation which was worldwide. Elected upon specific promises to curtail public expenditures and to bring the country back to a status of effective economy, the Republican Party in Congress wasted time and energy for more than a year in vain and extravagant investigations, costing the tax-payers great sums of money, while revealing nothing beyond the incapacity of Republican politicians to cope with the problems. Demanding that the President, from his place at the Peace Table, call the Congress into extraordinary session for imperative purposes of readjustment, the Congress when convened spent thirteen months in partisan pursuits, failing to repeal a single war statute which harassed business or to initiate a single constructive measure to help business. It busied itself making a pre-election record of pretended thrift, having not one particle of substantial existence in fact. It raged against profiteers and the high cost of living without enacting a single statute to make the former afraid or doing a single act to bring the latter within limitations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.216

The simple truth is that the high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict governmental economy and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of post-war conditions and are demanding and receiving outrageous profits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.216

We pledge the Democratic Party to a policy of strict economy in government expenditures, and to the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as may be required to bring profiteers before the bar of criminal justice.

The Tariff

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.216

We reaffirm the traditional policy of the Democratic Party in favor of a tariff for revenue only and confirm the policy of basing tariff revisions upon the intelligent research of a non-partisan commission, rather than upon the demands of selfish interests, temporarily held in abeyance.

Budget

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.216

In the interest of economy and good administration, we favor the creation of an effective budget system, that will function in accord with the principles of the Constitution. The reform should reach both the executive and legislative aspects of the question. The supervision and preparation of the budget should be vested in the Secretary of the Treasury as the representative of the President. The budget, as such, should not be increased by the Congress except by a two-thirds vote, each House, however, being free to exercise its constitutional privilege of making appropriations through independent bills. The appropriation bills should be considered by single Committees of the House and Senate. The audit system should be consolidated and its powers expanded so as to pass upon the wisdom of, as well as the authority for, expenditures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.217

A budget bill was passed in the closing days of the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress which, invalidated by plain constitutional defects and defaced by considerations of patronage, the President was obliged to veto. The House amended the bill to meet the Executive objection. We condemn the Republican Senate for adjourning without passing the amended measure, when by devoting an hour or two more to this urgent public business a budget system could have been provided.

Agricultural Interests

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.217

To the great agricultural interests of the country, the Democratic Party does not find it necessary to make promises. It already is rich in its record of things actually accomplished. For nearly half a century of Republican rule not a sentence was written into the Federal Statutes affording one dollar of bank credits to the farming interests of America. In the first term of this Democratic administration the National Bank Act was so altered as to authorize loans of five years' maturity on improved farm lands. Later was established a system of farm loan banks, from which the borrowings already exceed three hundred millions of dollars; and under which the interest rate to farmers has been so materially reduced as to drive out of business the farm loan sharks who formerly subsisted by extortion upon the great agricultural interests of the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.217

Thus it was a Democratic Congress in the administration of a Democratic President which enabled the farmers of America for the first time to obtain credit upon reasonable terms and insured their opportunity for the future development of the nation's agricultural resources. Tied up in Supreme Court proceedings, in a suit by hostile interests, the Federal Farm Loan System, originally opposed by the Republican candidate for the Presidency, appealed in vain to a Republican Congress for adequate financial assistance to tide over the interim between the beginning and the

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.217

ending of the current year, awaiting a final decision of the highest court on the validity of the contested act. We pledge prompt consistent support of sound and effective measures to sustain, to amplify and to perfect the rural Credits Statutes and thus to check and reduce the growth and course of farm tenancy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.217

Not only did the Democratic Party put into effect a great Farm Loan system of land mortgage banks, but it passed the Smith-Lever agricultural extension act, carrying to every farmer in every section of the country, through the medium of trained experts and by demonstration farms, the practical knowledge acquired by the Federal Agricultural Department in all things relating to agriculture, horticulture and animal life; it established the Bureau of Markets, the Bureau of Farm Management, and passed the Cotton Futures Act, the Grain Grades Bill, the Co-operative Farm Administration Act, and the Federal Warehouse Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.217

The Democratic Party has vastly improved the rural mail system and has built up the parcel post system to such an extent as to render its activities and its practical service indispensable to the farming community. It was this wise encouragement and this effective concern of the Democratic Party for the farmers of the United States that enabled this great interest to render such essential service in feeding the armies of America and the allied nations of the war and succoring starving populations since Armistice Day.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.217

Meanwhile the Republican leaders at Washington have failed utterly to propose one single measure to make rural life more tolerable. They have signalized their fifteen months of Congressional power by urging schemes which would strip the farms of labor; by assailing the principles of the Farm Loan system and seeking to impair its efficiency; by covertly attempting to destroy the great nitrogen plant at Mussel Shoals upon which the government has expended $70,000,000 to supply American farmers with fertilizers at reasonable cost; by ruthlessly crippling nearly every branch of agricultural endeavor, literally starving the productive mediums through which the people must be fed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.217

We favor such legislation as will confirm to the primary producers of the nation the right of collective bargaining, and the right of co-operative handling and marketing of the products of the workshop and the farm and such legislation as will facilitate the exportation of our farm products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

We favor comprehensive studies of farm production costs and the uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

Labor and Industry

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

The Democratic Party is now, as ever, the firm friend of honest labor and the promoter of progressive industry. It established the Department of Labor at Washington and a Democratic President called to his official council board the first practical workingman who ever held a cabinet portfolio. Under this administration have been established employment bureaus to bring the man and the job together; have been peaceably determined many bitter disputes between capital and labor; were passed the Child-Labor Act, the Workingman's Compensation Act (the extension of which we advocate so as to include laborers engaged in loading and unloading ships and in interstate commerce), the Eight-Hour Law, the act for Vocational Training, and a code of other wholesome laws affecting the liberties and bettering the conditions of the laboring classes. In the Department of Labor the Democratic administration established a Woman's Bureau, which a Republican Congress destroyed by withholding appropriations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

Labor is not a commodity; it is human. Those who labor have rights, and the national security and safety depend upon a just recognition of those rights and the conservation of the strength of the workers and their families in the interest of sound-hearted and sound-headed men, women and children. Laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed, when passed in recognition of the conditions under which life must be lived to attain the highest development and happiness, are just assertions of the national interest in the welfare of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

At the same time, the nation depends upon the products of labor; a cessation of production means loss and, if long continued, means disaster. The whole people, therefore, have a right to insist that justice shall be done to those who work, and in turn that those whose labor creates the necessities upon which the life of the nation depends must recognize the reciprocal obligation between the worker and the state.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

They should participate in the formulation of sound laws and regulations governing the conditions under which labor is performed, recognize and obey the laws so formulated, and seek their amendment when necessary by the processes ordinarily addressed to the laws and regulations affecting the other relations of life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

Labor, as well as capital, is entitled to adequate compensation. Each has the indefeasible right of organization, of collective bargaining and of speaking through representatives of their own selection. Neither class, however, should at any time nor in any circumstances take action that will put in jeopardy the public welfare. Resort to strikes and lockouts which endanger the health or lives of the people is an unsatisfactory device for determining disputes, and the Democratic Party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, and put into effective operation a fair and comprehensive method of composing differences of this nature.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

In private industrial disputes, we are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory, but a failure in fact. With respect to government service, we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike. However, we profess scrupulous regard for the conditions of public employment and pledge the Democratic Party to instant inquiry into the pay of government employees and equally speedy regulations designed to bring salaries to a just and proper level.

Woman's Suffrage

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

We endorse the proposed 19th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the legislatures of thirty-five states which have already ratified said amendment and we urge the Democratic Governors and Legislatures of Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida and such states as have not yet ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the thirty-sixth state in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the fall election.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

We commend the effective advocacy of the measure by President Wilson.

Welfare of Women and Children

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.218

We urge co-operation with the states for the protection of child life through infancy and maternity care; in the prohibition of child labor and by adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.219

Co-operative Federal assistance to the states is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers' salaries and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign-born; increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics; re-establishment of joint Federal and state employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women.

Women in Industry

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.219

We advocate full representation of women on all commissions dealing with women's work or women's interests and a reclassification of the Federal Civil Service free from discrimination on the ground of sex; a continuance of appropriations for education in sex hygiene; Federal legislation which shall insure that American women resident in the United States, but married to aliens, shall retain their American citizenship, and that the same process of naturalization shall be required for women as for men.

Disabled Soldiers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.219

The Federal government should treat with the utmost consideration every disabled soldier, sailor, and marine of the world war, whether his disability be due to wounds received in line of action or to health impaired in service; and for the dependents of the brave men who died in line of duty the government's tenderest concern and richest bounty should be their requital. The fine patriotism exhibited, the heroic conduct displayed, by American soldiers, sailors and marines at home and abroad, constitute a sacred heritage of posterity, the worth of which can never be recompensed from the Treasury and the glory of which must not be diminished by any such expedients.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.219

The Democratic administration wisely established a War Risk Insurance Bureau, giving four and a half millions of enlisted men insurance at unprecedentedly low rates and through the medium of which compensation of men and women injured in service is readily adjusted, and hospital facilities for those whose health is impaired are abundantly afforded.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.219

The Federal Board for Vocational Education should be made a part of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, in order that the task may be treated as a whole, and this machinery of protection and assistance must receive every aid of law and appropriation necessary to full and effective operation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.219

We believe that no higher or more valued privilege can be afforded to an American citizen than to become a freeholder in the soil of the United States, and to that end we pledge our party to the enactment of soldier settlements and home aid legislation which will afford to the men who fought for America the opportunity to become land and home owners under conditions affording genuine government assistance unencumbered by needless difficulties of red tape or advance financial investment.

The Railroads

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.219

The railroads were subjected to Federal control as a war measure, without other idea than the swift transport of troops, munitions and supplies. When human life and national hopes were at stake profits could not be considered and were not. Federal operation, however, was marked by an intelligence and efficiency that minimized loss and resulted in many and marked reforms. The equipment taken over was not only grossly inadequate but shamefully outworn. Unification practices overcame these initial handicaps and provided additions, betterments and improvements. Economics enabled operation without the rate raises that private control would have found necessary, and labor was treated with an exact justice that secured the enthusiastic co-operation that victory demanded. The fundamental purpose of Federal control was achieved fully and splendidly, and at far less cost to the taxpayer than would have been the case under private operation. Investments in railroad properties were not only saved by government operation, but government management returned these properties vastly improved in every physical and executive detail. A great task was greatly discharged.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.219

The President's recommendation of return to private ownership gave the Republican majority a full year in which to enact the necessary legislation. The House took six months to formulate its ideas, and another six months was consumed by the Republican Senate in equally vague debate. As a consequence, the Esch-Cummins Bill went to the President in the closing hours of Congress, and he was forced to a choice between the chaos of a veto and acquiescence in the measure submitted, however grave may have been his objections to it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

There should be a fair and complete test of the law until careful and mature action by Congress may cure its defects and insure a thoroughly effective transportation system under private ownership without government subsidy at the expense of the taxpayers of the country.

Improved Highways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

Improved roads are of vital importance not only to commerce and industry but also to agriculture and rural life. The Federal Road Act of 1916, enacted by a Democratic Congress, represented the first systematic effort of the government to insure the building of an adequate system of roads in this country. The act, as amended, has resulted in placing the movement for improved highways on a progressive and substantial basis in every State in the Union and in bringing under actual construction more than 13,000 miles of roads suited to the traffic needs of the communities in which they are located.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

We favor a continuance of the present Federal aid plan under existing Federal and State agencies, amended so as to include as one of the elements in determining the ratio in which the several states shall be entitled to share in the fund, the area of any public lands therein.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

Inasmuch as the postal service has been extended by the Democratic Party to the door of practically every producer and every consumer in the country (rural free delivery alone having been provided for 6,000,000 additional patrons within the past eight years without materially added cost), we declare that this instrumentality can and will be used to the maximum of its capacity to improve the efficiency of distribution and reduce the cost of living to consumers while increasing the profitable operations of producers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

We strongly favor the increased use of the motor vehicle in the transportation of the mails and urge the removal of the restrictions imposed by the Republican Congress on the use of motor devices in mail transportation in rural territories.

The Postal Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

The efficiency of the Post Office Department has been vindicated against a malicious and designing assault, by the efficiency of its operation. Its record refutes its assailants. Their voices are silenced and their charges have collapsed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

We recommend the work of the Joint Commission on the reclassification of salaries of postal employes, recently concluded, which commission was created by a Democratic administration. The Democratic Party has always favored and will continue to favor the fair and just treatment of all government employes.

Free Speech and Press

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

We resent the unfounded reproaches directed against the Democratic administration for alleged interference with the freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

No utterance from any quarter has been assailed, and no publication has been repressed, which has not been animated by treasonable purposes, and directed against the nation's peace, order and security in time of war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

We reaffirm our respect for the great principles of free speech and a free press, but assert as an indisputable proposition that they afford no toleration of enemy propaganda or the advocacy of the overthrow of the government of the state or nation by force or violence.

Inland Waterways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

We call attention to the failure of the Republican National Convention to recognize in any way the rapid development of barge transportation on our inland waterways, which development is the result of the constructive policies of the Democratic administration. And we pledge ourselves to the further development of adequate transportation facilities on our rivers and to the further improvement of our inland waterways, and we recognize the importance of connecting the Great Lakes with the sea by way of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, as well as by the St. Lawrence River. We favor an enterprising Foreign Trade policy with all nations, and in this connection we favor the full utilization of all Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf ports, and an equitable distribution of shipping facilities between the various ports.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

Transportation remains an increasingly vital problem in the continued development and prosperity of the nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

Our present facilities for distribution by rail are inadequate and the promotion of transportation by water is imperative.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.220

We therefore favor a liberal and comprehensive policy for the development and utilization of our harbors and interior waterways.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

We desire to congratulate the American people upon the rebirth of our Merchant Marine which once more maintains its former place in the world. It was under a Democratic administration that this was accomplished after seventy years of indifference and neglect, thirteen million tons having been constructed since the act was passed in 1916. We pledge the policy of our party to the continued growth of our Merchant Marine under proper legislation so that American products will be carried to all ports of the world by vessels built in American yards, flying the American flag.

Reclamation of Arid Lands

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

By wise legislation and progressive administration, we have transformed the government reclamation projects, representing an investment of $100,000,000, from a condition of impending failure and loss of confidence in the ability of the government to carry through such large enterprises, to a condition of demonstrated success, whereby formerly arid and wholly unproductive lands now sustain 40,000 prosperous families and have an annual crop production of over $70,000,000, not including the crops grown on a million acres outside the projects supplied with storage water from government works.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

We favor ample appropriations for the continuation and extension of this great work of home-building and internal improvement along the same general lines, to the end that all practical projects shall be built, and waters now running to waste shall be made to provide homes and add to the food supply, power resources, and taxable property, with the government ultimately reimbursed for the entire outlay.

Flood Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

We commend the Democratic Congress for the redemption of the pledge contained in our last platform by the passage of the Flood Control Act of March 1st, 1917, and point to the successful control of the floods of the Mississippi River and the Sacramento River, California, under the policy of that law, for its complete justification. We favor the extension of this policy to other flood control problems wherever the Federal interest involved justified the expenditure required.

The Trade Commission

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

The Democratic Party heartily endorses the creation and work of the Federal Trade Commission in establishing a fair field for competitive business, free from restraints of trade and monopoly and recommends amplification of the statutes governing its activities so as to grant it authority to prevent the unfair use of patents in restraint of trade.

Live Stock Markets

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

For the purpose of insuring just and fair treatment in the great interstate live stock market, and thus instilling confidence in growers through which production will be stimulated and the price of meats to consumers be ultimately reduced, we favor the enactment of legislation for the supervision of such markets by the national government.

Port Facilities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

The urgent demands of the war for adequate transportation of war material as well as for domestic need, revealed the fact that our port facilities and rate adjustments were such as to seriously affect the whole country in times of peace as well as war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

We pledge our party to stand for equality of rates, both import and export, for the ports of the country, to the end that there may be adequate and fair facilities and rates for the mobilization of the products of the country offered for shipment.

Petroleum

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

The Democratic Party recognizes the importance of the acquisition by Americans of additional sources of supply of petroleum and other minerals and declares that such acquisition both at home and abroad should be fostered and encouraged. We urge such action, legislative and executive, as may secure to American citizens the same rights in the acquirement of mining rights in foreign countries as are enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of any other nation.

Mexico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.221

The United States is the neighbor and friend of the nations of the three Americas. In a very special sense, our international relations in this hemisphere should be characterized by good will and free from any possible suspicion as to our national purpose.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

The administration, remembering always that Mexico is an independent nation and that permanent stability in her government and her institutions could come only from the consent of her own people to a government of their own making, has been unwilling either to profit by the misfortunes of the people of Mexico or to enfeeble their future by imposing from the outside a rule upon their temporarily distracted councils. (a) As a consequence, order is gradually reappearing in Mexico; at no time in many years have American lives and interests been so safe as they are now; peace reigns along the border and industry is resuming.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

When the new government of Mexico shall have given ample proof of its ability permanently to maintain law and order, signified its willingness to meet its international obligations and written upon its statute books just laws under which foreign investors shall have rights as well as duties, that government should receive our recognition and sympathetic assistance. Until these proper expectations have been met, Mexico must realize the propriety of a policy that asserts the right of the United States to demand full protection for its citizens.

Ireland

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

The great principle of national self-determination has received constant reiteration as one of the chief objectives for which this country entered the war and victory established this principle.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

Within the limitations of international comity and usage, this Convention repeats the several previous expressions of the sympathy of the Democratic Party of the United States for the aspirations of Ireland for self-government.

Armenia

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

We express our deep and earnest sympathy for the unfortunate people of Armenia, and we believe that our government, consistent with its Constitution and principles, should render every possible and proper aid to them in their efforts to establish and maintain a government of their own.

Porto Rico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

We favor granting to the people of Porto Rico the traditional territorial form of government, with a view to ultimate statehood, accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of such territories should be qualified by previous bona-fide residence therein.

Alaska

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

We commend the Democratic administration for inaugurating a new policy as to Alaska, as evidenced by the construction of the Alaska railroad and opening of the coal and oil fields.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

We declare for the modification of the existing coal land law, to promote development without disturbing the features intended to prevent monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

For such changes in the policy of forestry control as will permit the immediate initiation of the paper pulp industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

For relieving the territory from the evils of long-distance government by arbitrary and interlocking bureaucratic regulation, and to that end we urge the speedy passage of a law containing the essential features of the Land-Curry Bill now pending, co-ordinating and consolidating all Federal control of natural resources under one department to be administered by a non-partisan board permanently resident in the territory.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

For the fullest measure of territorial self-government with the view of ultimate statehood, with jurisdiction over all matters not of purely Federal concern, including fisheries and game, and for an intelligent administration of Federal control we believe that all officials appointed should be qualified by previous bona-fide residence in the territory.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

For a comprehensive system of road construction with increased appropriations and the full extension of the Federal Road Aid Act to Alaska.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

For the extension to Alaska of the Federal Farm Loan Act.

The Philippines

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.222

We favor the granting of independence without unnecessary delay to the 10,500,000 inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.223

We favor a liberal policy of homesteading public lands in Hawaii to promote a larger middle-class citizen population, with equal rights to all citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.223

The importance of Hawaii as an outpost on the western frontier of the United States, demands adequate appropriations by Congress for the development of our harbors and highways there.

New Nations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.223

The Democratic Party expresses its active sympathy with the people of China, Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, Poland, Persia, Jugo-Slavia and others who have recently established representative governments and who are striving to develop the institutions of true Democracy.

Asiatic Immigrants

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.223

The policy of the United States with reference to the non-aclmission of Asiatic immigrants is a true expression of the judgment of our people, and to the several states, whose geographical situation or internal conditions make this policy, and the enforcement of the laws enacted pursuant thereto, of particular concern, we pledge our support.

Republican Corruption

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.223

The shocking disclosure of the lavish use of money by aspirants for the Republican nomination for the highest office in the gift of the people, has created a painful impression throughout the country. Viewed in connection with the recent conviction of a Republican Senator from the State of Michigan for the criminal transgression of the law limiting expenditures on behalf of a candidate for the United States Senate, it indicates the reentry, under Republican auspices, of money as an influential factor in elections, thus nullifying the letter and flaunting the spirit of numerous laws, enacted by the people, to protect the ballot from the contamination of corrupt practices. We deplore these delinquencies and invoke their stern popular rebuke, pledging our earnest efforts to a strengthening of the present statutes against corrupt practices, and their rigorous enforcement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.223

We remind the people that it was only by the return of a Republican Senator in Michigan, who is now under conviction and sentence for the criminal misuse of money in his election, that the present organization of the Senate with a Republican majority was made possible.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1920, p.223

Believing that we have kept the Democratic faith, and resting our claims to the confidence of the people not upon grandiose promises, but upon the solid performances of our party, we submit our record to the nation's consideration and ask that the pledges of this platform be appraised in the light of that record.

Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.223

The American Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776, states that governments are instituted to secure to the people the rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Democracy cannot exist unless all power is preserved to the people. The only excuse for the existence of government is to serve, not to rule, the people.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.223

In the United States of America, the power of government, the priceless and inalienable heritage of the people, has been stolen from the people—has been seized by a few men who control the wealth of the nation and by the tools of these men, maintained by them in public office to do their bidding.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.223

The administrative offices of the government and congress are controlled by the financial barons—even the courts have been prostituted—and the people as a result of this usurpation have been reduced to economic and industrial servitude.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.223

Under the prevailing order in the United States, wealth is monopolized by a few and the people are kept in poverty, while costs of living mount until the burden of providing the necessaries of life is well-nigh intolerable.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.223

Having thus robbed the people first of their power and then of their wealth, the wielders of financial power, seeking new fields of exploitation, have committed the government of the United States, against the will of the people, to imperialistic policies and seek to extend these enterprises to such lengths that our nation to-day stands in danger of becoming an empire instead of a republic.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

Just emerging from a war which we said we fought to extend democracy to the ends of the earth, we find ourselves helpless while the masters of our government, who are also the masters of industry and commerce, league themselves with the masters of other nations to prevent self-determination by helpless people and to exploit and rob them, notwithstanding that we committed ourselves to guaranty of self-government for all such peoples.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

Following the greedy spectacle of the peace conference, the money-masters feared an awakening of the people which threatened to exact for mankind those benefits for which the war was said to have been fought. Thereupon these masters, in the United States, through their puppets in public office, in an effort to stifle free discussion, stripped from the inhabitants of this land, rights and liberties guaranteed under American doctrines on which this country was founded and guaranteed also by the federal constitution.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

These rights and liberties must be restored to the people.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

More than this must be done. All power to govern this nation must be restored to the people. This involved industrial freedom, for political democracy is only an empty phrase without industrial democracy. This can not be done by superficial, palliative measures such as are, from time to time, thrown as sops to the voters by the Republican and Democratic parties. Patchwork cannot repair the destruction of democracy wrought by these two old parties. Reconstruction is necessary.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

The invisible government of the United States maintains the two old parties to confuse the voters with false issues. These parties, therefore, can not seriously attempt reconstruction, which, to be effective, must smash to atoms the money power of the proprietors of the two old parties.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

Into this breach step the amalgamated groups of forward looking men and women who perform useful work with hand and brain, united in the FARMER-LABOR Party of the United States by a spontaneous and irresistible impulse to do righteous battle for democracy against its despoilers, and more especially determined to function together because of the exceptionally brazen defiance shown by the two old parties in the selection of their candidates and the writing of their platforms in this campaign. This party, financed by its rank and file and not by big business, sets about the task of fundamental reconstruction of democracy in the United States, to restore all power to the people and to set up a governmental structure that will prevent seizure, henceforth, of that power by a few unscrupulous men.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

The reconstruction proposed is set forth in the following platform of national issues, to which all candidates of the Farmer-Labor Party are pledged:

1. 100 Per Cent Americanism

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

Restoration of civil liberties and American doctrines and their preservation inviolate, including free speech, free press, free assemblage, right of asylum, equal opportunity, and trial by jury; return of the Department of Justice to the functions for which it was created, to the end that laws may be enforced without favor and without discrimination; amnesty for all persons imprisoned because of their patriotic insistence upon their constitutional guaranties, industrial activities or religious beliefs; repeal of all so-called "espionage," "sedition," and "criminal syndicalist," laws; protection of the right of all workers to strike, and stripping from the courts of powers unlawfully usurped by them and used to defeat the people and foster big business, especially the power to issue anti-labor injunctions and to declare unconstitutional laws passed by Congress.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

To Americanize the federal courts, we demand that federal judges be elected for terms not to exceed four years, subject to recall.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

As Americanism means democracy, suffrage should be universal. We demand immediate ratification of the nineteenth amendment and full, unrestricted political rights for all citizens, regardless of sex, race, color or creed, and for civil service employes.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

Democracy demands also that the people be equipped with the instruments of the initiative, referendum and recall, with the special provision that war may not be declared except in cases of actual military invasion, before referring the question to a direct vote of the people.

2. Abolish Imperialism at Home and Abroad

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.224

Withdrawal of the United States from further participation (under the treaty of Versailles) in the reduction of conquered peoples to economic or political subjection to the small groups of men who manipulate the bulk of the world's wealth; refusal to permit our government to aid in the exploitation of the weaker people of the earth by these men; refusal to permit use of the agencies of our government (through dollar diplomacy or other means ) by the financial interests of our country to exploit other peoples, including emphatic refusal to go to war with Mexico at the behest of Wall Street; recognition of the elected government of the Republic of Ireland and of the government established by the Russian people; denial of assistance financial, military, or otherwise, for foreign armies invading these countries, and an embargo on the shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against the Russian or Irish people; instant lifting of the blockade against Russia; recognition of every government set up by people who wrest their sovereignty from oppressors, in accordance with the right of self-determination for all peoples; abolition of secret treaties and prompt publication of all diplomatic documents received by the State Department; withdrawal from imperialistic enterprises upon which we already have embarked (including the dictatorship we exercise in varying degrees over the Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Porto Rico, Cuba, Samoa and Guam); and prevention of the imposition upon the people of the United States of any form whatever of conscription, military or industrial, or of military training.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.225

We stand committed to a league of free peoples, organized and pledged to destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism throughout the world and to bring about a world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

3. Democratic Control of Industry

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.225

The right of labor to an increasing share in the responsibilities and management of industry; application of this principle to be developed in accordance with the experience of actual operation.

4. Public Ownership and Operation

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.225

Immediate repeal of the Esch-Cummins Law; public ownership and operation, with democratic operation of the railroads, mines and natural resources, including stock-yards, large abattoirs, grain-elevators, water-power, and coal-storage and terminal warehouses; government ownership and democratic operation of the railroads, mines and of such natural resources as are in whole or in part bases of control by special interests of basic industries and monopolies such as lands containing coal, iron, copper, oil, large water-power and commercial timber tracts; pipe lines and oil tanks; telegraph and telephone lines; and establishment of a public policy that no land (including natural resources) and no patents shall be held out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly; establishment of national and state owned banks where the money of the government must, and that of individuals may, be deposited; granting of credit to individuals or groups according to regulations laid down by Congress which will safe-guard deposits.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.225

We denounce the attempt to scuttle our great government-owned merchant marine and favor bringing ocean-going commerce to our inland ports.

5. Promotion of Agricultural Prosperity

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.225

Legislation that will effectively check and reduce the growth and evils of farm tenancy; establishment of public markets; extension of the federal farm loan system, making personal credit readily available and cheap to farmers; maintenance of dependable transportation for farm products; organization of a state and national service that will furnish adequate advice and guidance to applicants for farms and to farmers already on the land; legislation to promote and protect farmers' and consumers' co-operative organizations conducted for mutual benefit; comprehensive studies of costs of production of farm and staple manufactured products and uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.

6. Government Finance

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.225

We demand that economy in governmental expenditures shall replace the extravagance that has run riot under the present administration. The governmental expenditures of the present year of peace, as already disclosed, exceed $6,000,000,000—or six times the annual expenditures of the pre-war period. We condemn and denounce the system that has created one war-millionaire for every three American soldiers killed in the war in France, and we demand that this war-acquired wealth shall be taxed in such a manner as to prevent the shifting of the burden of taxation to the shoulders of the poor in the shape of higher prices and of increased living costs.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

We are opposed, therefore, to consumption taxes and to all indirect taxation for support of current operations of the government. For support of such current operations, we favor steeply graduated income taxes, exempting individual incomes amounting to less than $3,000 a year, with a further exemption allowance of $300 for every child under 18 and also for every child over 18 who may be pursuing an education to fit himself for life. In the case of state governments and of local governments we favor taxation of land value, but not of improvements or of equipment, and also sharply graduated taxes on inheritance.

7. Reduce the Cost of Living

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

Stabilization of currency so that it may not fluctuate as at present, carrying the standard of living of all the people down with it when it depreciates; federal control of the meat packing industry; extension and perfection of the Parcel Post system to bring producer and consumer closer together; enforcing existing laws against profiteers, especially the big and powerful ones.

8. Justice to the Soldiers

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

We favor paying the soldiers of the late war as a matter of right and not as charity, a sufficient sum to make their war-pay not less than civilian earnings. We denounce the delays in payment, and the inadequate compensation to disabled soldiers and sailors and their dependents, and we pledge such changes as will promptly and adequately give sympathetic recognition of their services and sacrifices.

9. Labor's Bill of Rights

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

During the years that Labor has tried in vain to obtain recognition of the rights of the workers at the hands of the government through the agencies of the Republican and Democrat parties, the principal demands of Labor have been catalogued and presented by the representatives of Labor, who have gone to convention after convention of the old parties—to Congress after Congress of old-party office-holders. Those conventions and sessions of Congress have, from time to time, included in platforms and laws a few fragments of Labor's program, carefully rewritten, however, to interpose no interference with the oppression of Labor by private wielders of the power of capital. It remains for the Farmer-Labor Party, the people's own party, financed by the people themselves, to pledge itself to the entire Bill of Rights of Labor, the conditions enumerated therein to be written into the laws of the land to be enjoyed by the workers, organized or unorganized, without the amelioration of a single word in the program. Abraham Lincoln said: "Labor is the superior of Capital, and deserves the highest consideration."

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

We pledge the application of this fundamental principle in the enactment and administration of legislation.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(a) The unqualified right of all workers, including civil service employes, to organize and bargain collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(b) Freedom from compulsory arbitration and all other attempts to coerce workers.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(c) A maximum standard 8-hour day and 44-hour week.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(d) Old age and unemployment payments and workmen's compensation to insure workers and their dependents against accident and disease.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(e) Establishment and operation, through periods of depression, of governmental work on housing, road-building, reforestation, reclamation of cut-over timber, desert and swamp lands and development of ports, waterways and water-power plants.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(f) Re-education of the cripples of industry as well as the victims of war.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(g) Abolition of employment of children under sixteen years of age.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(h) Complete and effective protection for women in industry, with equal pay for equal work.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(i) Abolition of private employment, detective and strike-breaking agencies and extension of the federal free employment service.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(j) Prevention of exploitation of immigration and immigrants by employers.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(k) Vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's Act, and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. The present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public, must not be minimized.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(l) Exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

National Party Platforms, Farmer-Labor Platform of 1920, p.226

(m) A federal department of education to advance democracy and effectiveness in all public school systems throughout the country, to the end that the children of workers in industrial and rural communities may have maximum opportunity of training to become unafraid, well-informed citizens of a free country.

Prohibition Platform of 1920

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

The Prohibition Party assembled in Nal

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

tional Convention in the city of Lincoln, Nebraska, on this twenty-second day of July, 1920, expresses its thanks to Almighty God for the victory over the beverage liquor traffic which crowns fifty years of consecrated effort. The principles which we have advocated throughout our history have been so far recognized that the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating drink have been forever prohibited in the fundamental law of the land; Congress has rightly interpreted the Eighteenth Amendment in laws enacted for its enforcement; and the Supreme Court has upheld both the Amendment and the law.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

Asking that it be clothed with governmental power, the Prohibition Party challenges the attention of the Nation and requests the votes of the people on this Declaration of Principles.

Nullification Condemned

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

The organized liquor traffic is engaged in a treasonable attempt to nullify the Amendment by such modification of the enforcement act as will increase the alcoholic content in beer and wine and thus thwart the will of the people as constitutionally expressed.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

In the face of this open threat the Republican and Democratic parties refused to make platform declarations in favor of law enforcement, though petitioned so to do by multitudes of people. Thus the Prohibition Party remains the sole political champion of National Prohibition.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

The Prohibition Party in its platform in 1872 declared. "There can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government for party success." Notwithstanding

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

the liquor traffic is now outlawed by the Constitution this fitly describes the present political attitude of the old parties.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

The issue is not only the ENFORCEMENT but also the MAINTENANCE of the law to make the Amendment effective.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

The proposed increase in the alcoholic content of beverages would be fraught with grave danger in that it would mean the return of the open saloon with all its attendant evils.

The League of Nations

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

The League of Nations is now in existence and is functioning in world affairs. We favor the entrance of the United States into the League by the immediate ratification of the treaty of peace, not objecting to reasonable reservations interpreting American understanding of the covenant. The time is past when the United States can hold aloof from the affairs of the world. Such course is short-sighted and only invites disaster.

Peace

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

We stand for a constitutional amendment providing that treaties of peace shall be ratified by a majority of both Houses of Congress.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

We stand by our declaration of 1916 against militarism and universal military training. Without it our boys were in a short time trained to whip the greatest army ever assembled and with national prohibition to make sure the most virile manhood in the world we should encourage universal disarmament and devotion to the acts of peace.

Education

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

We stand for compulsory education with instruction in the English language, which, if given in private or parochial schools, must be equivalent to that afforded by the public schools, and be under state supervision.

Suffrage

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

The Prohibition Party has long advocated the enfranchisement of women. Suffrage should not be conditioned upon sex. We congratulate the women upon the freedom which the Party has helped them to achieve.

Woman and the Home

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.227

We approve and adopt the program of the National League of Women Voters providing for:

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

The prohibition of child labor;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

Adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

Protection for infant life through a fl

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

ederal program for maternity and infancy care;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

A Federal department of education, Federal aid for the removal of illiteracy and the increase of teachers' salaries;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

Instruction of the youth and the newcomer to our shores in the duties and ideals of citizenship;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

Vocational training in home economics;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

Federal supervision of the marketing and distribution of food, the enactment and enforcement of such measures as will open the channels of trade, prevent excess profits, and eliminate unfair competition and control of the necessities of life;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

The establishment of a Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor to determine standards and policies which will improve working conditions for women and increase their efficiency;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

The appointment of women in the mediation and conciliation service and on any industrial commissions and tribunals which may be created;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

The establishment of a joint Federal and State employment service with women's departments under the direction of qualified women;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

The merit system in the Civil Service free from discrimination on account of sex with a wage scale determined by skill demanded for the work and in no wise below the cost of living as established by official investigation;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

Appropriation to carry on a campaign against venereal diseases and for public education in sex hygiene;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

Federal legislation permitting an American born woman to retain her citizenship while resident in the United States, though married to an alien;

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

And further, that an alien woman who marries an American citizen must take the obligation of citizenship before she can become a citizen.

Economy in Administration

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

We believe in the Budget system and we stand for economy in governmental administration. There should be a reduction in boards, committees, commissions and offices which consume taxes and increase expenses.

Labor and Industry

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

We stand for Industrial Peace. We believe the time has come for the government to assume responsibility for the protection of the public against the waste and terror of industrial warfare, and to that end we demand legislation defining the rights of labor and the creation of industrial courts, which will guarantee to labor and employing capital equal and exact justice, and to the general public protection against the paralysis of industry due to this warfare.

Profiteering

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

The prohibition Party pledges the nation to rid it of the profiteer and to close the door against his return. It will endeavor to eliminate all unnecessary middlemen by the encouragement of organizations among producers that will bring those who sell and those who use nearer together. It will enact and enforce laws needful to effectively prevent excessive charges by such middlemen. To this end it will demand legislation subjecting to the penalties of the criminal law all corporate officers and employees who give or carry out instructions that result in extortion; it will make it unlawful for anyone engaged in Interstate Commerce to make the sale of one article dependent upon the purchase of another article and it will require such corporation to disclose to customers the difference between cost price and selling price or limit the profit that can be legally charged as the rate of interest is now limited.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

We pledge our aid to the farmer in working out a plan to equalize prices, to secure labor, and to organize a system of co-operative marketing, including public terminals, mills and storage for the purpose of encouraging agriculture and securing for the farmer such return as will tend to increase production.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

We favor such extension of the parcel post as will further facilitate the direct traffic between the producer and consumer.

Presidential Qualifications

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.228

The qualifications for President stated in the Constitution have to do with age and citizenship. We call attention to the fact that of greater importance are those not so stated referring to moral, intellectual and spiritual endowments. The President of the United States in his daily life, his home and family relationships and in his official career is expected to typify the finest and best the country can produce. He is the leader of the nation. The moral force and power of his example are immeasurable. No man or woman should ever be elected to the high office who is out of harmony with the purposes of the people or who lacks sympathy with their highest and holiest ideals, and with the Christian principles upon which the nation was founded.

Law and Order

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.229

A crying evil of the day is the general lax enforcement of law. Without obedience to law and maintenance of order our American institutions must perish.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.229

The Prohibition Party now, as ever, pledges impartial enforcement of all law.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.229

In this national and world crisis the Prohibition Party reminds the people of its long time faithfulness and its wisdom, proved by the many reforms which it was the first to advocate; and on its record as the oldest minority party—one which has never sold its birthright for a mess of pottage but throughout the years has stood for the best interests of the country—it asks the favorable consideration of the voters, believing that by its support they can make it necessary for all political organizations to come up to a higher level and to render a finer quality of service.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1920, p.229

It pledges itself resolutely to stand for the right and oppose the wrong and dauntlessly to lead in the advocacy of righteous and patriotic principles. On its record and on this Declaration of Principles it submits its case to the American people.

Republican Platform of 1920

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.229

The Republican party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution of the United States, and to the guaranties of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the government or to weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of international policy or domestic agitation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.229

For seven years the national government has been controlled by the Democratic party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe, and left in its train economic misery and suffering second only to the war itself.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.229

The outstanding features of the Democratic administration have been complete unpreparedness for war and complete unpreparedness for peace.

Unpreparedness for War

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.229

Inexcusable failure to make timely preparations is the chief indictment against the Democratic administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the first twelve months of our participation and furnished us to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes, and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself, and in an enormous waste of public funds, literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. To-day it is reflected in our huge tax burdens and in the high cost of living.

Unpreparedness for Peace

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.229

Peace found the administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital need of the country demanded the early andsystematic return of a peace time basis.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.229

This called for vision, leadership, and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has been left to shift for itself, the government has continued on a wartime basis. The administration has not demobilized the army of place holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction. It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in the time of peace, and to carry confusion into industrial life. Under the despot's plea of necessity or superior wisdom, executive usurpation of legislative and judicial function still undermines our institutions. Eighteen months after the armistice, with its wartime powers unabridged, its wartime departments undischarged, its wartime army of place holders still mobilized, the administration still continues to flounder helplessly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

The demonstrated incapacity of the Democratic party has destroyed public confidence, weakened the authority of the government, and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulty of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

Never has our nation been confronted with graver problems. The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties purpose solving these problems. To that end, the Republican party declares its policy and programme to be as follows:

Constitutional Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

We undertake to end executive autocracy and restore to the people their constitutional government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

The policies herein declared will be carried out by the Federal and State governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

Foreign Relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

The foreign policy of the Administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired, and our Government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and political principle, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own rights, and unfailing respect for the rights of others. We should afford full and adequate protection to the life, liberty, property and all international rights of every American citizen, and should require a proper respect for the American flag; but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect, and the respect of other nations. Subject to a due regard for our international obligations, we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of its people, and to cast its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

(a) Mexico

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

The ineffective policy of the present Administration in Mexican matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border; for the enormous loss of American and foreign property; for the lowering of American standards of morality and social relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice, national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

The policy of wordy, futile written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the President himself as being meaningless and not intended to be considered seriously, or enforced, has but added in degree to that contempt, and has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

We should not recognize any Mexican government, unless it be a responsible government willing and able to give sufficient guarantees that the lives and property of American citizens are respected and protected; that wrongs will be promptly corrected and just compensation will be made for injury sustained. The Republican party pledges itself to a consistent, firm and effective policy towards Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of property, in accordance with established principles of international law and our treaty rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

The Republican party is a sincere friend of the Mexican people. In its insistence upon the maintenance of order for the protection of American citizens within its borders a great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves; for a continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interests and patriotic aspirations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

(b) Mandate for Armenia

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.230

We condemn President Wilson for asking Congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. We commend the Republican Senate for refusing the President's request to empower him to accept the mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels. According to the estimate of the Harbord Commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend $276,000,000 in the first year and $756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight; but in case of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or of American interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

(c) League of Nations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association must be based upon international justice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

We believe that all this can be done without

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

The covenant signed by the President at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose, and contains stipulations, not only intolerable for an independent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

That covenant repudiated, to a degree wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable, the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and pursued by all American administrations for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him in the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the Treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the Treaty as it was presented, or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution were theirs, and not his.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity. And we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals, and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

Congress and Reconstruction

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

Despite the unconstitutional and dictatorial course of the President and the partisan obstruction of the Democratic congressional minority, the Republican majority has enacted a program of constructive legislation which in great part, however, has been nullified by the vindictive vetoes of the President.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.231

The Republican Congress has met the problems presented by the administration's unpreparedness for peace. It has repealed the greater part of the vexatious war legislation. It has enacted a transportation act making possible the rehabilitation of the railroad systems of the country, the operation of which, under the present Democratic administration, has been wasteful, extravagant, and inefficient in the highest degree. The transportation act made provision for the peaceful settlement of wage disputes, partially nullified, however, by the President's delay in appointing the wage board created by the Act. This delay precipitated the outlaw railroad strike.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

We stopped the flood of public treasure, recklessly poured into the lap of an inept shipping board, and laid the foundations for the creation of a great merchant marine; we took from the incompetent Democratic administration the administration of the telegraph and telephone lines of the country and returned them to private ownership; we reduced the cost of postage and increased the pay of the postal employes—the poorest paid of all public servants; we provided pensions for superannuated and retired civil servants; and for an increase in pay of soldiers and sailors we reorganized the Army on a peace footing and provided for the maintenance of a powerful and efficient navy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

The Republican Congress established by law a permanent woman's bureau in the Department of Labor; we submitted to the country the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, and furnished twenty-nine of the thirty-five legislatures which have ratified it to date.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

Legislation for the relief of the consumers of print paper, for the extension of the powers of the government under the Food Control Act, for broadening the scope of the War Risk Insurance Act, better provision for the dwindling number of aged veterans of the Civil War and for the better support of the maimed and injured of the great war, and for making practical the vocational rehabilitation act, has been enacted by the Republican Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

We passed an oil leasing and water power bill to unlock for the public good the great pent-up resources of the country; we have sought to check the profligacy of the administration, to realize upon the assets of the government and to husband the revenues derived from taxation. The Republicans in Congress have been responsible for cuts in the estimates for government expenditure of nearly $3,000,000,000 since the signing of the armistice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

We enacted a national executive budget law; we strengthened the Federal Reserve Act to permit banks to lend needed assistance to farmers; we authorized financial incorporations to develop export trade; and finally, amended the rules of the Senate and House, which will reform evils in procedure and guarantee more efficient and responsible government.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

The farmer is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which it holds is wholly dependent upon the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

The Republican party believes that this condition can be improved by: practical and adequate farm representation in the appointment of governmental officials and commissions; the right to form co-operative associations for marketing their products, and protection against discrimination; the scientific study of agricultural prices and farm production costs, at home and abroad, with a view to reducing the frequency of abnormal fluctuation; the uncensored publication of such reports; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the coordination of rail, water and motor transportation with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade; and end to unnecessary price-fixing and ill-considered efforts arbitrarily to reduce prices of farm products which invariably result to the disadvantage both of producer and consumer; and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

The Federal Farm Loan Acts should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm land by those desiring to become owners and proprietors and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry, and to furnish such long time credits as farmers may need to finance adequately their larger and long time production operations.

Industrial Relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual and emphasizes the diversity of interest of employer and employé. The other is that of co-partnership in a common task.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.232

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employés and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences. We denied the right to strike against the government; but the rights and interests of all government employés must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to render decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives and health and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunal to be morally but not legally binding, and an informed public sentiment be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunals, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the Transportation Act of 1920.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration supplemented by the full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

National Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

A Republican Congress reduced the estimates submitted by the Administration almost three billion dollars. Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the Administration to co-operate with Congress in an economy program. The universal demand for an executive budget is a recognition of the incontrovertible fact that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive retrenchment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

The Overman Act invested the President of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the Federal Government to a normal peace basis and to reorganize, retrench and demobilize. The dominant fact is that eighteen months after the armistice, the United States Government is still on a war time basis, and the expenditure program of the Executive reflects war time extravagance rather than rigid peace time economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post war time administration we cite the fact that not including the war and navy departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase subsequent to the armistice of 2,184 employés. The net decrease in pay roll costs contained in the 1921 demands submitted by the Administration is only one per cent below that of 1920. The annual expenses of Federal operations can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment on a peace time basis and to a policy of rigid economy, to the better co-ordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employés, and to the raising of the standard of individual efficiency.

The Executive Budget

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

We congratulate the Republican Congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an Executive Budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and business-like administration of the national finances; and we condemn the veto of the President which defeated this great financial reform.

Reorganization of Federal Departments and Bureaus

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the Federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more business-like distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and overlapping of work and the establishment of an up-todate and efficient administrative organization.

War Powers of the President

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.233

The President clings tenaciously to his autocratic war time powers. His veto of the resolution declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing war time legislation, no longer necessary, evidenced his determination not to restore to the Nation and to the State the form of government provided for by the Constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

Taxation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.234

The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering; but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected. The next Republican Administration will inherit from its Democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over three billion dollars—the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial consideration. Moreover, the whole fiscal policy of the Government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of five billion dollars which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and procedure, prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty, tax laws which do not, for tax laws which do, excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly repress enterprise and thrift.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.234

We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income return; authorizing the Treasury Department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval empowering the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the consent of the taxpayers, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments barring fraud, the creation of a Tax Board consisting of at least three representatives of the taxpaying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the Bureau of Internal Revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law and to make recommendations to the Congress.

Banking and Currency

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.234

The fact is that the war to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation, through certificate borrowings from the banks, and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the Federal Reserve Board. The continuance of this policy since the armistice lays the administration open to severe criticism. Almost up to the present time the practices of the Federal Reserve Board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the convenience of the Treasury.

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The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who, in good faith, bought liberty bonds and victory notes at par, and extensive post war speculation followed to-day by a restricted credit for legitimate industrial expansion and as a matter of public policy, we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.234

The Federal Reserve System should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

The High Cost of Living

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.234

The prime cause of the "High Cost of Living" has been first and foremost, a fifty per cent depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar, due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits, and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power, have been contributing forces in a greater or less degree. We condemn the unsound fiscal policies of the Democratic Administration which have brought these things to pass, and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out, and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises or quack remedies. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living, by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in war government borrowing, by courageous and intelligent deflation of over-expanded credit and currency, by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift and by revision of war imposed taxes unsuited to peace time economy.

Profiteering

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.234

We condemn the Democratic Administration for failure impartially to enforce the Anti-Profiteering Laws enacted by the Republican Congress.

Railroads

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

We are opposed to government ownership and operation or employé operation of the Railroads. In view of the conditions prevailing in this country, the experience of the last two years, and the conclusion which may fairly be drawn from an observation of the transportation systems of other countries it is clear that adequate transportation service both for the present and future can be furnished more certainly, economically and efficiently through private ownership and operation under proper regulation and control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

There should be no speculative profit in rendering the service of transportation; but in order to do justice to the capital already invested in railway enterprise, to restore railway credit, to induce future investment at a reasonable rate, and to furnish a large facility to meet the requirements of the constantly increasing development and distribution a fair return upon actual value of the railway property used in transportation should be made reasonably sure, and at the same time to provide constant employment to those engaged in transportation service, with fair hours and favorable working conditions, at wages or compensation at least equal to those prevailing in similar lines of industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

We endorse the transportation act of 1920 enacted by the Republican Congress as a most constructive legislative achievement.

Waterways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

Regulation of Industry and Commerce

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

We approve in general the existing Federal Legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safety of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The Federal Trade Commission, under a Democratic Administration, has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created. This commission properly organized and its duties efficiently administered should afford protection to the public and legitimate business interests. There should be no persecution of honest business; but to the extent that circumstances warrant we pledge ourselves to strengthen the law against unfair practices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

We pledge the party to an immediate resumption of trade relations with every nation with which we are at peace.

International Trade and Tariff

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balances, the abnormal economic and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican party reaffirms its belief in the protective principles and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

The National defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ship, flying the American flag, and manned by American seamen, owned by private capital, and operated by private energy. We endorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the Republican Congress that will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American Merchant Marine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

We favor the application of the workmen's compensation act to the Merchant Marine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American Merchant Marine shall pass through the Panama Canal without payment of tolls.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

The standard of living and the standard of citizenship of a nation are its most precious possessions, and the preservation and the elevation of those standards is the first duty of our government. The immigration policy of the U. S. should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any one time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity, and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.235

The selective tests that are at present applied should be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and of criminals, and a more effective inspection applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as at the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provision for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. To facilitate government supervision, all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound, and should be maintained.

Naturalization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

There is urgent need of improvement in our naturalization law. No alien should become a citizen until he has become genuinely American, and adequate tests for determining the alien's fitness for American citizenship should be provided for by law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

We advocate, in addition, the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman, resident in the United States, should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien.

Free Speech and Alien Agitation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

We demand that every American citizen shall enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly and the no less sacred right of the qualified voted [sic] to be represented by his duly chosen representatives; but no man may advocate resistance to the law, and no man may advocate violent overthrow of the government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled of right to liberty of agitation directed against the government of American institutions

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

Every government has the power to exclude and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large numbers of people affected by the immigration acts and in view of the vigorous malpractice of the Departments of Justice and Labor, an adequate public hearing before a competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all.

Lynching

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

We urge Congress to consider the most effective means to end Iynching in this country which continues to be a terrible blot on our American civilization.

Public Roads and Highways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

We favor liberal appropriations in co-operation with the States for the construction of highways, which will bring about a reduction in transportation costs, better marketing of farm products, improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

In determining the proportion of Federal aid for road construction among the States, the sums lost in taxation to the respective States by the setting apart of large portions of their area as forest reservations should be considered as a controlling factor.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

Conservation is a Republican policy. It began with the passage of the Reclamation Act signed by President Roosevelt. The recent passage of the coal, oil and phosphate leasing act by a Republican Congress and the enactment of the waterpower bill fashioned in accordance with the same principle, are consistent landmarks in the development of the conservation of our national resources. We denounce the refusal of the President to sign the waterpower bill, passed after ten years of controversy. The Republican party has taken an especially honorable part in saving our national forests and in the effort to establish a national forest policy. Our most pressing conservation question relates to our forests. We are using our forest resources faster than they are being renewed. The result is to raise unduly the cost of forest products to consumers and especially farmers, who use more than half the lumber produced in America, and in the end to create a timber famine. The Federal Government, the States and private interests must unite in devising means to meet the menace.

Reclamation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

We favor a fixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

We recognize in the development of reclamation through Federal action with its increase of production and taxable wealth a safeguard for the nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.236

We commend to Congress a policy to reclaim lands and the establishment of a fixed national policy of development of natural resources in relation to reclamation through the now designated government agencies.

Army and Navy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

We feel the deepest pride in the fine courage, the resolute endurance, the gallant spirit of the officers and men of our army and navy in the World War. They were in all ways worthy of the best traditions of the nation's defenders, and we pledge ourselves to proper maintenance of the military and naval establishments upon which our national security and dignity depend.

The Service Men

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

We hold in imperishable remembrance the valor and the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of America who fought in the great war for human liberty, and we pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill, in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

Republicans are not ungrateful. Throughout their history they have shown their gratitude toward the nation's defenders. Liberal legislation for the care of the disabled and infirm and their dependents has ever marked Republican policy toward the soldier and sailor of all the wars in which our country has participated. The present Congress has appropriated generously for the disabled of the World War.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal year 1920-21 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of $1,180,571,893. The legislation is significant of the party's purpose in generously caring for the maimed and disabled men of the recent war.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

We renew our repeated declaration that the civil service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The recent action of Congress in enacting a comprehensive civil service retirement law and in working out a comprehensive employment and wage policy that will guarantee equal and just treatment to the army of government workers, and in centralizing the administration of the new and progressive employment policy in the hands of the Civil Service Commission is worthy of all praise.

Postal Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

We condemn the present administration for its destruction of the efficiency of the postal service, and the telegraph and telephone service when controlled by the government and for its failure to properly compensate employés whose expert knowledge is essential to the proper conduct of the affairs of the postal system. We commend the Republican Congress for the enactment of legislation increasing the pay of postal employés, who up to that time were the poorest paid in the government service.

Woman Suffrage

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

We welcome women into full participation in the affairs of government and the activities of the Republican Party. We earnestly hope that Republican legislatures in states which have not yet acted on the Suffrage Amendment will ratify the amendment, to the end that all of the women of the nation of voting age may participate in the election of 1920 which is so important to the welfare of our country.

Social Progress

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. Although the federal jurisdiction over social problems is limited, they affect the welfare and interest of the nation as a whole. We pledge the Republican party to the solution of these problems through national and state legislation in accordance with the best progressive thought of the country.

Education and Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

We endorse the principle of Federal aid to the States for the purpose of vocational and agricultural training.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

Wherever Federal money is devoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty to the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.237

A thorough system of physical education for all children up to the age of 19, including adequate health supervision and instruction, would remedy conditions revealed by the draft and would add to the economic and industrial strength of the nation. National leadership and stimulation will be necessary to induce the States to adopt a wise system of physical training.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

The public health activities of the Federal government are scattered through numerous departments and bureaus, resulting in inefficiency, duplication and extravagance. We advocate a greater centralization of the Federal functions and in addition urge the better co-ordination of the work of the Federal, State and local health agencies.

Child Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

The Republican party stands for a Federal child labor law and for its rigid enforcement. If the present law be found unconstitutional or ineffective, we shall seek other means to enable Congress to prevent the evils of child labor.

Women in Industry

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

Women have special problems of employment which make necessary special study. We recommend Congress for the permanent establishment of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor to serve as a source of information to the States and to Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

The principle of equal pay for equal service should be applied throughout all branches of the Federal government in which women are employed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

Federal aid for vocational training should take into consideration the special aptitudes and needs of women workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

We demand Federal legislation to limit the hours of employment of women engaged in intensive industry, the product of which enters into interstate commerce.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

The housing shortage has not only compelled careful study of ways of stimulating building, but it has brought into relief the unsatisfactory character of the housing accommodations of large numbers of the inhabitants of our cities. A nation of home owners is the best guaranty of the maintenance of those principles of liberty, law and order upon which our government is founded. Both National and State governments should encourage in all proper ways the acquiring of homes by our citizens. The United States Government should make available the valuable information on housing and town planning collected during the war. This information should be kept up to date and made currently available.

Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

For Hawaii we recommend Federal assistance in Americanizing and educating their greatly disproportionate foreign population; home rule; and the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian race.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1920, p.238

Pointing to its history and relying on its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican party has the genius, courage and constructive ability to end executive usurpation and restore constitutional government; to fulfill our world obligations without sacrificing our national independence; to raise the national standards of education, health and general welfare; to re-establish a peace time administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without the denial of justice; to repel the arrogant challenge of any class and to maintain a government of all the people as contrasted with government for some of the people, and finally, to allay unrest, suspicion and strife, and to secure the co-operation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day; to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and of its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future.

Socialist Platform of 1920

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.238

In the national campaign of 1920 the Socialist Party calls upon all American workers of hand and brain, and upon all citizens who believe in political liberty and social justice, to free the country from the oppressive misrule of the old political parties, and to take the government into their own hands under the banner and upon the program of the Socialist Party.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.238

The outgoing administration, like Democratic and Republican administrations of the past, leave behind it a disgraceful record of solemn pledges unscrupulously broken and public confidence ruthlessly betrayed.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.238

It obtained the suffrage of the people on a platform of peace, liberalism and social betterment, but drew the country into a devastating war, and inaugurated a régime of despotism, reaction and oppression unsurpassed in the annals of the republic.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

It promised to the American people a treaty which would assure to the world a reign of international right and true democracy. It gave its sanction and support to an infamous pact formulated behind closed doors by predatory elder statesmen of European and Asiatic imperialism. Under this pact territories have been annexed against the will of their populations and cut off from their sources of sustenance; nations seeking their freedom in the exercise of much heralded right of self-determination have been brutally fought with armed force, intrigue and starvation blockades.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

To the millions of young men, who staked their lives on the field of battle, to the people of the country who gave unstintingly of their toil and property to support the war, the Democratic administration held out the sublime ideal of a union of the peoples of the world organized to maintain perpetual peace among nations on the basis of justice and freedom. It helped create a reactionary alliance of imperialistic governments, banded together to bully weak nations, crush working-class governments and perpetuate strife and warfare.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

While thus furthering the ends of reaction, violence and oppression abroad, our administration suppressed the cherished and fundamental rights and civil liberties at home.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

Upon the pretext of war-time necessity, the Chief Executive of the republic and the appointed heads of his administration were clothed with dictatorial powers (which were often exercised arbitrarily), and Congress enacted laws in open and direct violation of the constitutional safeguards of freedom of expression.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

Hundreds of citizens who raised their voices for the maintenance of political and industrial rights during the war were indicted under the Espionage Law, tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria and are now serving inhumanly long jail sentences for daring to uphold the traditions of liberty which once were sacred in this country.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

Agents of the Federal government unlawfully raided homes and meeting places and prevented or broke up peaceable gatherings of citizens.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

The postmaster-general established a censorship of the press more autocratic than that ever tolerated in a régime of absolutism, and has harassed and destroyed publications on account of their advanced political and economic views, by excluding them from the mails.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

And after the war was in fact long over, the administration has not scrupled to continue a policy of repression and terrorism under the shadow and hypocritical guise of war-time measures.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

It has practically imposed involuntary servitude and peonage on a large class of American workers by denying them the right to quit work and coercing them into acceptance of inadequate wages and onerous conditions of labor. It has dealt a foul blow to the traditional American right of asylum by deporting hundreds of foreign born workers by administrative order, on the mere suspicion of harboring radical views, and often for the sinister purpose of breaking labor strikes.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

In the short span of three years our self-styled liberal administration has succeeded in undermining the very foundation of political liberty and economic rights which this republic has built up in more than a century of struggle and progress.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

Under the cloak of a false and hypocritical patriotism and under the protection of governmental terror the Democratic administration has given the ruling classes unrestrained license to plunder the people by intensive exploitation of labor, by the extortion of enormous profits and by increasing the cost of all necessities of life. Profiteering has become reckless and rampant, billions have been coined by the capitalists out of the suffering and misery of their fellow men. The American financial oligarchy has become a dominant factor in the world, while the condition of the American workers has grown more precarious.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.239

The responsibility does not rest upon the Democratic party alone. The Republican party, through its representatives in Congress and otherwise, has not only openly condoned the political misdeeds of the last three years, but has sought to outdo its Democratic rival in the orgy of political reaction and repression. Its criticism of the Democratic administrative policy is that it is not reactionary and drastic enough.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

America is now at the parting of the roads. If the outraging of political liberty and concentration of economic power into the hands of the few is permitted to go on, it can have only one consequence, the reduction of the country to a state of absolute capitalist despotism.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

We particularly denounce the militaristic policy of both old parties, of investing countless hundreds of millions of dollars in armaments after the victorious completion of what was to have been the "last war." We call attention to the fatal results of such a program in Europe, carried on prior to 1914, and culminating in the Great War; we declare that such a policy, adding unbearable burdens to the working class and to all the people, can lead only to the complete Prussianization of the nation, and ultimately to war; and we demand immediate and complete abandonment of this fatal program.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

The Socialist Party sounds the warning. It calls upon the people to defeat both parties at the polls, and to elect the candidates of the Socialist Party to the end of restoring political democracy and bringing about complete industrial freedom.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

The Socialist Party of the United States therefore summons all who believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganization of our social system, based upon public ownership of public necessities; upon government by representatives chosen from occupational as well as from geographical groups in harmony with our industrial development, and with citizenship based on service; that we may end forever the exploitation of class by class.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

To achieve this end the Socialist Party pledges itself to the following program:

1. Social

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the nation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

3. All banks should be acquired by the government, and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the government, and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with reference to the Negroes, and effective federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the Negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

2. Industrial

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strike-breaking agencies and to establish a shorter work-day in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

3. Political

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the Espionage Law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

2. All prosecutions under the Espionage Law should be discontinued, and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious beliefs, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the Writ of Injunction or otherwise, and their power to nullify congressional legislation, should be abrogated.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

5. Federal judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.240

6. The President and the Vice-President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election, and be subject to recall. All members of the Cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible at all times to the vote thereof.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

7. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted in fact as well as in law for all men and women throughout the nation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

8. Because of the strict residential qualification of suffrage in this country, millions of citizens are disfranchised in every election; adequate provision should be made for the registration and voting of migratory workers.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

9. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty, and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

4. Foreign Relations

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be canceled upon the understanding that all war debts among such countries shall likewise be canceled. The largest possible credit in food, raw materials and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

2. The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the "League of Nations" and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and be charged with revising the Treaty of Peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

3. The United States should immediately make peace with the Central Powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet Government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish Republic.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principal in its foreign policy that American capitalists who acquire concessions or make investments in foreign countries do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property-claims of American capitalists.

5. Fiscal

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

1. All war debts and other debts of the Federal Government should immediately be paid in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burden should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

2. A standing progressive income tax and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Platform of 1920, p.241

3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed; all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1920

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.241

The world stands upon the threshold of a new social order. The capitalist system of production and distribution is doomed; capitalist appropriation of labor's produce forces the bulk of mankind into wage slavery, throws society into the convulsions of the class struggle, and momentarily threatens to engulf humanity in chaos and disaster. At this crucial period in history the Socialist Labor Party of America, in 15th National Convention assembled, reaffirming its former platform declarations, calls upon the workers to rally around the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, the only party in this country that blazes the trail to the Workers' Industrial Republic.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.241

Since the advent of civilization human society has been divided into classes. Each new form of society has come into being with a definite purpose to fulfill in the progress of the human race. Each has been born, has grown, developed, prospered, become old, outworn, and has finally been overthrown. Each society has developed within itself the germs of its own destruction as well as the germs which went to make up the society of the future.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.241

The capitalist system rose during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, by the overthrow of feudalism. Its great and all-important mission in the development of man was to improve, develop, and concentrate the means of production and distribution, thus creating a system of co-operative production. This work was completed in advanced capitalist countries about the beginning of the 20th century. That moment capitalism had fulfilled its historic mission, and from that moment the capitalist class became a class of parasites.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.242

In the course of human progress mankind has passed through class rule, private property, and individualism in production and exchange, from the enforced and inevitable want, misery, poverty, and ignorance of savagery and barbarism to the affluence and high productive capacity of civilization. For all practical purposes, co-operative production has now superseded individual production.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.242

Capitalism no longer promotes the greatest good of the greatest number. Private production carries with it private ownership of the products. Production is carried on, not to supply the needs of humanity, but for the profit of the individual owner, the company, or the trust. The worker, not receiving the full product of his labor, can not buy back all he produces. The capitalist wastes part in riotous living; the rest must find a foreign market. By the opening of the twentieth century the capitalist world—England, America, Germany, France, Japan, China, etc.—was producing at a mad rate for the world market. A capitalist deadlock of market brought on in 1914 the capitalist collapse popularly known as the World War. The capitalist world can not extricate itself out of the débris. America to-day is choking under the weight of her own gold and products.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.242

This situation has brought on the present stage of human misery—starvation, want, cold, disease, pestilence, and war. This state is brought about in the midst of plenty, when the earth can be made to yield hundred-fold, when the machinery of production is made to multiply human energy and ingenuity by the hundred. The present state of misery exists solely because the mode of production rebels against the mode of exchange. Private property in the means of life has become a social crime. The land was made by no man; the modern machines are the result of the combined ingenuity of the human race from time immemorial; the land can be made to yield and the machines can be set in motion only by the collective effort of the workers. Progress demands the collective ownership of the land on and the tools with which to produce the necessities of life. The owner of the means of life to-day partakes of the nature of a highwayman; he stands with his gun before society's temple; it depends upon him whether the million mass may work, earn, eat, and live. The capitalist system of production and exchange must be supplanted if progress is to continue.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.242

In place of the capitalist system the Socialist Labor Party aims to substitute a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the workers, who assume control and direction as well as operation of their industrial affairs.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.242

We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party; and to organize themselves likewise upon the industrial field into a Socialist industrial union, as now exemplified by the Workers' International Industrial Union, in keeping with their political aims.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1920, p.242

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation, and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting Industrial Self-Government for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a government in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1924

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1924, p.243

In 1924, in addition to the Democratic and Republican parties, the Prohibition Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Workers' (Communist) Party published platforms and appeared on the ballots in more than a quarter of the states. Senator Robert M. La Follette was nominated for the presidency by a Conference for Progressive Political Action which met in Cleveland, Ohio in July of 1924, but he also ran as an independent in several states. The platform and resolutions committee of the Conference submitted a platform which was adopted, and at a later date Mr. La Follette published a platform of his own. Both platforms are included in this volume. The Socialist Party published only a Declaration of Principles instead of a platform, and supported La Follette in the election.

Democratic Platform of 1924

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.243

We, the representatives of the democratic party, in national convention assembled, pay our profound homage to the memory of Woodrow Wilson. Our hearts are filled with gratitude that American democracy should have produced this man, whose spirit and influence will live on through the ages; and that it was our privilege to have co-operated with him in the advancement of ideals of government which will serve as an example and inspiration for this and future generations. We affirm our abiding faith in those ideals and pledge ourselves to take up the standard which he bore and to strive for the full triumph of the principles of democracy to which he dedicated his life.

Democratic Principles

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.243

The democratic party believes in equal rights to all and special privilege to none. The republican party holds that special privileges are essential to national prosperity. It believes that national prosperity must originate with the special interests and seep down through the channels of trade to the less favored industries to the wage earners and small salaried employes. It has accordingly enthroned privilege and nurtured selfishness.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.243

The republican party is concerned chiefly with material things; the democratic party is concerned chiefly with human rights. The masses, burdened by discriminating laws and unjust administration, are demanding relief. The favored special interests, represented by the republican party, contented with their unjust privileges, are demanding that no change be made. The democratic party stands for remedial legislation and progress. The republican party stands still.

Comparison of Parties

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

We urge the American people to compare the record of eight unsullied years of democratic administration with that of the republican administration. In the former there was no corruption. The party pledges were faithfully fulfilled and a democratic congress enacted an extraordinary number of constructive and remedial laws. The economic life of the nation was quickened.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

Tariff taxes were reduced. A federal trade commission was created. A federal farm loan system was established. Child labor legislation was enacted. A good roads bill was passed. Eight hour laws were adopted. A secretary of labor was given a seat in the cabinet of the president. The Clayton amendment to the Sherman anti-trust act was passed, freeing American labor and taking it from the category of commodities. By the Smith-Lever bill improvement of agricultural conditions was effected. A corrupt practice act was adopted. A well-considered warehouse act was passed. Federal employment bureaus were created, farm loan banks were organized and the federal reserve system was established. Privilege was uprooted. A corrupt lobby was driven from the national capital. A higher sense of individual and national duty was aroused. America enjoyed an unprecedented period of social and material progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

During the time which intervened between the inauguration of a democratic administration on March 4, 1913, and our entrance into the world war, we placed upon the statute-books of our country more effective constructive and remedial legislation than the republican party had placed there in a generation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

During the great struggle which followed we had a leadership that carried America to greater heights of honor and power and glory than she had ever known before in her entire history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

Transition from this period of exalted democratic leadership to the sordid record of the last three and a half years makes the nation ashamed. It marks the contrast between a high conception of public service and an avid purpose to distribute spoils.

G. O. P. Corruption

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

Never before in our history has the government been so tainted by corruption and never has an administration so utterly failed. The nation has been appalled by the revelations of political de-pravity which have characterized the conduct of public affairs. We arraign the republican party for attempting to limit inquiry into official delinquencies and to impede if not to frustrate the investigations to which in the beginning the republican party leaders assented, but which later they regarded with dismay.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

These investigations sent the former secretary of the interior to Three Rivers in disgrace and dishonor. These investigations revealed the incapacity and indifference to public obligation of the secretary of the navy, compelling him by force of public opinion to quit the cabinet. These investigations confirmed the general impression as to the unfitness of the attorney general by exposing an official situation and personal contacts which shocked the conscience of the nation and compelled his dismissal from the cabinet.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

These investigations disclosed the appalling conditions of the veterans bureau with its fraud upon the government and its cruel neglect of the sick and disabled soldiers of the world war. These investigations revealed the criminal and fraudulent nature of the oil leases which caused the congress, despite the indifference of the executive, to direct recovery of the public domain and the prosecution of the criminal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

Such are the exigencies of partisan politics that republican leaders are teaching the strange doctrine that public censure should be directed against those who expose crime rather than against criminals who have committed the offenses. If only three cabinet officers out of ten are disgraced, the country is asked to marvel at how many are free from taint. Long boastful that it was the only party "fit to govern," the republican party has proven its inability to govern even itself. It is at war with itself. As an agency of government it has ceased to function.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

This nation cannot afford to entrust its welfare to a political organization that cannot master itself, or to an executive whose policies have been rejected by his own party. To retain in power an administration of this character would inevitably result in four years more of continued disorder, internal dissension and governmental inefficiency. A vote for Coolidge is a vote for chaos.

Issues

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.244

The dominant issues of the campaign are created by existing conditions. Dishonesty, discrimination, extravagances and inefficiency exist in government. The burdens of taxation have become unbearable. Distress and bankruptcy in agriculture, the basic industry of our country, is affecting the happiness and prosperity of the whole people. The cost of living is causing hardship and unrest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

The slowing down of industry is adding to the general distress. The tariff, the destruction of our foreign markets and the high cost of transportation are taking the profit out of agriculture, mining and other raw material industries. Large standing armies and the cost of preparing for war still cast their burdens upon humanity. These conditions the existing republican administration has proven itself unwilling or unable to redress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

The democratic party pledges itself to the following program:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

Honest government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

We pledge the democratic party to drive from public places all which make barter of our national power, its resources or the administration of its laws; to punish those guilty of these offenses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

To put none but the honest in public office; to practice economy in the expenditure of public money; to reverence and respect the rights of all under the constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

To condemn and destroy government by the spy and blackmailer which was by this republican administration both encouraged and practiced.

Tariff and Taxation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

The Fordney-McCumber tariff act is the most unjust, unscientific and dishonest tariff tax measure ever enacted in our history. It is class legislation which defrauds the people for the benefit of a few, it heavily increases the cost of living, penalizes agriculture, corrupts the government, fosters paternalism and, in the long run, does not benefit the very interests for which it was intended.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

We denounce the republican tariff laws which are written, in great part, in aid of monopolies and thus prevent that reasonable exchange of commodities which would enable foreign countries to buy our surplus agricultural and manufactured products with resultant profit to the toilers and producers of America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

Trade interchange, on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored doctrine of democratic faith. We declare our party's position to be in favor of a tax on commodities entering the customs house that will promote effective competition, protect against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue to support the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

The greatest contributing factor in the increase and unbalancing of prices is unscientific taxation. After having increased taxation and the cost of living by $2,000,000,000 under the Fordney-Mc-Cumber tariff, all that the republican party could suggest in the way of relief was a cut of $300,000,000 in direct taxes; and that was to be given principally to those with the largest incomes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

Although there was no evidence of a lack of capital for investment to meet the present requirements of all legitimate industrial enterprises and although the farmers and general consumers were bearing the brunt of tariff favors already granted to special interests, the administration was unable to devise any plan except one to grant further aid to the few. Fortunately this plan of the administration failed and under democratic leadership, aided by progressive republicans, a more equitable one was adopted, which reduces direct taxes by about $450,000,000.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

The issue between the president and the democratic party is not one of tax reduction or of the conservation of capital. It is an issue of relative burden of taxation and of the distribution of capital as affected by the taxation of income. The president still stands on the so-called Mellon plan, which his party has just refused to indorse or mention in its platform.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

The income tax was intended as a tax upon wealth. It was not intended to take from the poor any part of the necessities of life. We hold that the fairest tax with which to raise revenue for the federal government is the income tax. We favor a graduated tax upon incomes, so adjusted as to lay the burdens of government upon the taxpayers in proportion to the benefits they enjoy and their ability to pay.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.245

We oppose the so-called nuisance taxes, sales taxes and all other forms of taxation that unfairly shift to the consumer the burdens of taxation. We refer to the democratic revenue measure passed by the last congress as distinguished from the Mellon tax plan as an illustration of the policy of the democratic party. We first made a flat reduction of 25 per cent upon the tax of all incomes payable this year and then we so changed the proposed Mellon plan as to eliminate taxes upon the poor, reducing them upon moderate incomes and, in a lesser degree, upon the incomes of multi-millionaires. We hold that all taxes are unnecessarily high and pledge ourselves to further reductions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

We denounce the Mellon plan as a device to relieve multi-millionaires at the expense of other taxpayers, and we accept the issue of taxation tendered by President Coolidge.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

During the four years of republican government the economic condition of the American farmer has changed from comfort to bankruptcy, with all its attendant miseries. The chief causes for this are:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(a) The republican party policy of isolation in international affairs has prevented Europe from getting back to its normal balance, and, by leaving unsolved the economic problems abroad, has driven the European city population from industrial activities to the soil in large numbers in order to earn the mere necessaries of life. This has deprived the American farmer of his normal export trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(b) The republican policy of a prohibitive tariff, exemplified in the Fordney-McCumber law, which has forced the American farmer, with his export market debilitated, to buy manufactured goods at sustained high domestic levels, thereby making him the victim of the profiteer.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(c) The republican policy of high transportation rates, both rail and water, which has made it impossible for the farmer to ship his produce to market at even a living profit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

To offset these policies and their disastrous results, and to restore the farmer again to economic equality with other industrialists, we pledge

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

ourselves:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(a) To adopt an international policy of such co-operation by direct official, instead of indirect and evasive unofficial means, as will re-establish the farmers' export market by restoring the industrial balance in Europe and the normal flow of international trade with the settlement of Europe's economic problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(b) To adjust the tariff so that the farmer and all other classes can buy again in a competitive manufacturers' market.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(c) To readjust and lower rail and water rates which will make our markets, both for the buyer and the seller, national and international instead of regional and local.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(d) To bring about the early completion of international waterway systems for transportation and to develop our water powers for cheaper fertilizer and use on our farms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(e) To stimulate by every proper governmental activity the progress of the co-operative marketing movement and the establishment of an export marketing corporation or commission in order that the exportable surplus may not establish the price of the whole crop.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(f) To secure for the farmer credits suitable for his needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

(g) By the establishment of these policies and others naturally supplementary thereto, to reduce the margin between what the producer receives for his products and the consumer has to pay for his supplies, to the end that we secure an equality for agriculture.

Railroads

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

The sponsors for the Esch-Cummins transportation act of 1920, at the time of its presentation to congress, stated that it had for its purposes the reduction of the cost of transportation, the improvement of service, the bettering of labor conditions, the promotion of peaceful co-operation between employer and employe, and at the same time the assurance of a fair and just return to the railroads upon their investment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

We are in accord with these announced purposes, but contend that the act has failed to accomplish them. It has failed to reduce the cost of transportation. The promised improvement in service has not been realized. The labor provisions of the act have proven unsatisfactory in settling differences between employer and employes. The so-called recapture clause has worked out to the advantage of the strong and has been of no benefit to the weak. The pronouncement in the act for the development of both rail and water transportation has proved futile. Water transportation upon our inland waterways has not been encouraged, the limitation of our coastwise trade is threatened by the administration of the act. It has unnecessarily interfered with the power of the states to regulate purely intrastate transportation. It must therefore be so rewritten that the high purpose which the public welfare demands may be accomplished.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.246

Railroad freight rates should be so readjusted as to give the bulky basic, low-priced raw commodities, such as agricultural products, coal and ores the lowest rates, placing the higher rates upon more valuable and less bulky manufactured products.

Muscle Shoals

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

We reaffirm and pledge the fulfillment of the policy, with reference to Muscle Shoals, as declared and passed by the democratic majority of the sixty-fourth congress in the national defense act of 1916, "for the production of nitrates or other products needed for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

We hold that the production of cheaper and high grade fertilizers is essential to agricultural prosperity. We demand prompt action by congress for the operation of the Muscle Shoals plants to maximum capacity in the production, distribution and sale of commercial fertilizers to the farmers of the country and we oppose any legislation that limits the production of fertilizers at Muscle Shoals by limiting the amount of power to be used in their manufacture.

Credit and Currency

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

We denounce the recent cruel and unjust contraction of legitimate and necessary credit and currency, which was directly due to the so-called deflation policy of the republican party, as declared in its national platform of June, 1920, and in the speech of acceptance of its candidate for the presidency. Within eighteen months after the election of 1920 this policy resulted in withdrawing bank loans by over $5,000,000,000 and in contracting our currency by over $1,500,000,000.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

The contraction bankrupted hundreds of thousands of farmers and stock growers in America and resulted in widespread industrial depression and unemployment. We demand that the federal reserve system be so administered as to give stability to industry, commerce and finance, as was intended by the democratic party, which gave the federal reserve system to the nation.

Reclamation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

The democratic party was foremost in urging reclamation for the immediate arid and semiarid lands of the west. The lands are located in the public land states, and, therefore, it is due to the government to utilize their resources by reclamation. Homestead entrymen under reclamation projects have suffered from the extravagant inefficiencies and mistakes of the federal government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

The reclamation act of 1924, recommended by the fact finding commission and added as an amendment to the second deficiency appropriation bill at the last session of congress, was eliminated from that bill by the republican conferees in the report they presented to congress one hour before adjournment. The democratic party pledges itself actively, efficiently and economically to carry on the reclamation projects, and to make equitable adjustment for the mistakes the government has made.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

We pledge recovery of the navy's oil reserves, and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased or otherwise wrongfully transferred to the control of private interests; vigorous prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; revision of the water power act, the general leasing act and all other legislation relating to public domain, that may be essential to its conservation and honest and efficient use on behalf of the people of the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

We believe that the nation should retain title to its water power and we favor the expeditious creation and development of our water power. We favor strict public control and conservation of all the nation's natural resources, such as coal, iron, oil and timber, and their use in such manner as may be to the best interest of our citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

The conservation of migratory birds, the establishment of game preserves, and the protection and conservation of wild life is of importance to agriculturists as well as sportsmen. Our disappearing national natural resources of timber calls for a national policy of reforestation.

Improved Highways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

Improved roads are of vital importance, not only to commerce and industry, but also to agriculture and natural life. We call attention to the record of the democratic party in this matter and favor continuance of federal aid under existing federal and state agencies.

Mining

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.247

Mining is one of the basic industries of this country. We produce more coal, iron, copper and silver than any other country. The value of our mineral production is second only to agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

Mining has suffered like agriculture and from the same causes. It is the duty of our government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

The democratic party condemns the vacillating policy of the republican administration in the failure to develop an American flag shipping policy. There has been a marked decrease in the volume of American commerce carried in American vessels as compared to the record under a democratic administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We oppose as illogical and unsound all efforts to overcome by subsidy the handicap to American shipping and commerce imposed by republican policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We condemn the practice of certain American railroads in favoring foreign ships, and pledge ourselves to correct such discriminations. We declare for an American owned merchant marine, American built and manned by American crews, which is essential for naval security in war and is a protection to the American farmer and manufacturer against excessive ocean freight charges on products of farm and factory.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We declare that the government should own and operate such merchant ships as will insure the accomplishment of these purposes and to continue such operation so long as it may be necessary without obstructing the development and growth of a privately owned American flag shipping.

Necessities of Life

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We pledge the democratic party to regulate by governmental agencies the anthracite coal industry and all other corporations controlling the necessaries of life where public welfare has been subordinated to private interests.

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We believe with Thomas Jefferson and founders of the republic that ignorance is the enemy of freedom and that each state, being responsible for the intellectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign fight in all matters pertaining to education. The federal government should offer to the states such counsel, advice and aid as may be made available through the federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We denounce the action of the republican administration in its violations of the principles of civil service by its partisan removals and manipulation of the eligible lists in the postoffice department and other governmental departments; by its packing the civil service commission so that commission became the servile instrument of the administration in its wish to deny to the former service men their preferential rights under the law and the evasion of the requirements of the law with reference to appointments in the department.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We pledge the democratic party faithfully to comply with the spirit as well as the regulation of civil service; to extend its provisions to internal revenue officers and to other employes of the government not in executive positions, and to secure to former service men preference in such appointments.

Postal Employes

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We declare in favor of adequate salaries to provide decent living conditions for postal employes.

Popular Elections

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We pledge the democratic party to a policy which will prevent members of either house who fail of re-election from participating in the subsequent sessions of congress. This can be accomplished by fixing the days for convening the congress immediately after the biennial national election; and to this end we favor granting the right to the people of the several states to vote on proposed constitutional amendments on this subject.

Probation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We favor the extension of the probation principle to the courts of the United States.

Activities of Women

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.248

We welcome the women of the nation to their rightful place by the side of men in the control of the government whose burdens they have always shared.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

The democratic party congratulates them upon the essential part which they have taken in the progress of our country, and the zeal with which they are using their political power to aid the enactment of beneficial laws and the exaction of fidelity in the public service.

Veterans of Wars

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

We favor generous appropriations, honest management and sympathetic care and assistance in the hospitalization, rehabilitation and compensation of the veterans of all wars and their dependents. The humanizing of the veterans' bureau is imperatively required.

Contributions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

The nation now knows that the predatory interests have, by supplying republican campaign funds, systematically purchased legislative favors and administrative immunity. The practice must stop; our nation must return to honesty and decency in politics.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

Elections are public affairs conducted for the sole purpose of ascertaining the will of the sovereign voters. Therefore, we demand that national elections shall hereafter be kept free from the poison of excessive private contributions. To this end, we favor reasonable means of publicity, at public expense, so that candidates, properly before the people for federal offices, may present their claims at a minimum of cost. Such publicity should precede the primary and the election.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

We favor the prohibition of individual contributions, direct and indirect, to the campaign funds of congressmen, senators or presidential candidates, beyond a reasonable sum to be fixed in the law, for both individual contributions and total expenditures, with requirements for full publicity. We advocate a complete revision of the corrupt practice act to prevent Newberryism and the election evils disclosed by recent investigations.

Narcotics

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

Recognizing in narcotic addiction, especially the spreading of heroin addiction among the youth, a grave peril to America and to the human race, we pledge ourselves vigorously to take against it all legitimate and proper measures for education, for control and for suppression at home and abroad.

Prohibition Law

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

The republican administration has failed to enforce the prohibition law; is guilty of trafficking in liquor permits, and has become the protector of violators of this law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

The democratic party pledges itself to respect and enforce the constitution and all laws.

Bights of States

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

We demand that the states of the union shall be preserved in all their vigor and power. They constitute a bulwark against the centralizing and destructive tendencies of the republican party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

We condemn the efforts of the republican party to nationalize the functions and duties of the states.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

We oppose the extension of bureaucracy, the creation of unnecessary bureaus and federal agencies and the multiplication of offices and office-holders.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government essential to the preservation of the free institutions of our republic.

Asiatic Immigration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

We pledge ourselves to maintain our established position in favor of the exclusion of Asiatic immigration.

Philippines

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

The Filipino peoples have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

Alaska

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.249

The maladministration of affairs in Alaska is a matter of concern to all our people. Under the republican administration, development has ceased and the fishing industry has been seriously impaired. We pledge ourselves to correct the evils which have grown up in the administration of that rich domain.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

An adequate form of local self-government for Alaska must be provided and to that end we favor the establishment of a full territorial form of government for that territory similar to that enjoyed by all the territories except Alaska during the last century of American history.

Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

We believe in a policy for continuing the improvements of the national parks, the harbors and breakwaters, and the federal roads of the territory of Hawaii.

Virgin Islands

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

We recommend legislation for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Virgin islands.

Lausanne Treaty

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

We condemn the Lausanne treaty. It barters legitimate American rights and betrays Armenia, for the Chester oil concessions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

We favor the protection of American rights in Turkey and the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitral award respecting Armenia.

Disarmament

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

We demand a strict and sweeping reduction of armaments by land and sea, so that there shall be no competitive military program or naval building. Until international agreements to this end have been made we advocate an army and navy adequate for our national safety.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

Our government should secure a joint agreement with all nations for world disarmament and also for a referendum of war, except in case of actual or threatened attack.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

Those who must furnish the blood and bear the burdens imposed by war should, whenever possible, be consulted before this supreme sacrifice is required of them.

Greece

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

We welcome to the sisterhood of republics the ancient land of Greece which gave to our party its priceless name. We extend to her government and people our cordial good wishes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

War is a relic of barbarism and it is justifiable only as a measure of defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

In the event of war in which the man power of the nation is drafted, all other resources should likewise be drafted. This will tend to discourage war by depriving it of its profits.

Personal Freedom

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

The democratic party reaffirms its adherence and devotion to those cardinal principles contained in the constitution and the precepts upon which our government is founded, that congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercises thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances, that the church and the state shall be and remain separate, and that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States. These principles, we pledge ourselves ever to defend and maintain. We insist at all times upon obedience to the orderly processes of the law and deplore and condemn any effort to arouse religious or racial dissension.

League of Nations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

The democratic party pledges all its energies to the outlawing of the whole war system. We refuse to believe that the wholesale slaughter of human beings on the battlefield is any more necessary to man's highest development than is killing by individuals.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

The only hope for world peace and for economic recovery lies in the organized efforts of sovereign nations co-operating to remove the causes of war and to substitute law and order for violence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

Under democratic leadership a practical plan was devised under which fifty-four nations are now operating, and which has for its fundamental purpose the free co-operation of all nations in the work of peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

The government of the United States for the last four years has had no foreign policy, and consequently it has delayed the restoration of the political and economic agencies of the world. It has impaired our self-respect at home and injured our prestige abroad. It has curtailed our foreign markets and ruined our agricultural prices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.250

It is of supreme importance to civilization and to mankind that America be placed and kept on the right side of the greatest moral question of all time, and therefore the democratic party renews its declarations of confidence in the idea of world peace, the league of nations and the world court of justice as together constituting the supreme effort of the statesmanship and religious conviction of our time to organize the world for peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

Further, the democratic party declared that it will be the purpose of the next administration to do all in its power to secure for our country that moral leadership in the family of nations which, in the providence of God, has been so clearly marked out for it. There is no substitute for the league of nations as an agency working for peace, therefore, we believe, that, in the interest of permanent peace, and in the lifting of the great burdens of war from the backs of the people, and in order to establish a permanent foreign policy on these supreme questions, not subject to change with change of party administration, it is desirable, wise and necessary to lift this question out of party politics and to that end to take the sense of the American people at a referendum election, advisory to the government, to be held officially, under act of congress, free from all other questions and candidacies, after ample time for full consideration and discussion throughout the country, upon the question, in substance, as follows:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

"Shall the United States become a member of the league of nations upon such reservations or amendments to the covenant of the league as the president and the senate of the United States may agree upon."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

Immediately upon an affirmative vote we will carry out such mandate.

Waterways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

We favor and will promote deep waterways from the great lakes to the gulf and to the Atlantic ocean.

Flood Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

We favor a policy for the fostering and building of inland waterways and the removal of discrimination against water transportation. Flood control and the lowering of flood levels is essential to the safety of life and property, the productivity of our lands, the navigability of our streams and the reclaiming of our wet and overflowed lands and the creation of hydro-electric power. We favor the expeditious construction of flood relief works on the Mississippi and Colorado rivers and also such reclamation and irrigation projects upon the Colorado river as may be found to be feasible and practical.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

We favor liberal appropriations for prompt coordinated surveys by the United States to determine the possibilities of general navigation improvements and water power development on navigable streams and their tributaries, to secure reliable information as to the most economical navigation improvement, in combination with the most efficient and complete development of water power.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

We favor suspension of the granting of federal water power licenses by the federal water power committee until congress has received reports from the water power commission with regard to applications for such licenses.

Private Monopolies

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

The federal trade commission has submitted to the republican administration numerous reports showing the existence of monopolies and combinations in restraint of trade, and has recommended proceedings against these violators of the law. The few prosecutions which have resulted from this abundant evidence furnished by this agency created by the democratic party, while proving the indifference of the administration to the violations of law by trusts and monopolies and its friendship for them, nevertheless demonstrate the value of the federal trade commission.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

We declare that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, and pledge the democratic party to vigorous enforcement of existing laws against monopoly and illegal combinations, and to the enactment of such further measures as may be necessary.

Fraudulent Stock Sale

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.251

We favor the immediate passage of such legislation as may be necessary to enable the states efficiently to enforce their laws relating to the gradual financial strangling of innocent investors, workers and consumers, caused by the indiscriminate promotion, refinancing and reorganizing of corporations on an inflated and over-capitalized basis, resulting already in the undermining and collapse of many railroads, public service and industrial corporations, manifesting itself in unemployment, irreparable loss and waste and which constitute a serious menace to the stability of our economic system.

Aviation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.252

We favor a sustained development of aviation by both the government and commercially.

Labor, Child Welfare

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.252

Labor is not a commodity. It is human. We favor collective bargaining and laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed. We favor the enactment of legislation providing that the product of convict labor shipped from one state to another shall be subject to the laws of the latter state exactly as though they had been produced therein. In order to mitigate unemployment attending business depression, we urge the enactment of legislation authorizing the construction and repair of public works be initiated in periods of acute unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.252

We pledge the party to co-operate with the state governments for the welfare, education and protection of child life and all necessary safeguards against exhaustive debilitating employment conditions for women.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.252

Without the votes of democratic members of congress the child labor amendment would not have been submitted for ratification.

Latin-America

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1924, p.252

From the day of their birth, friendly relations have existed between the Latin-American republics and the United States. That friendship grows stronger as our relations become more intimate. The democratic party sends to these republics its cordial greeting; God has made us neighbors—justice shall keep us friends.

La Follette's Platform of 1924

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.252

The great issue before the American people today is the control of government and industry by private monopoly.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.252

For a generation the people have struggled patiently, in the face of repeated betrayals by successive administrations, to free themselves from this intolerable power which has been undermining representative government.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.252

Through control of government, monopoly has steadily extended its absolute dominion to every basic industry.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.252

In violation of law, monopoly has crushed competition, stifled private initiative and independent enterprise, and without fear of punishment now exacts extortionate profits upon every necessity of life consumed by the public.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.252

The equality of opportunity proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence and asserted and defended by Jefferson and Lincoln as the heritage of every American citizen has been displaced by special privilege for the few, wrested from the government of the many.

Fundamental Rights in Danger

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.252

That tyrannical power which the American people denied to a king, they will no longer endure from the monopoly system. The people know they cannot yield to any group the control of the economic life of the nation and preserve their political liberties. They know monopoly has its representatives in the hails of Congress, on the Federal bench, and in the executive departments; that these servile agents barter away tile nation's natural resources, nullify acts of Congress by judicial veto and administrative favor, invade the people's rights by unlawful arrests and unconstitutional searches and seizures, direct our foreign policy in the interests of predatory wealth, and make wars and conscript the sons of the common people to fight them.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.252

The usurpation in recent years by the federal courts of the power to nullify laws duly enacted by the legislative branch of the government is a plain violation of the Constitution. Abraham Lincoln, in his first inaugural address, said: "The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal." The Constitution specifically vests all legislative power in the Congress, giving that body power and authority to override the veto of the president. The federal courts are given no authority under the Constitution to veto acts of Congress. Since the federal courts have assumed to exercise such veto power, it is essential that the Constitution shall give the Congress the right to override such judicial veto, otherwise the Court will make itself master over the other coordinate branches of the government. The people themselves must approve or disapprove the present exercise of legislative power by the federal courts.

Distress of American Farmers

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.253

The present condition of American agriculture constitutes an emergency of the gravest character. The Department of Commerce report shows that during 1923 there was a steady and marked increase in dividends paid by the great industrial corporations. The same is true of the steam and electric railways and practically all other large corporations. On the other hand, the Secretary of Agriculture reports that in the fifteen principal wheat growing states more than 108,000 farmers since 1920 have lost their farms through foreclosure or bankruptcy; that more than 122,000 have surrendered their property without legal proceedings, and that nearly 375,000 have retained possession of their property only through the leniency of their creditors, making a total of more than 600,000 or 26 per cent of all farmers who have virtually been bankrupted since 1920 in these fifteen states alone.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.253

Almost unlimited prosperity for the great corporations and ruin and bankruptcy for agriculture is the direct and logical result of the policies and legislation which deflated the farmer while extending almost unlimited credit to the great corporations; which protected with exorbitant tariffs the industrial magnates, but depressed the prices of the farmers' products by financial juggling while greatly increasing the cost of what he must buy; which guaranteed excessive freight rates to the railroads and put a premium on wasteful management while saddling an unwarranted burden on to the backs of the American farmer; which permitted gambling in the products of the farm by grain speculators to the great detriment of the farmer and to the great profit of the grain gambler.

A Covenant With the People

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.253

Awakened by the dangers which menace their freedom and prosperity the American people still retain the right and courage to exercise their sovereign control over their government. In order to destroy the economic and political power ofmonopoly, which has come between the people and their government, we pledge ourselves to the following principles and policies:

The House Cleaning

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.253

1. We pledge a complete housecleaning in the Department of Justice, the Department of the Interior, and the other executive departments. We demand that the power of the Federal Government be used to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.253

2. We pledge recovery of the navy's oil reserves and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased, or otherwise wrongfully transferred, to the control of private interests; vigorous prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; complete revision of the water-power act, the general leasing act, and all other legislation relating to the public domain. We favor public ownership of the nation's water power and the creation and development of a national super-water-power system, including Muscle Shoals, to supply at actual cost light and power for the people and nitrate for the farmers, and strict public control and permanent conservation of all the nation's resources, including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands, in the interest of the people.

Railroads

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.253

3. We favor repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law and the fixing of railroad rates upon the basis of actual, prudent investment and cost of service. We pledge speedy enactment of the Howell-Barkley Bill for the adjustment of controversies between railroads and their employees, which was held up in the last Congress by joint action of reactionary leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties. We declare for public ownership of railroads with definite safeguards against bureaucratic control, as the only final solution of the transportation problem.

Tax Reduction

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.253

4. We favor reduction of Federal taxes upon individual incomes and legitimate business, limiting tax exactions strictly to the requirements of the government administered with rigid economy, particularly by curtailment of the eight hundred million dollars now annually expended for the army and navy in preparation for future wars; by the recovery of the hundreds of millions of dollars stolen from the Treasury through fraudulent war contracts and the corrupt leasing of the public resources; and by diligent action to collect the accumulated interest upon the eleven billion dollars owing us by foreign governments.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

We denounce the Mellon tax plan as a device to relieve multi-millionaires at the expense of other tax payers, and favor a taxation policy providing for immediate reductions upon moderate incomes, large increases in the inheritance tax rates upon large estates to prevent the indefinite accumulation by inheritance of great fortunes in a few hands; taxes upon excess profits to penalize profiteering, and complete publicity, under proper safeguards, of all Federal tax returns.

The Counts

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

5. We favor submitting to the people, for their considerate judgment, a constitutional amendment providing that Congress may by enacting a statute make it effective over a judicial veto.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

We favor such amendment to the constitution as may be necessary to provide for the election of all Federal Judges, without party designation, for fixed terms not exceeding ten years, by direct vote of the people.

The Farmers

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

6. We favor drastic reduction of the exhorbi-tant duties on manufactures provided in the Ford-ney-McCumber tariff legislation, the prohibiting of gambling by speculators and profiteers in agricultural products; the reconstruction of the Federal Reserve and Federal Farm Loan Systems, so as to eliminate control by usurers, speculators and international financiers, and to make the credit of the nation available upon fair terms to all and without discrimination to business men, farmers and home-builders. We advocate the calling of a special session of Congress to pass legislation for the relief of American agriculture. We favor such further legislation as may be needful or helpful in promoting and protecting cooperative enterprises. We demand that the Interstate Commerce Commission proceed forthwith to reduce by an approximation to pre-war levels the present freight rates on agricultural products, including live stock, and upon the materials required upon American farms for agricultural purposes.

Labor

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

7. We favor abolition of the use of injunctions in labor disputes and dec]arc for complete protection of the right of farmers and industrial workers to organize, bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and conduct without hindrance cooperative enterprises.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

We favor prompt ratification of the Child Labor amendment, and subsequent enactment of a Federal law to protect children in industry.

Postal Service

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

8. We believe that a prompt and dependable postal service is essential to the social and economic welfare of the nation; and that as one of the most important steps toward establishing and maintaining such a service, it is necessary to fix wage standards that will secure and retain employees of character, energy and ability.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

We favor the enactment of the postal salary adjustment measure (S. 1898) for the employees of the postal service, passed by the first session of the 68th Congress, vetoed by the President and now awaiting further consideration by the next session of Congress.

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

We endorse liberalizing the Civil Service Retirement Law along the lines of S. 3011 now pending in Congress.

War Veterans

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

9. We favor adjusted compensation for the veterans of the late war, not as charity, but as a matter of right, and we demand that the money necessary to meet this obligation of the government be raised by taxes laid upon wealth in proportion to the ability to pay, and declare our opposition to the sales tax or any other device to shift this obligation onto the backs of the poor in higher prices and increased cost of living. We do not regard the payment at the end of a long period of a small insurance as provided by the law recently passed as in any just sense a discharge of the nation's obligations to the veterans of the late war.

Great Lakes to Sea

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.254

10. We favor a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea. The government should, in conjunction with Canada, take immediate action to give the northwestern states an outlet to the ocean for cargoes, without change in bulk, thus making the primary markets on the Great Lakes equal to those of New York.

Popular Sovereignty

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.255

11. Over and above constitutions and statutes and greater than all, is the supreme sovereignty of the people, and with them should rest the final decision of all great questions of national policy. We favor such amendments to the Federal Constitution as may be necessary to provide for the direct nomination and election of the President, to extend the initiative and referendum to the federal government, and to insure a popular referendum for or against war except in cases of actual invasion.

Peace on Earth

National Party Platforms, La Follette's Platform of 1924, p.255

12. We denounce the mercenary system of foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists and international bankers, which has at times degraded our State Department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession-seekers engaged in the exploitations of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments, and guarantee public referendum on peace and war.

Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

For 148 years the American people have been seeking to establish a government for the service of all and to prevent the establishment of a government for the mastery of the few. Free men of every generation must combat renewed efforts of organized force and greed to destroy liberty. Every generation must wage a new war for freedom against new forces that seek through new devices to enslave mankind.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

Under our representative democracy the people protect their liberties through their public agents.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

The test of public officials and public politics alike must be: Will they serve or will they exploit the common need?

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

The reactionary continues to put his faith in mastery for the solution of all problems. He seeks to have what he calls the strong men and best minds rule and impose their decisions upon the masses of their weaker brethren.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

The progressive, on the contrary, contends for less autocracy and more democracy in government, for less power of privilege and greater obligations of service.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

Under the principle of ruthless individualism and competition, that government is deemed best which offers to the few the greatest chance of individual gain.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

Under the progressive principle of cooperation, that government is deemed best which offers to the many the highest level of average happiness and well being.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

It is our faith that we all go up or down together—that class gains are temporary delusions and that eternal laws of compensation make every man his brother's keeper.

Program of Public Service

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

In that faith we present our program of public service:

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

(1) The use of the power of the federal government to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

(2) Unqualified enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, press, and assemblage.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

(3) Public ownership of the nation's water power and creation of a public super-power system. Strict public control and permanent conservation of all natural resources, including coal, iron, and other ores, oil, and timber lands in the interest of the people. Promotion of public works in times of business depression.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.255

(4) Retention of surtax on swollen incomes, restoration of the tax on excess profits, taxation of stock dividends, profits undistributed to evade taxes, rapidly progressive taxes on large estates and inheritances, and repeal of excessive tariff duties, especially on trust-controlled necessities of life and of nuisance taxes on consumption, to relieve the people of the present unjust burden of taxation and compel those who profited by the war to pay their share of the war's cost, and to provide the funds for adjusted compensation solemnly pledged to the veterans of the World War.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(5) Reconstruction of the federal reserve and federal farm loan systems to provide for direct public control of the nation's money and credit to make it available on fair terms to all, and national and state legislation to permit and promote cooperative banking.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(6) Adequate laws to guarantee to farmers and industrial workers the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing for the maintenance or improvement of their standard of life.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(7) Creation of a government marketing corporation to provide a direct route between farm producer and city consumer and to assure farmers fair prices for their products, and protect consumers from the profiteers in foodstuffs and other necessaries of life. Legislation to control the meat-packing industry.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(8) Protection and aid of cooperative enterprises by national and state legislation.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(9) Common international action to effect the economic recovery of the world from the effects of the World War.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(10) Repeal of the Cummins-Esch law. Public ownership of railroads, with democratic operation, and with definite safeguards against bureaucratic control.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(11) Abolition of the tyranny and usurpation of the courts, including the practice of nullifying legislation in conflict with the political, social or economic theories of the judges. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes and of the power to punish for contempt without trial by jury. Election of all federal judges without party designation for limited terms.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(12) Prompt ratification of the child labor amendment and subsequent enactment of a federal law to protect children in industry. Removal of legal discriminations against women by measures not prejudicial to legislation necessary for the protection of women and for the advancement of social welfare.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(13) A deep waterway from the great lakes to the sea.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

(14) We denounce the mercenary system of degraded foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists, and international bankers, which has at times degraded our State Department fromits high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession seekers engaged in the exploitation of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote finn treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments and guarantee public referendum on peace and war.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

In supporting this program we are applying to the needs of today the fundamental principles of American democracy, opposing equally the dictatorship of plutocracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

We appeal to all Americans without regard to partisan affiliation and we raise the standards of our faith so that all of like purpose may rally and march in this campaign under the banners of progressive union.

National Party Platforms, Conference for Progressive Political Action Platform of 1924, p.256

The nation may grow rich in the vision of greed. The nation will grow great in the vision of service.

Prohibition Platform of 1924

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.256

The Prohibition Party in National Convention at Columbus, Ohio, this sixth day of June, 1924, recognizing Almighty God as the source of all governmental authority and that the principles enunciated by His Son, Jesus Christ, should guide in all matters pertaining to government, makes the following declaration of principles:

Our Party and Its Philosophy

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.256

Four years of nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment by the Democratic and Republican officials have demonstrated the soundness of the philosophy of the Prohibition party that a law conferring a right will enforce itself, but a law prohibiting a wrong, financially and politically entrenched, requires a party thoroughly committed to its maintenance and enforcement. Little or no improvement can be expected so long as the friends of the prohibitory law divide themselves among political parties seeking the votes of the law violators and the nullificationists, which votes are regarded to be as necessary to the success of those political parties as are the votes of the law-abiders.

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

The astounding revelations of corruption and maladministration in government, extending to the Cabinet itself, are but the inevitable consequences of the moral bankruptcy of a political party which, perpetuating the old liquor régime, is dependent upon the wet vote for its margin of plurality.

International Relations

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

The time is past when the United States can hold aloof from the affairs of the World. We support the proposal for the entry of this Country into the Court of International Justice, as an important step for substituting law for force in the settlement of international disputes.

Labor, Capital and the General Public

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

While adhering to our time honored position of demanding justice for both Labor and Capital, we declare that the interests of the general public are paramount to both. Therefore, we favor the speedy enactment by Congress and the several state Legislatures, each in its respective jurisdiction, of such legislation as shall impartially protect all three of these classes.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

In the constantly increasing trend of population from the country into the towns and cities, with the constant abandonment of the farms, this country faces a grave peril. It is self-evident that the farmer, with his investment in his lands, buildings, live-stock, machinery, tools, and labor, ought to receive more than one-half of the dollar paid by the consumer for the products of the farm, where no process of manufacture intervenes. If given power, we will by appropriate legislation endeavor to secure to the farmer his just share of the proceeds of his toil.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

All natural resources, including mineral, oil, and timber lands, water powers and other wealth still remaining to the United States after the wasteful and profligate administration of corrupt old party officials, should be held perpetually and operated to produce revenue for the use of the Government. They must not be ruthlessly squandered by men or corporations for their own enrichment, normust they become the collateral of political parties for promissory notes issued for value received.

Unjust Ballot Laws

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

We denounce the enactment by the Republican and Democratic parties in many states of unjust and discriminatory election laws, that make it almost, and in some states entirely impossible for minor parties to retain their place on the official ballot, or for new parties to be formed, and we demand their repeal.

The Bible in the Schools

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

The Bible is the Magna Charta of human liberty and national safety and is of highest educational value. Therefore it should have a large place in our public schools.

Americanization of Aliens

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

Recognizing the fact that there are large numbers of unassimilated aliens now in this country who, in their present condition and environment, are incapable of assimilation, and are therefore a menace to our institutions, we declare for an immediate, scientific investigation, looking forward to a constructive program for Americanizing these aliens.

Separation of Departments of Government

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

We deplore the prevailing disregard of the parties in power of the Constitutional division of governmental powers into Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches, and when placed in authority we pledge strict observance of such division.

Woman and the Home

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

We approve and adopt the program of the National League of Women Voters for public welfare in government in so far as a strict regard for the division of powers under our dual form of government will permit.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

We favor the extension of the merit system to all the agencies of the Executive branch of our government.

Free Institutions

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.257

We favor freedom of speech, a free press, our free public school system, and compulsory attendance in our public schools. We are unalterably opposed to public monies being used for sectarian purposes. We favor keeping open to public inspection all places where public wards are cared for.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Prohibition Platform of 1924, p.258

On this record of principles, and on its record of long-time faithfulness and vision, proved by the many reforms which it was the first to advocate, the National Prohibition Party summons all those who favor suppression of the liquor traffic, the enforcement of law, the maintenance of constitutional government, the purification of our politics, honesty and efficiency in administration, and the building of a better citizenship, to join with us in a new alignment in a political party to achieve these transcendent objectives.

Republican Platform of 1924

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

We the delegates of the republican party in national convention assembled, bow our heads in reverent memory of Warren G. Harding.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

We nominated him four years ago to be our candidate; the people of the nation elected him their president. His human qualities gripped the affections of the American people. He was a public servant unswerving in his devotion to duty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

A staunch republican, he was first of all a true patriot, who gave unstintingly of himself during a trying and critical period of our national life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

His conception and successful direction of the limitation of armaments conference in Washington was an accomplishment which advanced the world along the path toward peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

As delegates of the republican party, we share in the national thanksgiving that in the great emergency created by the death of our great leader there stood forth fully equipped to be his successor one whom we had nominated as vice-president—Calvin Coolidge, who as vice-president and president by his every act has justified the faith and confidence which he has won from the nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

He has put the public welfare above personal considerations. He has given to the people practical idealism in office. In his every act, he has won without seeking the applause of the people of the country. The constantly accumulating evidence of his integrity, vision and single minded devotion to the needs of the people of this nation strengthens and inspires our confident faith in his continued leadership.

Situation in 1921

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

When the republican administration took control of the government in 1921, there were four and a half million unemployed; industry and commerce were stagnant; agriculture was prostrate; business was depressed; securities of the government were selling below their par values.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

Peace was delayed; misunderstanding and friction characterized our relations abroad. There was a lack of faith in the administration of government resulting in a growing feeling of distrust in the very principles upon which our institutions are rounded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

To-day industry and commerce are active; public and private credits are sound; we have made peace; we have taken the first step toward disarmament and strengthened our friendship with the world powers, our relations with the rest of the world are on a firmer basis, our position was never better understood, our foreign policy never more definite and consistent. The tasks to which we have put our hands are completed. Time has been too short for the correction of all the ills we received as a heritage from the last democratic administration, and the notable accomplishments under republican rule warrant us in appealing to the country with entire confidence.

Public Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.258

We demand and the people of the United States have a right to demand rigid economy in government. A policy of strict economy enforced by the republican administration since 1921 has made possible a reduction in taxation and has enabled the government to reduce the public debt by $2,500,000,000. This policy vigorously enforced has resulted in a progressive reduction of public expenditures until they arc now two billions dollars per annum less than in 1921. The tax burdens of the people have been relieved to the extent of $1,250,000,000 per annum. Government securities have been increased in value more than $3,000,000,000. Deficits have been converted in surpluses. The budget system has been firmly established and the number of federal employes has been reduced more than one hundred thousand. We commend the firm insistence of President Coolidge upon rigid government economy and pledge him our earnest support to this end.

Finance and Taxation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

We believe that the achievement of the republican administration in reducing taxation by $1,250,000,000 per annum; reducing of the public debt by $2,432,000,000; installing a budget system; reducing the public expenditures from $5,500,000,000 per annum to approximately $3,400,000,000 per annum, thus reducing the ordinary expenditures of the government to substantially a pre-war basis, and the complete restoration of public credit; the payment or refunding of $7,500,000,000 of public obligations without disturbance of credit or industry—all during the short period of three years—presents a record unsurpassed in the history of public finance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

The assessment of taxes wisely and scientifically collected and the efficient and economical expenditure of the money received by the government are essential to the prosperity of our nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

Carelessness in levying taxes inevitably breeds extravagance in expenditures. The wisest of taxation rests most rightly on the individual and economic life of the country. The public demand for a sound tax policy is insistent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

Progressive tax reduction should be accomplished through tax reorganization. It should not be confined to less than 4,000,000 of our citizens who pay direct taxes, but is the right of more than 100,000,000 who are daily paying their taxes through their living expenses. Congress has in the main confined its work to tax reduction. The matter of tax reform is still unsettled and is equally essential.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

We pledge ourselves to the progressive reduction of taxes of all the people as rapidly as may be done with due regard for the essential expenditures for the government administered with rigid economy and to place our tax system on a sound peace time basis.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

We endorse the plan of President Coolidge to call in November a national conference of federal and state officials for the development of the effective methods of lightening the tax burden of our citizens and adjusting questions of taxation as between national and state governments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

We favor the creation by appropriate legislation of a non-partisan federal commission to make a comprehensive study and report upon the tax system of the states and federal government with a view to an intelligent reformation of our systems of taxation to a more equitable basis and a proper adjustment of the subjects of taxation as between the national and state governments with justice to the taxpayer and in conformity with the sound economic principles.

Reorganization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

We favor a comprehensive reorganization of the executive departments and bureaus along the line of the plan recently submitted by a joint committee of the congress which has the unqualified support of President Coolidge.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

Improvement in the enforcement of the merit system both by legislative enactment and executive action since March 4, 1921, has been marked and effective. By executive order the appointment of presidential postmasters has been placed on the merit basis similar to that applying to the classified service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

We favor the classification of postmasters in first, second and third class postoffices and the placing of the prohibition enforcement field forces within the classified civil service without necessarily incorporating the present personnel.

Foreign Debts

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

In fulfillment of our solemn pledge in the national platform of 1920 we have steadfastly refused to consider the cancellation of foreign debts. Our attitude has not been that of an oppressive creditor seeking immediate return and ignoring existing financial conditions, but has been based on the conviction that a moral obligation such as was incurred should not be disregarded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.259

We stand for settlements with all debtor countries, similar in character to our debt agreement with Great Britain. That settlement achieved under a republican administration, was the greatest international financial transaction in the history of the world. Under the terms of the agreement the United States now receives an annual return upon four billion six hundred million dollars owing to us by Great Britain with a definite obligation of ultimate payment in full.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

The justness of the basis employed has been formally recognized by other debtor nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

Great nations cannot recognize or admit the principle of repudiation. To do so would undermine the integrity essential for international trade, commerce and credit. Thirty-five per cent of the total foreign debt is now in process of liquidation.

The Tariff

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff to extend needed protection to our productive industries. We believe in protection as a national policy, with due and equal regard to all sections and to all classes. It is only by adherence to such a policy that the well being of the consumers can be safeguarded that there can be assured to American agriculture, to American labor and to American manufacturers a return to perpetrate American standards of life. A protective tariff is designed to support the high American economic level of life for the average family and to prevent a lowering to the levels of economic life prevailing in other lands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

In the history of the nation the protective tariff system has ever justified itself by restoring confidence, promoting industrial activity and employment, enormously increasing our purchasing power and bringing increased prosperity to all our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

The tariff protection to our industry works for increased consumption of domestic agricultural products by an employed population instead of one unable to purchase the necessities of life. Without the strict maintenance of the tariff principle our farmers will need always to compete with cheap lands and cheap labor abroad and with lower standards of living.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

The enormous value of the protective principle has once more been demonstrated by the emergency tariff act of 1921 and the tariff act of 1922.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

We assert our belief in the elastic provision adopted by congress in the tariff act of 1922 providing for a method of readjusting the tariff rates and the classifications in order to meet changing economic conditions when such changed conditions are brought to the attention of the president by complaint or application.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

We believe that the power to increase or decrease any rate of duty provided in the tariff furnishes a safeguard on the one hand against excessive taxes and on the other hand against too high customs charges.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

The wise provisions of this section of the tariff act afford ample opportunity for tariff duties to be adjusted after a hearing in order that they may cover the actual differences in the cost of production in the United States and the principal competing countries of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

We also believe that the application of this provision of the tariff act will contribute to business stability by making unnecessary general disturbances which are usually incident to general tariff revisions.

Foreign Relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

The republican party reaffirmed its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace. As an immediate step in this direction we endorse the permanent court of international justice and favor the adherence of the United States to this tribunal as recommended by President Coolidge. This government has definitely refused membership in the league of nations or to assume any obligations under the covenant of the league. On this we stand.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

While we are unwilling to enter into political commitments which would involve us in the conflict of European politics, it should be the purpose and high privilege of the United States to continue to co-operate with other nations in humanitarian efforts in accordance with our cherished traditions. The basic principles of our foreign policy must be independence without indifference to the rights and necessities of others and cooperation without entangling alliances. The policy overwhelmingly approved by the people has been vindicated since the end of the great war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

America's participation in world affairs under the administration of President Harding and President Coolidge has demonstrated the wisdom and prudence of the national judgment. A most impressive example of the capacity of the United States to serve the cause of the world peace without political affiliations was shown in the effective and beneficent work of the Dawes commission toward the solution of the perplexing question of German reparations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.260

The first conference of great powers in Washington called by President Harding accomplished the limitation of armaments and the readjustment of the relations of the powers interested in the far east. The conference resulted in an agreement to reduce armaments, relieved the competitive nations involved from the great burdens of taxation arising from the construction and maintenance of capital battleships; assured a new, broader and better understanding in the far east; brought the assurance of peace in the region of the Pacific and formally adopted the policy of the open door for trade and commerce in the great markets of the far east.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

This historic conference paved the way to avert the danger of renewed hostilities in Europe, and to restore the necessary economic stability. While the military forces of America have been restored to a peace footing, there has been an increase in the land and air forces abroad which constitutes a continual menace to the peace of the world and a bar to the return of prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

We firmly advocate the calling of a conference on the limitation of land forces, the use of submarines and poison gas, as proposed by President Coolidge, when, through the adoption of a permanent reparations plan the conditions in Europe will make negotiations and co-operation opportune and possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

By treaties of peace, safeguarding our rights and without derogating those of our former associates in arms, the republican administration ended the war between this country and Germany and Austria. We have concluded and signed with other nations during the past three years more than fifty treaties and international agreements in the furtherance of peace and good will.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

New sanctions and new proofs of permanent accord have marked our relations with all Latin-America. The long standing controversy between Chile and Peru has been advanced toward settlement by its submission to the president of the United States as arbitrator and with the helpful co-operation of this country a treaty has been signed by the representatives of sixteen American republics which will stabilize conditions on the American continent and minimize the opportunities for war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

Our difficulties with Mexico have happily yielded to a most friendly adjustment. Mutual confidence has been restored and a pathway for that friendliness and helpfulness which should exist between this government and the government of our neighboring republic has been marked. Agreements have been entered into for the determination by judicial commissions of the claims of the citizens of each country against the respective governments. We can confidently look forward to more permanent and more stable re lations with this republic that joins for so many miles our southern border.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

Our policy, now well defined, of giving practical aid to other peoples without assuming political obligations has been conspicuously demonstrated. The ready and generous response of America to the needs of the starving in Russia and the suddenly stricken people of Japan gave evidence of our helpful interest in the welfare of the distressed in other lands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

The work of our representatives in dealing with subjects of such universal concern as the traffic in women and children, the production and distribution of narcotic drugs, the sale of arms and in matters affecting public health and morals, demonstrates that we can effectively do our part for humanity and civilization without forfeiting, limiting or restricting our national freedom of action.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

The American people do cherish their independence, but their sense of duty to all mankind will ever prompt them to give their support, service and leadership to every cause which makes for peace and amity among the nations of the world.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

In dealing with agriculture the republican party recognizes that we are faced with a fundamental national problem, and that the prosperity and welfare of the nation as a whole is dependent upon the prosperity and welfare of our agricultural population.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

We recognize our agricultural activities are still struggling with adverse conditions that have brought about distress. We pledge the party to take whatever steps are necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor, which was destroyed by the democratic party through an unfortunate administration of legislation passed as war-time measures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

We affirm that under the republican administration the problems of the farm have received more serious consideration than ever before both by definite executive action and by congressional action not only in the field of general legislation but also in the enactment of laws to meet emergency situations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.261

The restoration of general prosperity and the purchasing power of our people through tariff protection has resulted in an increased domestic consumption of food products while the price of many agricultural commodities are above the war price level by reason of direct tariff protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

Under the leadership of the president at the most critical time, a corporation was organized by private capital making available $100,000,000 to assist the farmers of the northwest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

In realization of the disturbance in the agricultural export market, the result of the financial depression in Europe. and appreciating that the export field would be enormously improved by economic rehabilitation and the resulting increased consuming power, a sympathetic support and direction was given to the work of the American representatives on the European reparations commission.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

The revival in 1921 of the war finance corporation with loans of over $300,000,000 averted in 1921 a complete collapse in the agricultural industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

We have established new intermediate credit banks for agriculture and increased the capital of the federal farm loan system. Emergency loans have been granted to drought stricken areas. We have enacted into law the co-operative marketing act, the grain futures and packer control acts; given to agriculture direct representation on the federal reserve board and on the federal aid commission. We have greatly strengthened our foreign marketing service for the disposal of our agricultural products.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

The crux of the problem from the standpoint of the farmer is the net profit he receives after his outlay. The process of bringing the average prices of what he buys and what he sells closer together can be promptly expedited by reduction in taxes, steady employment in industry and stability in business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

This process can be expedited directly by lower freight rates, by better marketing through cooperative efforts and a more scientific organization of the physical human machinery of distribution and by a greater diversification of farm products.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

We promise every assistance in the reorganization of the market system on sounder and more economical lines and where diversification is needed government assistance during the period of transition. Vigorous efforts of this administration toward broadening our exports market will be continued. The republican party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which will place the agricultural interests of

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

America on a basis of economic equality with other industries to assure its prosperity and success. We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agriculture products as are threatened by competition. We favor, without putting the government into business, the establishment of a federal system of organization for co-operative marketing of farm products.

Highways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

The federal aid road act, adopted by the republican congress in 1921 has been of inestimable value to the development of the highway systems of the several states and of the nation. We pledge a continuation of this policy of federal co-opera-tion with the states in highway building.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

We favor the construction of roads and trails in our national forests necessary to their protection and utilization. In appropriations, therefore, the taxes which these lands would pay if taxable, should be considered as a controlling factor.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

The increasing stress of industrial life, the constant and necessary efforts because of world competition to increase production and decrease costs has made it specially incumbent on those in authority to protect labor from undue exactions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

We commend congress for having recognized this possibility in its prompt adoption of the recommendation of President Coolidge for a constitutional amendment authorizing congress to legislate on the subject of child labor, and we urge the prompt consideration of that amendment by the legislatures of the various states.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

There is no success great enough to justify the employment of women in labor under conditions which will impair their natural functions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

We favor high standards for wage, working and living conditions among the women employed in industry. We pledge a continuance of the successful efforts of the republican administration to eliminate the seven-day, twelve-hour day industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

We regard with satisfaction the elimination of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry and the agreement eliminating the seven-day work week of alternate thirteen and eleven hours accomplished through the efforts of Presidents Harding and Coolidge.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.262

We declare our faith in the principle of the eight-hour day.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

We pledge a continuation of the work of rehabilitating workers in industry as conducted by the federal board for vocational education, and favor adequate appropriations for this purpose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

We favor a broader and better system of vocational education, a more adequate system of federal free employment agencies with facilities for assisting the movements of seasonal and migratory labor, including farm labor, with ample organization for bringing the man and his job together.

Railroads

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

We believe that the demand of the American people for improved railroad service at cheaper rates is justified and that it can be fulfilled by the consolidation of the railroads into a lesser number of connecting systems with the resultant operating economy. The labor board provision should be amended to meet the requirements made evident by experience gained from its actual creation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

Collective bargaining, voluntary mediation and arbitration are the most important steps in maintaining peaceful labor relations. We do not believe in compulsory action at any time. Public opinion must be the final arbiter in any crisis which so vitally affects public welfare as the suspension of transportation. Therefore, the interests of the public require the maintenance of an impartial tribunal which can in any emergency make an investigation of the fact and publish its conclusions. This is accepted as a basis of popular judgment.

Government Control

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

The prosperity of the American nation rests on the vigor of private initiative which has bred a spirit of independence and self-reliance. The republican party stands now, as always, against all attempts to put the government into business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

American industry should not be compelled to struggle against government competition. The right of the government to regulate, supervise and control public utilities and public interests, we believe, should be strengthened, but we are firmly opposed to the nationalization or government ownership of public utilities.

Coal

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

The price and a constant supply of this essential commodity are of vital interest to the public. The government has no constitutional power to regulate prices, but can bring its influence to bear by the powerful instrument afforded by full publicity. When through industrial conflict, its supply is threatened, the president should have authority to appoint a commission to act as mediators and as a medium for voluntary arbitration. In the event of a strike, the control of distribution must be invoked to prevent profiteering.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

The republican party stands for a strong and permanent merchant marine built by Americans, owned by Americans and manned by Americans to secure the necessary contact with world markets for our surplus agricultural products and manufactures; to protect our shippers and importers from exorbitant ocean freight rates, and to become a powerful arm of our national defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

That part of the merchant marine now owned by the government should continue to be improved in its economic and efficient management, with reduction of the losses now paid by the government through taxation until it is finally placed on so sound a basis that, with ocean freight rates becoming normal, due to improvement in international affairs, it can be sold to American citizens.

Waterways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

Fully realizing the vital importance of transportation in both cost and service to all of our people, we favor the construction of the most feasible waterways from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico, and the improvement and development of rivers, harbors and waterways, inland and coastwise, to the full-est extent justified by the present and potential tonnage available.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

We favor a comprehensive survey of the conditions under which the flood waters of the Colorado river may be controlled and utilized for the benefit of the people of the states which border thereon.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.263

The federal water power act establishes a national water power policy and the way has thereby been opened for the greatest water power development in history under conditions which preserve initiative of our people, yet protect the public interest.

World War Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

The republican party pledges a continual and increasing solicitude for all those suffering any disability as a result of service to the United States in time of war. No country and no administration has ever shown a more generous disposition in the care of its disabled, or more thoughtful consideration in providing a sound administration for the solution of the many problems involved in making intended benefits fully, directly and promptly available to the veterans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

The confusion, inefficiency and maladministration existing heretofore since the establishment of this government agency has been cured, and plans are being actively made looking to a further improvement in the operation of the bureau by the passage of new legislation. The basic statute has been so liberalized as to bring within its terms 100,000 additional beneficiaries. The privilege of hospitalization in government hospitals, as recommended by President Coolidge, has been granted to all veterans irrespective of the origin of disability, and over $50,000,000 has been appropriated for hospital construction which will provide sufficient beds to care for all. Appropriations totalling over $1,100,000,000, made by the republican congress for the care of the disabled, evidence the unmistakable purpose of the government not to consider costs when the welfare of these men is at stake. No legislation for the benefit of the disabled soldiers proposed during the last four years by veterans' organizations has failed to receive consideration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

We pledge ourselves to meet the problems of the future affecting the care of our wounded and disabled in a spirit of liberality, and with that thoughtful consideration which will enable the government to give to the individual veteran that full measure of care guaranteed by an effective administrative machinery.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

We believe in the development, effective and efficient, whether of oil, timber, coal or water power resources of this government only as needed and only after the public needs have become a matter of public record, controlled with a scrupulous regard and ever-vigilant safeguards against waste, speculation and monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

The natural resources of the country belong to all the people and are a part of an estate belonging to generations yet unborn. The government policy should be to safeguard, develop and utilize these possessions. The conservation policy of the nation originated with the republican party under the inspiration of Theodore Roosevelt.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

We hold it a privilege of the republican party to build as a memorial to him on the foundation which he laid.

Education and Belief

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

The conservation of human resources is one of the most solemn responsibilities of government. This is an obligation which cannot be ignored and which demands that the federal government shall, as far as lies in its power, give to the people and the states the benefit of its counsel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

The welfare activities of the government connected with the various departments are already uumerous and important, but lack the co-ordina-tion which is essential to effective action. To meet these needs we approve the suggestion for the creation of a cabinet post of education and relief.

War-Time Mobilization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

We believe that in time of war the nation should draft for its defense not only its citizens but also every resource which may contribute to success. The country demands that should the United States ever again be called upon to defend itself by arms the president be empowered to draft such material resources and such service as may be required, and to stabilize the prices of services and essential commodities, whether used in actual warfare or private activities.

Commercial Aviation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

We advocate the early enactment of such legislation and the taking of such steps by the government as will tend to promote commercial aviation.

Army and Navy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.264

There must be no further weakening of our regular army and we advocate appropriations sufficient to provide for the training of all members of the national guard, the citizens' military training camps, the reserve officers' training camps and the reserves who may offer themselves for service. We pledge ourselves for service. We pledge ourselves to round out and maintain the navy to the full strength provided the United States by the letter and spirit of the limitation of armament conference.

The Negro

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

We urge the congress to enact at the earliest possible date a federal anti-lynching law so that the full influence of the federal government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime. We believe that much of the misunderstanding which now exists can be eliminated by humane and sympathetic study of its causes. The president has recommended the creation of a commission for the investigation of social and economic conditions and the promotion of mutual understanding and confidence.

Orderly Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

The republican party reaffirms its devotion to orderly government under the guarantees embodied in the constitution of the United States. We recognize the duty of constant vigilance to preserve at all times a clean and honest government and to bring to the bar of justice every defiler of the public service in or out of office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

Dishonesty and corruption are not political attributes. The recent congressional investigations have exposed instances in both parties of men in public office who are willing to sell official favors and men out of office who are willing to buy them in some cases with money and others with influence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

The sale of influence resulting from the holding of public position or from association while in public office or the use of such influence for private gain or advantage is a perversion of public trust and prejudicial to good government. It should be condemned by public opinion and forbidden by law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

We demand the speedy, fearless and impartial prosecution of all wrong doers, without regard for political affiliations; but we dee]are no greater wrong can be committed against the people than the attempt to destroy their trust in the great body of their public servants. Admitting the deep humiliation which all good citizens share that our public life should have harbored some dishonest men, we assert that these undesirables do not represent the standard of our national integrity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

The government at Washington is served to-day by thousands of earnest, conscientious and faithful officials and employés in every department.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

It is a grave wrong against these patriotic men and women to strive indiscriminately to besmirch the names of the innocent and undermine the confidence of the people in the government under which they live. It is even a greater wrong when this is done for partisan purposes or for selfish exploitation.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

The unprecedented living conditions in Europe following the world war created a condition by which we were threatened with mass immigration that would have seriously disturbed our economic life. The law recently enacted is designed to protect the inhabitants of our country, not only the American citizen, but also the alien already with us who is seeking to secure an economic foothold for himself and family from the competition that would come from unrestricted immigration. The administrative features of the law represent a great constructive advance, and eliminate the hardships suffered by immigrants under emergency statute.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1924, p.265

We favor the adoption of methods which will exercise a helpful influence among the foreign born population and provide for the education of the alien in our language, customs, ideals and standards of life. We favor the improvement of naturalization laws.

Socialist Labor Platform of 1924

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.265

The world stands upon the threshold of a new social order. The capitalist system of production and distribution is doomed; capitalist appropriation of labor's product forces the bulk of mankind into wage slavery, throws society into the convulsions of the class struggle, and momentarily threatens to engulf humanity in chaos and disaster. At this crucial period in history the Socialist Labor Party of America, in 16th National Convention assembled, reaffirming its former platform declarations, calls upon the workers to rally around the banner of the Socialist Labor Party, the only party in this country that blazes the trail to the Worker's Industrial Republic.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.265

Since the advent of civilization human society has been divided into classes. Each new form of society has come into being with a definite purpose to fulfill in the progress of the human race. Each has been born, has grown, developed, prospered, become old, outworn, and has finally been overthrown. Each society has developed within itself the germs of its own destruction as well as the germs which went to make up the society of the future.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.266

The capitalist system rose during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries by the overthrow of feudalism. Its great and all-im-portant mission in the development of man was to improve, develop, and concentrate the means of production and distribution, thus creating a system of co-operative production. This work was completed in advanced capitalist countries about the beginning of the 20th century. That moment capitalism had fulfilled its historic mission, and from that moment the capitalist class became a class of parasites.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.266

In the course of human progress mankind has passed, through class rule, private property, and individualism in production and exchange, from the enforced and inevitable want, misery, poverty, and ignorance of savagery and barbarism to the affluence and high productive capacity of civilization. For all practical purposes, co-operative production has now superseded individual production.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.266

Capitalism no longer promotes the greatest good of the greatest number. It no longer spells progress, but reaction. Private production carries with it private ownership of the products. Production is carried on, not to supply the needs of humanity, but for the profit of the individual owner, the company, or the trust. The worker, not receiving the full product of his labor, cannot buy back all he produces. The capitalist wastes part in riotous living; the rest must find a foreign market. By the opening of the twentieth century the capitalist world—England, America, Germany, France, Japan, China, etc.—was producing at a mad rate for the world market. A capitalist deadlock of markets brought on in 1914 the capitalist collapse popularly known as the World War. The capitalist world Can not extricate itself out of the débris. America to-day is choking under the weight of her own gold and products.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.266

This situation has brought on the present stage of human misery—starvation, want, cold, disease, pestilence, and war. This state is brought about in the midst of plenty, when the earth can be made to yield hundred-fold, when the machinery of production is made to multiply human energy and ingenuity by the hundred. The present state of misery exists solely because the mode of production rebels against the mode of exchange. Private property in the means of life has become a social crime. The land was made by no man; the modern machines are the result of the combined ingenuity of the human race from time immemorial; the land can be made to yield and the machines can be set in motion only by the collective effort of the workers. Progress demands the collective ownership of the land on and the tools with which to produce the necessities of life. The owner of the means of life to-day partakes of the nature of a highwayman; he stands with his gun before society's temple; it depends upon him whether the million mass may work, earn, eat, and live. The capitalist system of production and exchange must be supplanted if progress is to continue.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.266

In place of the capitalist system the Socialist Labor Party aims to substitute a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the workers, who assume control and direction as well as operation of their industrial affairs.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.266

We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party; and to organize themselves likewise upon the industrial field into a Socialist industrial union, in order to consolidate the material power necessary for the establishment of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

National Party Platforms, Socialist Labor Platform of 1924, p.266

We also call upon all intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interest, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation, and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting Industrial Self-Government for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a government in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Workers' Party Platform of 1924

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

The workers and exploited farmers of the United States face the question of how to organize and use their political power in the coming election. Before deciding this question every industrial worker, agricultural worker and exploited farmer should give fundamental consideration to the situation which exists in this country.

In the Grip of the Exploiters

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

The United States is the wealthiest country in the world. We have natural resources which supply us with raw materials and a great industrial organization which can turn these raw materials into the finished products which satisfy human needs. With the raw materials available and the tremendous machinery of production we have the means of giving a high standard of life—good food, good clothing, good homes, the opportunity for education and recreation—to every person in this country. This high standard of life is denied the workers and exploited farmers of the United States. Millions of these producers of wealth are able to secure for their labor only the means for a bare existence. Millions of workers must work long hours, under bad working conditions, for low wages. Millions are periodically unemployed, as at present, with all the consequent misery and suffering for themselves and their families. In order to keep these conditions from growing worse, millions of industrial workers are periodically compelled to go on strike to fight back the greedy employers. Millions of farmers have been driven into bankruptcy and from the land because of inability to earn enough for a living.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

These conditions prevail in a country in which we have the means of supplying a high standard of life to every person because a relatively small class has fastened its grip upon the raw materials and industries and uses these to enrich itself at the expense of the producers. Through theft, fraud, corruption, bribery, and the capitalist system of profit taking, this capitalist class has become the owner of the land, raw material and machinery of production upon which the workers and farmers are dependent for a livelihood.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

The raw materials and industries of the United States are owned by the Garys, Morgans, Rockefellers, Fords, McCormicks, and other great capitalists. The workers and farmers alike pay tribute to these capitalists. They are compelled to accept a low standard of living in order that the capitalists may amass even greater fortunes for themselves.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

It is this system of capitalist ownership of industry which gives the wealth produced to the few, that denies the millions of industrial workers, agricultural workers and exploited farmers the enjoyment of that high standard of life which their labor and the wealth they produce make possible in this country.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

It is this system of capitalist ownership of industry which is the basis of the class struggle between the workers, fighting for more of what they produce, and the capitalists, ever bent on securing greater and greater profits for themselves.

How the Capitalists Use the Government

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

The government of the United States is and has been a government of, by, and for the capitalists. It is through the government and use of the governmental power that the capitalists maintain their grip on the industries and their power to rob the industrial workers, agricultural workers, and farmers.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

During the war, with the connivance of government officials, the capitalists looted the country of billions of wealth. Since the war the shipping board deals, the war veterans' board corruption, the Teapot Dome exposures, have shown how the capitalists fill their pockets at the expense of the working and farming masses.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

Governmental legislation is framed so as to yield the capitalists more and more profits. Tariff laws, taxation laws, agrarian bank laws, are all framed so as to enable the bankers and industrial magnates to take more and more of what the workers produce.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.267

To prevent the workers from securing better wages and working conditions through strikes, the capitalists use the government to destroy these strikes. The disgraceful Daugherty injunction against the railway shopmen, the use of troops against miners in their strike in 1922, the use of the Railway Labor Board against the railroad workers, are only outstanding examples of the continual use of the governmental power by the capitalists to protect themselves in taking greater and greater profits out of the labor of the workers.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

The government is a dictatorship of the capitalists and their instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the workers. Although the workers are permitted to vote, the capitalists are able, through their control of the means of information and through their economic power, to completely dominate the government, national, state and local.

The Election This Year

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

It is these conditions which the workers and exploited farmers must consider in using their political power in the election this year.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

The capitalist dictatorship has named two candidates, the Republican, strikebreaker Coolidge, and the Morgan-Rockefeller lawyer Davis. Both are agents of the capitalist class. They, and the other candidates of the two old parties, will loyally serve the capitalists if returned to power—as they have done in the past.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

La Follette, who is running as an independent, progressive Republican, is equally a supporter of the capitalist system of exploitation. The only difference between La Follette and Coolidge and Davis is that La Follette represents the independent manufacturers, bankers and merchants, who are seeking greater power and profit for themselves and are trying to use the workers and farmers to attain that end.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

La Follette is the representative of little business against big business, but not the representative of the workers and exploited farmers in their struggle against the capitalists. La Follette's platform is not a workers' and farmers' platform, but a little business men's platform with some bait thrown in for sections of the skilled workers.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

Against these three candidates of the capitalist system of exploitation, big and little, the Workers' (Communist) Party presents working class candi-dates—Foster and Gitlow—and a working class platform.

The Workers Must Rule

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

There is only one way in which the exploitation of the workers and farmers of this country can be ended. That is through the workers organizing their mass power, ending the capitalist dictatorship and establishing the Workers' and Farmers' Government.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

In place of the capitalist dictatorship there must be established the rule of the workers. The governmental power must be used in the interest of the workers and farmers as it is now used by the capitalist dictatorship in the interest of the capitalist class.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

The Russian workers and peasants have established their rule in the form of the Soviet government and are using their power against the capitalists and for themselves—to build a Communist social system which will give the workers and farmers the fruits of their toil.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

The Workers' party is fighting for the rule of the 30,000,000 workers and their families in the United States. This rule will be established through a proletarian revolution which will create a Soviet government and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

This Workers' and Farmers' Government will wrest out of the hands of the capitalists the raw material and great industries and operate them for the happiness and well-being of the producers. It will build in place of the capitalist system of production a Communist system of production.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

The Workers' Party calls upon workers and exploited farmers to join it in the struggle to establish the Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States. It urges them to demonstrate their support of the program of the Workers' Party by voting against the three capitalist candidates and for the Communist candidates—Foster and Gitlow.

Immediate Program

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

1. For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.268

The Workers' Party has for two years carried on a consistent campaign for the formation of a mass Farmer-Labor Party to unite the industrial workers and exploited farmers for independent political action. The betrayal of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in accepting the independent candidacy of La Follette, the betrayal of the Farmer-Labor Party by the Socialist Party and the La Follette supporters among the workers and farmers, the attack upon the Farmer-Labor Party by La Follette, who does not want a party of workers and farmers, made the achievement of this goal impossible in this election campaign. The Workers' party declares its purpose to continue the struggle to mobilize the workers and exploited farmers for independent political action through a mass Farmer-Labor Party.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

2. Nationalization of Industry and Workers' Control

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

The Workers' Party declares itself in favor of the immediate nationalization of all large-scale industries, such as railroads, mines, super-power plants, and means of communication and transportation, and for the organization of the workers in these industries for participation in the management and direction of the industries nationalized, thus developing industrial democracy, until industry comes under the control of those who produce the wealth of the nation, subject only to such general control as will protect the interest of the producers as a whole.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

3. Compel Industry and the Government to Pay Wages to the Unemployed

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

Industry in the United States is slowing down and the workers face another period of industrial crisis with millions of unemployed unable to earn a living. The Workers' Party declares that industry must support the unemployed to whom it cannot give work. The government must take the accumulated profits of industry. It must levy excess profit and inheritance taxes to create an unemployment fund, to be administered by the workers, for payment of union wages to workers without jobs. The Workers' Party will initiate the organization of unemployment councils to fight for these demands.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

4. Down with Injunctions and the Use of Police and Soldiers Against Workers

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

The Workers' Party calls upon the workers and exploited farmers to fight with it against the use of injunctions in labor disputes, intimidation of strikers through police and soldiers, and the use of criminal syndicalist laws to suppress the demands of the revolutionary workers, as well as other infringements of the rights of the workers.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

5. Release All Political and Class War Prisoners

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

The Workers' Party will fight for the immediate and unconditional release of all workers imprisoned because of their political or economic views and for participation in the class struggle.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

6. Land for the Users—Nationalize the Farmers' Marketing Industries

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

Land was created for all the people and we demand a system of land tenure which will eliminate landlordism and tenantry and will secure the land to the users thereof. We demand the nationalization of all means of transportation and industries engaged in the preparation and distribution of farm products, with participation of the farmers in the management of these industries.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

7. Down with Militarism and Imperialist Wars

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

The World War and its slaughter of millions and destruction of billions of wealth was the product of capitalist imperialism. The capitalist government of the United States is already preparing for a new war. It is using its power to oppress weaker nations in the interest of the capitalists, as in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Central America. It is holding the Philippine Islands in subjection. It is aiding to force the Dawes plan upon Germany in order to enslave the workers of that country. The Workers' Party will fight against militarism and imperialist wars and the use of the governmental power for the exploitation of weaker nations. It demands freedom for the Philippines and the right of self-determination for all colonies and territories of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

8. Recognize the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the only workers' and farmers' government in the world. The capitalist government of the United States refuses it recognition and the restoration of full trade relations. The Workers' Party will rally the workers for immediate, unconditional recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

National Party Platforms, Workers' Party Platform of 1924, p.269

The measures outlined here are measures for immediate struggle and mobilization of the workers against the capitalist class and the capitalist dictatorship in the United States. The end of the glaring evils of capitalist society can only come with the victory of the workers and the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' government through which capitalism will be abolished and the Communist society created. The Workers' Party will carry on the struggle until this goal is achieved.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1928

Democratic Platform of 1928

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

We, the Democratic Party in convention assembled, pause to pay our tribute of love and respect to the memory of him who in his life and in his official actions voiced the hopes and aspirations of all good men and women of every race and clime, the former President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson. His spirit moves on and his example and deeds will exalt those who come after us as they have inspired us.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

We are grateful that we were privileged to work with him and again pay tribute to his high ideals and accomplishments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

We reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government formulated by Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

We hold that government must function not to centralize our wealth but to preserve equal opportunity so that all may share in our priceless resources; and not confine prosperity to a favored few. We, therefore, pledge the Democratic Party to encourage business, small and great alike; to conserve human happiness and liberty; to break the shackles of monopoly and free business of the nation; to respond to the popular will.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

The function of a national platform is to declare general principles and party policies. We do not, therefore, assume to bind our party respecting local issues or details of legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

We, therefore, declare the policy of the Democratic Party with regard to the following dominant national issues:

The Rights of the States

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the states shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue. These constitute a bulwark against centralization and the destructive tendencies of the Republican Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

We oppose bureaucracy and the multiplication of offices and officeholders.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government, without which free institutions cannot be preserved.

Republican Corruption

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

Unblushingly the Republican Party offers as its record agriculture prostrate, industry depressed, American shipping destroyed, workmen without employment; everywhere disgust and suspicion, and corruption unpunished and unafraid.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.270

Never in the entire history of the country has there occurred in any given period of time or, indeed, in all time put together, such a spectacle of sordid corruption and unabashed rascality as that which has characterized the administration of federal affairs under eight blighting years of Republican rule. Not the revels of reconstruction, nor all the compounded frauds succeeding that [p.271] evil era, have approached in sheer audacity the shocking thieveries and startling depravities of officials high and low in the public service at Washington. From cabinet ministers, with their treasonable crimes, to the cheap vendors of official patronage, from the purchasers of seats in the United States Senate to the vulgar grafters upon alien trust funds, and upon the hospital resources of the disabled veterans of the World War; from the givers and receivers of stolen funds for Republican campaign purposes to the public men who sat by silently consenting and never revealing a fact or uttering a word in condemnation, the whole official organization under Republican rule has become saturated with dishonesty defiant of public opinion and actuated only by a partisan desire to perpetuate its control of the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

As in the time of Samuel J. Tilden, from whom the presidency was stolen, the watchword of the day should be: "Turn the rascals out." This is the appeal of the Democratic Party to the people of the country. To this fixed purpose should be devoted every effort and applied every resource of the party; to this end every minor difference on non-essential issues should be put aside and a determined and a united fight be made to rescue the government from those who have betrayed their trust by disgracing it.

Economy And Reorganization

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

The Democratic Party stands for efficiency and economy in the administration of public affairs and we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

(a) Business-like reorganization of all the departments of the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

(b) Elimination of duplication, waste and overlapping.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

(c) Substitution of modern business-like methods for existing obsolete and antiquated conditions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

No economy resulted from the Republican Party rule. The savings they claim take no account of the elimination of expenditures following the end of the World War, the large sums realized from the sale of war materials, nor its failure to supply sufficient funds for the efficient conduct of many important governmental activities.

Financing and Taxation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

(a) The Federal Reserve system, created and inaugurated under Democratic auspices, is the greatest legislative contribution to constructive business ever adopted. The administration of the system for the advantage of stock market speculators should cease. It must be administered for the benefit of farmers, wage earners, merchants, manufacturers and others engaged in constructive business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

(b) The taxing function of governments, free or despotic, has for centuries been regarded as the power above all others which requires vigilant scrutiny to the end that it be not exercised for purposes of favor or oppression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

Three times since the World War the Democrats in Congress have favored a reduction of the tax burdens of the people in face of stubborn opposition from a Republican administration; and each time these reductions have largely been made for the relief of those least able to endure the exactions of a Republican fiscal policy. The tax bill of the session recently ended was delayed by Republican tactics and juggled by partisan considerations so as to make impossible a full measure of relief to the greater body of taxpayers. The moderate reductions afforded were grudgingly conceded and the whole proceeding in Congress, dictated as far as possible from the White House and the treasury, denoted the proverbial desire of the Republican Party always to discriminate against the masses in favor of privileged classes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

The Democratic Party avows its belief in the fiscal policy inaugurated by the last Democratic Administration, which provided a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish the nation's indebtedness within a reasonable period of time, without harassing the present and next succeeding generations with tax burdens which, if not unendurable, do in fact check initiative in enterprise and progress in business. Taxes levied beyond the actual requirements of the legally established sinking fund are but an added burden upon the American people, and the surplus thus accumulated in the federal treasury is an incentive to the increasingly extravagant expenditures which have characterized Republican administrations. We, therefore, favor a further reduction of the internal taxes of the people.

Tariff

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.271

The Democratic tariff legislation will be based on the following policies:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

(a) The maintenance of legitimate business [p.272] and a high standard of wages for American labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

(b) Increasing the purchasing power of wages and income by the reduction of those monopolistic and extortionate tariff rates bestowed in payment of political debts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

(c) Abolition of log-rolling and restoration of the Wilson conception of a fact-finding tariff commission, quasi-judicial and free from the executive domination which has destroyed the usefulness of the present commission.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

(d) Duties that will permit effective competition, insure against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue for the support of government. Actual difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, with adequate safeguard for the wage of the American laborer must be the extreme measure of every tariff rate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

(e) Safeguarding the public against monopoly created by special tariff favors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

(f) Equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of the tariff among all.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

Wage-earner, farmer, stockman, producer and legitimate business in general have everything to gain from a Democratic tariff based on justice to all.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

Grover Cleveland made the extension of the merit system a tenet of our political faith. We shall preserve and maintain the civil service.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

Deception upon the farmer and stock raiser has been practiced by the Republican Party through false and delusive promises for more than fifty years. Specially favored industries have been artificially aided by Republican legislation. Comparatively little has been done for agriculture and stock raising, upon which national prosperity rests. Unsympathetic inaction with regard to this problem must cease. Virulent hostility of the Republican administration to the advocates of farm relief and denial of the right of farm organizations to lead in the development of farm policy must yield to Democratic sympathy and friendliness.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

Four years ago the Republican Party, forced to acknowledge the critical situation, pledged itself to take all steps necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture and other industries and labor. Today it faces the country not only with that pledge unredeemed but broken by the acts of a Republican President, who is primarily responsible for the failure to offer a constructive program to restore equality to agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

While he has had no constructive and adequate program to offer in its stead, he has twice vetoed farm relief legislation and has sought to justify his disapproval of agricultural legislation partly on grounds wholly inconsistent with his acts, making industrial monopolies the beneficiaries of government favor; and in endorsing the agricultural policy of the present administration the Republican Party, in its recent convention, served notice upon the farmer that the so-called protective system is not meant for him; that while it offers protection to the privileged few, it promises continued world prices to the producers of the chief cash crops of agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

We condemn the policy of the Republican Party which promises relief to agriculture only through a reduction of American farm production to the needs of the domestic market. Such a program means the continued deflation of agriculture, the forcing of additional millions from the farms, and the perpetuation of agricultural distress for years to come, with continued bad effects on business and labor throughout the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

The Democratic Party recognizes that the problems of production differ as between agriculture and industry. Industrial production is largely under human control, while agricultural production, because of lack of coordination among the 6,500,000 individual farm units, and because of the influence of weather, pests and other causes, is largely beyond human control. The result is that a large crop frequently is produced on a small acreage and a small crop on a large acreage; and, measured in money value, it frequently happens that a large crop brings less than a small crop.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.272

Producers of crops whose total volume exceeds the needs of the domestic market must continue at a disadvantage until the government shall intervene as seriously and as effectively in behalf of the farmer as it has intervened in behalf of labor and industry. There is a need of supplemental legislation for the control and orderly handling of agricultural surpluses, in order that the price of the surplus may not determine the price of the whole crop. Labor has benefited by collective [p.273] bargaining and some industries by tariff. Agriculture must be as effectively aided.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

The Democratic Party in its 1924 platform pledged its support to such legislation. It now reaffirms that stand and pledges the united efforts of the legislative and executive branches of government, as far as may be controlled by the party, to the immediate enactment of such legislation, and to such other steps as are necessary to establish and maintain the purchasing power of farm products and the complete economic equality of agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

The Democratic Party has always stood against special privilege and for common equality under the law. It is a fundamental principle of the party that such tariffs as are levied must not discriminate against any industry, class or section. Therefore, we pledge that in its tariff policy the Democratic Party will insist upon equality of treatment between agriculture and other industries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

Farm relief must rest on the basis of an economic equality of agriculture with other industries. To give this equality a remedy must be found which will include among other things:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

(a) Credit aid by loans to co-operatives on at least as favorable a basis as the government aid to the merchant marine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

(b) Creation of a federal farm board to assist the farmer and stock raiser in the marketing of their products, as the Federal Reserve Board has done for the banker and business man. When our archaic banking and currency system was revised after its record of disaster and panic under Republican administrations, it was a Democratic Congress in the administration of a Democratic President that accomplished its stabilization through the Federal Reserve Act creating the Federal Reserve Board, with powers adequate to its purpose. Now, in the hour of agriculture's need, the Democratic Party pledges the establishment of a new agricultural policy fitted to present conditions, under the direction of a farm board vested with all the powers necessary to accomplish for agriculture what the Federal Reserve Board has been able to accomplish for finance, in full recognition of the fact that the banks of the country, through voluntary cooperation, were never able to stabilize the financial system of the country until the government powers were invoked to help them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

(e) Reduction through proper government agencies of the spread between what the farmer and stock raiser gets and the ultimate consumer pays, with consequent benefits to both.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

(d) Consideration of the condition of agriculture in the formulation of government financial and tax measures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

We pledge the party to foster and develop co-operative marketing associations through appropriate governmental aid. We recognize that experience has demonstrated that members of such associations alone can not successfully assume the full responsibility for a program that benefits all producers alike. We pledge the party to an earnest endeavor to solve this problem of the distribution of the cost of dealing with crop surpluses over the marketed units of the crop whose producers are benefited by such assistance. The solution of this problem would avoid government subsidy, to which the Democratic Party has always been opposed. The solution of this problem will be a prime and immediate concern of a Democratic administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

We direct attention to the fact that it was a Democratic Congress, in the administration of a Democratic President, which established the federal loan system and laid the foundation for the entire rural credits structure, which has aided agriculture to sustain in part the shock of the policies of two Republican administrations; and we promise thorough-going administration of our rural credits laws, so that the farmers in all sections may secure the maximum benefits intended under these acts.

Mining

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

Mining is one of the basic industries of this country. We produce more coal, iron and copper than any other country. The value of our mineral production is second only to agriculture. Mining has suffered like agriculture, and from similar causes. It is the duty of our government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

The Republican administration has no foreign policy; it has drifted without plan. This great nation can not afford to play a minor role in world politics. It must have a sound and positive foreign policy, not a negative one. We declare for a constructive foreign policy based on these principles:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.273

(a) Outlawry of war and an abhorrence of militarism, conquest and imperialism.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

[p.274] (b) Freedom from entangling political alliances with foreign nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

(c) Protection of American lives and rights. (d) Non-interference with the elections or other internal political affairs of any foreign nation. This principle of non-interference extends to Mexico, Nicaragua and all other Latin-American nations. Interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin-American countries must cease.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

(e) Rescue of our country from its present impaired world standing and restoration to its former position as a leader in the movement for international arbitration, conciliation, conference and limitation of armament by international agreement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

(f) International agreements for reduction of all armaments and the end of competitive war preparations, and, in the meantime, the maintenance of an army and navy adequate for national defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

(g) Full, free and open co-operation with all other nations for the promotion of peace and justice throughout the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

(h) In our foreign relations this country should stand as a unit, and, to be successful, foreign policies must have the approval and the support of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

(i) Abolition of the practice of the President of entering into and carrying out agreements with a foreign government, either de facto or de jure, for the protection of such government against revolution or foreign attack, or for the supervision of its internal affairs, when such agreements have not been advised and consented to by the Senate, as provided in the Constitution of the United States, and we condemn the administration for carrying out such an unratified agreement that requires us to use our armed forces in Nicaragua.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

(j) Recognition that the Monroe Doctrine is a cardinal principle of this government promulgated for the protection of ourselves and our Latin-American neighbors. We shall seek their friendly co-operation in the maintenance of this doctrine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

(k) We condemn the Republican administration for lack of statesmanship and efficiency in negotiating the 1921 treaty for the limitation of armaments, which limited only the construction of battleships and ships of over ten thousand tons. Merely a gesture towards peace, it accomplished no limitation of armament, because it simply substituted one weapon of destruction for another. While it resulted in the destruction of our battleships and the blueprints of battleships of other nations, it placed no limitation upon construction of aircraft, submarines, cruisers, warships under ten thousand tons, poisonous gases or other weapons of destruction. No agreement was ratified with regard to submarines and poisonous gases. The attempt of the President to remedy the failure of 1921 by the Geneva Conference of 1928 was characterized by the same lack of statesmanship and efficiency and resulted in entire failure.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

In consequence, the race between nations in the building of unlimited weapons of destruction still goes on and the peoples of the world are still threatened with war and burdened with taxation for additional armament.

Waterpower, Waterways and Flood Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

The federal government and state governments, respectively, now have absolute and exclusive sovereignty and control over enormous water-powers, which constitute one of the greatest assets of the nation. This sovereign title and control must be preserved respectively in the state and federal governments, to the end that the people may be protected against exploitation of this great resource and that water powers may be expeditiously developed under such regulations as will insure to the people reasonable rates and equitable distribution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

We favor and will promote deep waterways from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and to the Atlantic Ocean.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

We favor the fostering and building up of water transportation through improvement of inland waterways and removal of discrimination against water transportation. Flood control and the lowering of flood levels are essential to the safety of life and property, and the productivity of our lands, the navigability of our streams, the reclaiming of our wet and overflowed lands. We favor expeditious construction of flood relief works on the Mississippi and Colorado rivers and such reclamation and irrigation projects upon the Colorado River as may be found feasible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.274

We favor appropriations for prompt co-ordinated surveys by the United States to determine the possibilities of general navigation improvements [p.275] and waterpower development on navigable streams and their tributaries and to secure reliable information as to the most economical navigation improvement, in combination with the most efficient and complete development of waterpower.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

We favor the strict enforcement of the Federal Waterpower Act, a Democratic act, and insist that the public interest in waterpower sites, ignored by two Republican administrations, be protected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

Being deeply impressed by the terrible disasters from floods in the Mississippi Valley during 1927, we heartily endorse the Flood Control Act of last May, which recognizes that the flood waters of the Mississippi River and its tributaries constitute a national problem of the gravest character and makes provision for their speedy and effective control. This measure is a continuation and expansion of the policy established by a Democratic Congress in 1917 in the act of that year for controlling floods on the Mississippi and Sacramento rivers. It is a great piece of constructive legislation, and we pledge our party to its vigorous and early enforcement.

Conservation And Reclamation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

We shall conserve the natural resources of our country for the benefit of the people and to protect them against waste and monopolization. Our disappearing resources of timber call for a national policy of reforestation. The federal government should improve and develop its public lands so that they may go into private ownership and become subjected to taxation for the support of the states wherein they exist. The Democratic administration will actively, efficiently and economically carry on reclamation projects and make equitable adjustments with the homestead entry-men for the mistakes the government has made, and extend all practical aid to refinance reclamation and drainage projects.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

Efficient and economical transportation is essential to the prosperity of every industry. Cost of transportation controls the income of every human being and materially affects the cost of living. We must, therefore, promote every form of transportation to a state of highest efficiency. Recognizing the prime importance of air transportation, we shall encourage its development by every possible means. Improved roads are of vital importance not only to commerce and industry, but also to agriculture and rural life. The federal government should construct and maintain at its own expense roads upon its public lands. We reaffirm our approval of the Federal Roads Law, enacted by a Democratic administration. Common carriers, whether by land, water or rail, must be protected in all equal opportunity to compete, so that governmental regulations against exorbitant rates and inefficiency will be aided by competition.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

(a) We favor the principle of collective bargaining, and the Democratic principle that organized labor should choose its own representatives without coercion or interference.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

(b) Labor is not a commodity. Human rights must be safeguarded. Labor should be exempt from the operation of anti-trust laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

(c) We recognize that legislative and other investigations have shown the existence of grave abuse in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. No injunctions should be granted in labor disputes except upon proof of threatened irreparable injury and after notice and hearing and the injunction should be confined to those acts which do directly threaten irreparable injury. The expressed purpose of representatives of capital, labor and the bar to devise a plan for the elimination of the present evils with respect to injunctions must be supported and legislation designed to accomplish these ends formulated and passed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

(d) We favor legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one state to another shall be subject to laws of the latter state, as though they had been produced therein.

Unemployment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.275

Unemployment is present, widespread and increasing. Unemployment is almost as destructive to the happiness, comfort, and well-being of human beings as war. We expend vast sums of money to protect our people against the evils of war, but no governmental program is anticipated to prevent the awful suffering and economic losses of unemployment. It threatens the well-being of millions of our people and endangers the prosperity of the nation. We favor the adoption by the government, after a study of this subject, of a scientific plan whereby during periods of [p.276] unemployment appropriations shall be made available for the construction of necessary public works and the lessening, as far as consistent with public interests, of government construction work when labor is generally and satisfactorily employed in private enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

Study should also be made of modern methods of industry and a constructive solution found to absorb and utilize the surplus human labor released by the increasing use of machinery.

Accident Compensation to Government Employees

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

We favor legislation making fair and liberal compensation to government employees who are injured in accident or by occupational disease and to the dependents of such workers as may die as a result thereof.

Federal Employees

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

Federal employees should receive a living wage based upon American standards of decent living. Present wages are, in many instances, far below that standard. We favor a fair and liberal retirement law for government employees in the classified service.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

Through Democratic votes, and in spite of two Republican Presidents' opposition, the Congress has maintained America's traditional policy to generously care for the veterans of the World War. In extending them free hospitalization, a statutory award for tuberculosis, a program of progressive hospital construction, and provisions for compensation for the disabled, the widows and orphans, America has surpassed the record of any nation in the history of the world. We pledge the veterans that none of the benefits heretofore accorded by the Wilson administration and the votes of Democrat members of Congress shall be withdrawn; that these will be added to more in accordance with the veterans' and their dependents' actual needs. Generous appropriations, honest management, the removal of vexatious administration delays, and sympathetic assistance for the veterans of all wars, is what the Democratic Party demands and promises.

Women and Children

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

We declare for equality of women with men in all political and governmental matters.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

Children are the chief asset of the nation. Therefore their protection through infancy and childhood against exploitation is an important national duty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

The Democratic Party has always opposed the exploitation of women in industry and has stood for such conditions of work as will preserve their health and safety.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

We favor an equal wage for equal service; and likewise favor adequate appropriations for the women's and children's bureau.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

Laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect, but the provisions contained in these laws that separate husbands from wives and parents from infant children are inhuman and not essential to the purpose or the efficacy of such laws.

Radio

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

Government supervision must secure to all the people the advantage of radio communication and likewise guarantee the right of free speech. Official control in contravention of this guarantee should not be tolerated. Governmental control must prevent monopolistic use of radio communication and guarantee equitable distribution and enjoyment thereof.

Coal

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

Bituminous coal is not only the common base of manufacture, but it is a vital agency in our interstate transportation. The demoralization of this industry, its labor conflicts and distress, its waste of a national resource and disordered public service, demand constructive legislation that will allow capital and labor a fair share of prosperity, with adequate protection to the consuming public.

Congressional Election Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

We favor legislation to prevent defeated members of both houses of Congress from participating in the sessions of Congress by fixing the date for convening the Congress immediately after the biennial national election.

Law Enforcement

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.276

The Republican Party, for eight years in complete control of the government at Washington, presents the remarkable spectacle of feeling compelled in its national platform to promise obedience [p.277] to a provision of the federal Constitution, which it has flagrantly disregarded and to apologize to the country for its failure to enforce laws enacted by the Congress of the United States. Speaking for the national Democracy, this convention pledges the party and its nominees to an honest effort to enforce the eighteenth amendment and all other provisions of the federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto.

Campaign Expenditures

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

We condemn the improper and excessive use of money in elections as a danger threatening the very existence of democratic institutions. Republican expenditures in senatorial primaries and elections have been so exorbitant as to constitute a national scandal. We favor publicity in all matters affecting campaign contributions and expenditures. We shall, beginning not later than August 1, 1928, and every thirty days thereafter, the last publication and filing being not later than five days before the election, publish in the press and file with the appropriate committees of the House and Senate a complete account of all contributions, the names of the contributors, the amounts expended and the purposes for which the expenditures are made, and will, at all times, hold open for public inspection the books and records relating to such matters. In the event that any financial obligations are contracted and not paid, our National Committee will similarly report and publish, at least five days before the election, all details respecting such obligations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

We agree to keep and maintain a permanent record of all campaign contributions and expenditures and to insist that contributions by the citizens of one state to the campaign committees of other states shall have immediate publicity.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

We reaffirm our support of an efficient, dependable American merchant marine for the carriage of the greater portion of our commerce and for the national defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

The Democratic Party has consistently and vigorously supported the shipping services maintained by the regional United States Shipping Board in the interest of all ports and all sections of our country, and has successfully opposed the discontinuance of any of these lines. We favor the transfer of these lines gradually to the local private American companies, when such companies can show their ability to take over and permanently maintain the lines. Lines that can not now be transferred to private enterprise should continue to be operated as at present and should be kept in an efficient state by remodeling of some vessels and replacement of others.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

We are unalterably opposed to a monopoly in American shipping and are opposed to the operation of any of our services in a manner that would retard the development of any ports or section of our country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

We oppose such sacrifices and favoritism as exhibited in the past in the matter of alleged sales, and insist that the primary purpose of legislation upon this subject be the establishment and maintenance of an adequate American merchant marine.

Armenia

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

We favor the most earnest efforts on the part of the United States to secure the fulfillment of the promises and engagements made during and following the World War by the United States and the allied powers to Armenia and her people.

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

We believe with Jefferson and other founders of the Republic that ignorance is the enemy of freedom and that each state, being responsible for the intellectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools, shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

The federal government should offer to the states such counsel, advice, results of research and aid as may be made available through the federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

Monopolies and Anti-Trust Laws

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.277

During the last seven years, under Republican rule, the anti-trust laws have been thwarted, ignored and violated so that the country is rapidly becoming controlled by trusts and sinister monopolies formed for the purpose of wringing from the necessaries of life an unrighteous profit. These combinations are formed and conducted in violation of law, encouraged, aided and abetted in their activities by the Republican administration and are driving all small tradespeople and small industrialists out of business. Competition is one [p.278] of the most sacred, cherished and economic rights of the American people. We demand the strict enforcement of the anti-trust laws and the enactment of other laws, if necessary, to control this great menace to trade and commerce, and thus to preserve the right of the small merchant and manufacturer to earn a legitimate profit from his business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.278

Dishonest business should be treated without influence at the national capitol. Honest business, no matter its size, need have no fears of a Democratic administration. The Democratic Party will ever oppose illegitimate and dishonest. business. It will foster, promote, and encourage all legitimate enterprises.

Canal Zone

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.278

We favor the employment of American citizens in the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal in all positions above the grade of messenger and favor as liberal wages and conditions of employment as prevailed under previous Democratic administrations.

Alaska—Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.278

We favor the development of Alaska and Hawaii in the traditional American way, through self-government. We favor the appointment of only bona fide residents to office in the territories. We favor the extension and improvement of the mail, air mail, telegraph and radio, agricultural experimenting, highway construction, and other necessary federal activities in the territories.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.278

We favor granting to Puerto Rico such territorial form of government as would meet the present economic conditions of the island, and provide for the aspirations of her people, with the view to ultimate statehood accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government, and we believe any officials appointed to administer the government of such territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein.

Philippines

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.278

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by the Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

Public Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.278

The Democratic Party recognizes that not only the productive wealth of the nation but its contentment and happiness depends upon the health of its citizens. It, therefore, pledges itself to enlarge the existing Bureau of Public Health and to do all things possible to stamp out communicable and contagious diseases, and to ascertain preventive means and remedies for these diseases, such as cancer, infantile paralysis and others which heretofore have largely defied the skill of physicians.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.278

We pledge our party to spare no means to lift the apprehension of diseases from the minds of our people, and to appropriate all moneys necessary to carry out this pledge.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1928, p.278

Affirming our faith in these principles, we submit our cause to the people.[p.280]

Republican Platform of 1928

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.280

The Republican Party in national convention assembled presents to the people of the Nation this platform of its principles, based on a record of its accomplishments, and asks and awaits a new vote of confidence. We reaffirm our devotion to the Constitution of the United States and the principles and institution of the American system of representative government.

The National Administration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.280

We endorse without qualification the record of the Coolidge administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.280

The record of the Republican Party is a record of advancement of the nation. Nominees of Republican National conventions have for 52 of the 72 years since the creation of our party been the chief executives of the United States. Under Republican inspiration and largely under Republican executive direction the continent has been bound with steel rails, the oceans and great rivers have been joined by canals, waterways have been deepened and widened for ocean commerce, and with all a high American standard of wage and living has been established.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.280

By unwavering adherence to sound principles, through the wisdom of Republican policies, and the capacity of Republican administrations, the foundations have been laid and the greatness and prosperity of the country firmly established.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.280

Never has the soundness of Republican policies been more amply demonstrated and the Republican genius for administration been better exemplified than during the last five years under the leadership of President Coolidge.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.280

No better guaranty of prosperity and contentment among all our people at home, no more reliable warranty of protection and promotion of American interests abroad can be given than the pledge to maintain and continue the Coolidge policies. This promise we give and will faithfully perform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.280

Under this Administration the country has been lifted from the depths of a great depression to a level of prosperity. Economy has been raised to the dignity of a principle of government. A standard of character in public service has been established under the chief Executive, which has given to the people of the country a feeling of stability and confidence so all have felt encouraged [p.281] to proceed on new undertakings in trade and commerce. A foreign policy based on the traditional American position and carried on with wisdom and steadfastness has extended American influence throughout the world and everywhere promoted and protected American interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.281

The mighty contribution to general well-being which can be made by a government controlled by men of character and courage, whose abilities are equal to their responsibilities, is self-evident, and should not blind us to the consequences which its loss would entail. Under this administration a high level of wages and living has been established and maintained. The door of opportunity has been opened wide to all. It has given to our people greater comfort and leisure, and the mutual profit has been evident in the increasingly harmonious relations between employers and employees, and the steady rise by promotion of the men in the shops to places at the council tables of the industries. It has also been made evident by the increasing enrollments of our youth in the technical schools and colleges, the increase in savings and life insurance accounts, and by our ability, as a people, to lend the hand of succor not only to those overcome by disasters in our own country but in foreign lands. With all there has been a steady decrease in the burden of Federal taxation, releasing to the people the greatest possible portion of the results of their labor from Government exactions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.281

For the Republican Party we are justified in claiming a major share of the credit for the position which the United States occupies today as the most favored nation on the globe, but it is well to remember that the confidence and prosperity which we enjoy can be shattered, if not destroyed, if this belief in the honesty and sincerity of our government is in any way affected. A continuation of this great public peace of mind now existing, which makes for our material well being, is only possible by holding fast to the plans and principles which have marked Republican control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.281

The record of the present Administration is a guaranty of what may be expected of the next. Our words have been made deeds. We offer not promises but accomplishments.

Public Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.281

The citizen and taxpayer has a natural right to be protected from unnecessary and wasteful expenditures. This is a rich but also a growing nation with constantly increasing legitimate demands for public funds. If we are able to spend wisely and meet these requirements, it is first necessary that we save wisely. Spending extravagantly not only deprives men through taxation of the fruits of their labor, but oftentimes means the postponement of vitally important public works. We commend President Coolidge for his establishment of this fundamental principle of sound administration and pledge ourselves to live up to the high standard he has set.

Finance and Taxation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.281

The record of the United States Treasury under Secretary Mellon stands unrivalled and unsurpassed. The finances of the nation have been managed with sound judgment. The financial policies have yielded immediate and substantial results.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.281

In 1921 the credit of our government was at a low ebb. We were burdened with a huge public debt, a load of war taxes, which in variety and weight exceeded anything in our national life, while vast unfunded intergovernmental debts disorganized the economic life of the debtor nations and seriously affected our own by reason of the serious obstacles which they presented to commercial intercourse. This critical situation was evidenced by a serious disturbance in our own life which made for unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.281

Today all these major financial problems have been solved.

The Public Debt

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.281

In seven years the public debt has been reduced by $6,411,000,000. From March 1921 to September 1928 over eleven billion dollars of securities, bearing high rates of interest, will have been retired or refunded into securities bearing a low rate of interest, while Liberty Bonds, which were selling below par, now command a premium. These operations have resulted in an annual saving in interest charges of not less than $275,000,000, without which the most recent tax reduction measure would not have been made possible. The Republican Party will continue to reduce our National debt as rapidly as possible and in accordance with the provision of existing laws and the present program.[p.282]

Tax Reduction

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

Wise administrative management under Republican control and direction has made possible a reduction of over a billion eight hundred million dollars a year in the tax bill of the American people. Four separate tax reduction measures have been enacted, and millions of those least able to pay have been taken from the tax rolls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

Excessive and uneconomic rates have been radically modified, releasing for industrial and payroll expansion and development great sums of money which formerly were paid in taxes to the Federal government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

Practically all the war taxes have been eliminated and our tax system has been definitely restored to a peace time basis.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

We pledge our party to a continuation of these sound policies and to such further reduction of the tax burden as the condition of the Treasury may from time to time permit.

Tariff

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff as a fundamental and essential principle of the economic life of this nation. While certain provisions of the present law require revision in the light of changes in the world competitive situation since its enactment, the record of the United States since 1922 clearly shows that the fundamental protective principle of the law has been fully justified. It has stimulated the development of our natural resources, provided fuller employment at higher wages through the promotion of industrial activity, assured thereby the continuance of the farmer's major market, and further raised the standards of living and general comfort and well-being of our people. The great expansion in the wealth of our nation during the past fifty years, and particularly in the past decade, could not have been accomplished without a protective tariff system designed to promote the vital interests of all classes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

Nor have these manifest benefits been restricted to any particular section of the country. They are enjoyed throughout the land either directly or indirectly. Their stimulus has been felt in industries, farming sections, trade circles, and communities in every quarter. However, we realize that there are certain industries which cannot now successfully compete with foreign producers because of lower foreign wages and a lower cost of living abroad, and we pledge the next Republican Congress to an examination and where necessary a revision of these schedules to the end that American labor in these industries may again command the home market, may maintain its standard of living, and may count upon steady employment in its accustomed field.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

Adherence to that policy is essential for the continued prosperity of the country. Under it the standard of living of the American people has been raised to the highest levels ever known. Its example has been eagerly followed by the rest of the world whose experts have repeatedly reported with approval the relationship of this policy to our prosperity, with the resultant emulation of that example by other nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

A protective tariff is as vital to American agriculture as it is to American manufacturing. The Republican Party believes that the home market, built up under the protective policy, belongs to the American farmer, and it pledges its support of legislation which will give this market to him to the full extent of his ability to supply it. Agriculture derives large benefits not only directly from the protective duties levied on competitive farm products of foreign origin, but also, indirectly, from the increase in the purchasing power of American workmen employed in industries similarly protected. These benefits extend also to persons engaged in trade, transportation, and other activities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

The Tariff Act of 1922 has justified itself in the expansion of our foreign trade during the past five years. Our domestic exports have increased from 3.8 billions of dollars in 1922 to 4.8 billions in 1927. During the same period imports have increased from 3.1 billions to 4.4 billions. Contrary to the prophesies of its critics, the present tariff law has not hampered the natural growth in the exportation of the products of American agriculture, industry, and mining, nor has it restricted the importation of foreign commodities which this country can utilize without jeopardizing its economic structure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.282

The United States is the largest customer in the world today. If we were not prosperous and able to buy, the rest of the world also would suffer. It is inconceivable that American labor will ever consent to the abolition of protection which would bring the American standard of living down to the level of that in Europe, or that the American [p.283] farmer could survive if the enormous consuming power of the people in this country were curtailed and its market at home, if not destroyed, at least seriously impaired.

Foreign Debts

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.283

In accordance with our settled policy and platform pledges, debt settlement agreements have been negotiated with all of our foreign debtors with the exception of Armenia and Russia. That with France remains as yet unratified. Those with Greece and Austria are before the Congress for necessary authority. If the French Debt Settlement be included, the total amount funded is eleven billion five hundred twenty-two million three hundred fifty-four thousand dollars. We have steadfastly opposed and will continue to oppose cancellation of foreign debts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.283

We have no desire to be oppressive or grasping, but we hold that obligations justly incurred should be honorably discharged. We know of no authority which would permit public officials, acting as trustees, to shift the burden of the War from the shoulders of foreign taxpayers to those of our own people. We believe that the settlements agreed to are fair to both the debtor nation and to the American taxpayer. Our Debt Commission took into full consideration the economic condition and resources of the debtor nations, and were ever mindful that they must be permitted to preserve and improve their economic position, to bring their budgets into balance, to place their currencies and finances on a sound basis, and to improve the standard of living of their people. Giving full weight to these considerations, we know of no fairer test than ability to pay, justly estimated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.283

The people can rely on the Republican Party to adhere to a foreign debt policy now definitely established and clearly understood both at home and abroad.

Settlement of War Claims

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.283

A satisfactory solution has been found for the question of War Claims. Under the Act, approved by the President on March 10, 1928, a provision was made for the settlement of War Claims of the United States and its citizens against the German, Austrian and Hungarian Governments, and of the claims of the nationals of these governments against the United States; and for the return to its owners of the property seized by the Alien Property Custodian during the War, in accordance with our traditional policy of respect for private property.

Foreign Policies

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.283

We approve the foreign policies of the Administration of President Coolidge. We believe they express the will of the American people in working actively to build up cordial international understanding that will make world peace a permanent reality. We endorse the proposal of the Secretary of State for a multilateral treaty proposed to the principal powers of the world and open to the signatures of all nations, to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and declaring in favor of pacific settlement of international disputes, the first step in outlawing war. The idea has stirred the conscience of mankind and gained widespread approval, both of governments and of the people, and the conclusion of the treaty will be acclaimed as the greatest single step in history toward the conservation of peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.283

In the same endeavor to substitute for war the peaceful settlement of international disputes the administration has concluded arbitration treaties in a form more definite and more inclusive than ever before and plans to negotiate similar treaties with all countries willing in this manner to define their policy peacefully to settle justiciable disputes. In connection with these, we endorse the Resolution of the Sixth Pan American Conference held at Havana, Cuba, in 1928, which called a conference on arbitration and conciliation to meet in Washington during the year and express our earnest hope that such conference will greatly further the principles of international arbitration. We shall continue to demand the same respect and protection for the persons and property of American citizens in foreign countries that we cheerfully accord in this country to the persons and property of aliens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.283

The commercial treaties which we have negotiated and those still in the process of negotiation are based on strict justice among nations, equal opportunity for trade and commerce on the most-favored-nation principle and are simplified so as to eliminate the danger of misunderstanding. The object and the aim of the United States is to further the cause of peace, of strict justice between nations with due regard for the rights of others in all international dealings. Out of justice [p.284] grows peace. Justice and consideration have been and will continue to be the inspiration of our nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

The record of the Administration toward Mexico has been consistently friendly and with equal consistency have we upheld American fights. This firm and at the same time friendly policy has brought recognition of the inviolability of legally acquired rights. This condition has been reached without threat or without bluster, through a calm support of the recognized principles of international law with due regard to the rights of a sister sovereign state. The Republican Party will continue to support American fights in Mexico, as elsewhere in the world, and at the same time to promote and strengthen friendship and confidence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

There has always been, as there always will be, a firm friendship with Canada. American and Canadian interests are in a large measure identical. Our relationship is one of fine mutual understanding and the recent exchange of diplomatic officers between the two countries is worthy of commendation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

The United States has an especial interest in the advancement and progress of all the Latin American countries. The policy of the Republican Party will always be a policy of thorough friendship and co-operation. In the case of Nicaragua, we are engaged in co-operation with the government of that country upon the task of assisting to restore and maintain peace, order and stability, and in no way to infringe upon her sovereign rights. The Marines, now in Nicaragua, are there to protect American lives and property and to aid in carrying out an agreement whereby we have undertaken to do what we can to restore and maintain order and to insure a fair and free election. Our policy absolutely repudiates any idea of conquest or exploitation, and is actuated solely by an earnest and sincere desire to assist a friendly and neighboring state which has appealed for aid in a great emergency. It is the same policy the United States has pursued in other cases in Central America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

The Administration has looked with keen sympathy on the tragic events in China. We have avoided interference in the internal affairs of that unhappy nation merely keeping sufficient naval and military forces in China to protect the lives of the Americans who are there on legitimate business and in still larger numbers for nobly humanitarian reasons. America has not been stampeded into making reprisals but, on the other hand, has consistently taken the position of leadership among the nations in a policy of wise moderation. We shall always be glad to be of assistance to China when our duty is clear.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

The Republican Party maintains the traditional American policy of non-interference in the political affairs of other nations. This government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the covenant of the League. On this we stand.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

In accordance, however, with the long established American practice of giving aid and assistance to other peoples, we have most usefully assisted by co-operation in the humanitarian and technical work undertaken by the League, without involving ourselves in European politics by accepting membership.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

The Republican Party has always given and will continue to give its support to the development of American foreign trade, which makes for domestic prosperity. During this administration extraordinary strides have been made in opening up new markets for American produce and manufacture. Through these foreign contacts a mutually better international understanding has been reached which aids in the maintenance of world peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

The Republican Party promises a firm and consistent support of American persons and legitimate American interests in all parts of the world. This support will never contravene the rights of other nations. It will always have in mind and support in every way the progressive development of international law, since it is through the operation of just laws, as well as through the growth of friendly understanding, that world peace will be made permanent. To that end the Republican Party pledges itself to aid and assist in the perfection of principles of international law and the settlement of international disputes.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.284

The merit system in government service originated with and has been developed by the Republican Party. The great majority of our public service employees are now secured through and maintained in the government service rules. Steps have already been taken by the Republican Congress [p.285] to make the service more attractive as to wages and retirement privileges, and we commend what has been done, as a step in the right direction.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

The agricultural problem is national in scope and, as such, is recognized by the Republican Party which pledges its strength and energy to the solution of the same. Realizing that many farmers are facing problems more difficult than those which are the portion of many other basic industries, the party is anxious to aid in every way possible. Many of our farmers are still going through readjustments, a relic of the years directly following the great war. All the farmers are being called on to meet new and perplexing conditions created by foreign competition, the complexities of domestic marketing, labor problems, and a steady increase in local and state taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

The general depression in a great basic industry inevitably reacts upon the conditions in the country as a whole and cannot be ignored. It is a matter of satisfaction that the desire to help in the correction of agricultural wrongs and conditions is not confined to any one section of our country or any particular group.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

The Republican Party and the Republican Administration, particularly during the last five years, have settled many of the most distressing problems as they have arisen, and the achievements in aid of agriculture are properly a part of this record. The Republican Congresses have been most responsive in the matter of agricultural appropriations, not only to meet crop emergencies, but for the extension and development of the activities of the Department of Agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

The protection of the American farmer against foreign farm competition and foreign trade practices has been vigorously carried on by the Department of State. The right of the farmers to engage in collective buying and co-operative selling as provided for by the Capper-Volstead Act of 1922 has been promulgated through the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Justice, which have given most valuable aid and assistance to the heads of the farm organizations. The Treasury Department and the proper committees of Congress have lightened the tax burden on farming communities, and through the Federal Farm Loan System there has been made available to the farmers of the nation one billion eight hundred fifty millions of dollars for loaning purposes at a low rate of interest, and through the Intermediate Credit Banks six hundred fifty-five million dollars of short term credits have been made available to the farmers. The Post Office Department has systematically and generously extended the Rural Free Delivery routes into even the most sparsely settled communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

When a shortage of transportation facilities threatened to deprive the farmers of their opportunity to reach waiting markets overseas, the President, appreciative and sensitive of the condition and the possible loss to the communities, ordered the reconditioning of Shipping Board vessels, thus relieving a great emergency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

Last, but not least, the Federal Tariff Commission has at all times shown a willingness under the provisions of the Flexible Tariff Act to aid the farmers when foreign competition, made possible by low wage scales abroad, threatened to deprive our farmers of their domestic markets. Under this Act the President has increased duties on wheat, flour, mill feed, and dairy products. Numerous other farm products are now being investigated by the Tariff Commission.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

We promise every assistance in the reorganization of the marketing system on sounder and more economical lines and, where diversification is needed, Government financial assistance during the period of transition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

The Republican Party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation creating a Federal Farm Board clothed with the necessary powers to promote the establishment of a farm marketing system of farmer-owned-and-controlled stabilization corporations or associations to prevent and control surpluses through orderly distribution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agricultural products as are affected by foreign competition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

We favor, without putting the Government into business, the establishment of a Federal system of organization for co-operative and orderly marketing of farm products.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

The vigorous efforts of this Administration towards broadening our exports market will be continued.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.285

The Republican Party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which will [p.286] place the agricultural interests of America on a basis of economic equality with other industries to insure its prosperity and success.

Mining

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

The money value of the mineral products of the country is second only to agriculture. We lead the countries of the world in the production of coal, iron, copper and silver. The nation suffers as a whole from any disturbance in the securing of any one of these minerals, and particularly when the coal supply is affected. The mining industry has always been self-sustaining, but we believe that the Government should make every effort to aid the industry by protection by removing any restrictions which may be hampering its development, and by increased technical and economic research investigations which are necessary for its welfare and normal development. The Party is anxious, hopeful, and willing to assist in any feasible plan for the stabilization of the coal mining industry, which will work with justice to the miners, consumers and producers.

Highways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

Under the Federal Aid Road Act, adopted by the Republican Congress in 1921, and supplemented by generous appropriations each year, road construction has made greater advancement than for many decades previous. Improved highway conditions is a gauge of our rural developments and our commercial activity. We pledge our support to continued appropriations for this work commensurate with our needs and resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

We favor the construction of roads and trails in our national forests necessary to their protection and utilization. In appropriations therefor the taxes which these lands would pay if taxable should be considered as a controlling factor.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

The Labor record of the Republican Party stands unchallenged. For 52 of the 72 years of our national existence Republican Administrations have prevailed. Today American labor enjoys the highest wage and the highest standard of living throughout the world. Through the saneness and soundness of Republican rule the American workman is paid a "real wage" which allows comfort for himself and his dependents, and an opportunity and leisure for advancement. It is not surprising that the foreign workman, whose greatest ambition still is to achieve a "living wage," should look with longing towards America as the goal of his desires.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

The ability to pay such wages and maintain such a standard comes from the wisdom of the protective legislation which the Republican Party has placed upon the national statute books, the tariff which bars cheap foreign-made goods from the American market and provides continuity of employment for our workmen and fair profits for the manufacturers, the restriction of immigration which not only prevents the glutting of our labor market, but allows to our newer immigrants a greater opportunity to secure a footing in their upward struggle.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

The Party favors freedom in wage contracts, the right of collective bargaining by free and responsible agents of their own choosing, which develops and maintains that purposeful co-operation which gains its chief incentive through voluntary agreement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

We believe that injunctions in labor disputes have in some instances been abused and have given rise to a serious question for legislation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

The Republican Party pledges itself to continue its efforts to maintain this present standard of living and high wage scale.

Railroads

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

Prompt and effective railroad service at the lowest rates which will provide for its maintenance and allow a reasonable return to the investor so they may be encouraged to advance new capital for acquired developments, has long been recognized by the Republican Party as a necessity of national existence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

We believe that the present laws under which our railroads are regulated are soundly based on correct principles, the spirit of which must always be preserved. Because, however, of changes in the public demands, trade conditions and of the character of the competition, which even the greatest railroads are now being called upon to meet, we feel that in the light of this new experience possible modifications or amendments, the need of which is proved, should be considered.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.286

The Republican Party initiated and set in operation the Interstate Commerce Commission. This body has developed a system of railroad control and regulation which has given to the transportation [p.287] public an opportunity not only to make suggestions for the improvement of railroad service, but to protest against discriminatory rates or schedules. We commend the work which that body is accomplishing under mandate of law in considering these matters and seeking to distribute equitably the burden of transportation between commodities based on their ability to bear the same.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

The Republican Party stands for the American-built, American-owned, and American-operated merchant marine. The enactment of the White-Jones Bill is in line with a policy which the party has long advocated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

Under this measure, substantial aid and encouragement are offered for the building in American yards of new and modern ships which will carry the American flag.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

The Republican Party does not believe in government ownership or operation, and stands specifically for the sale of the present government vessels to private owners when appropriate arrangements can be made. Pending such a sale, and because private owners are not ready as yet to operate on certain of the essential trade routes, the bill enacted allows the maintenance of these necessary lines under government control till such transfer can be made.

Mississippi Flood Relief and Control

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

The Mississippi Valley flood in which seven hundred thousand of our fellow citizens were placed in peril of life, and which destroyed hundreds of million of dollars' worth of property, was met with energetic action by the Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

During this disaster the President mobilized every public and private agency under the direction of Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce and Dwight Davis, the Secretary of War. Thanks to their joint efforts, a great loss of life was prevented and everything possible was done to rehabilitate the people in their homes and to relieve suffering and distress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

Congress promptly passed legislation authorizing the expenditure of $325,000,000 for the construction of flood control works, which it is believed will prevent the recurrence of such a disaster.

Radio

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

We stand for the administration of the radio facilities of the United States under wise and expert government supervision which will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

(1) Secure to every home in the nation, whether city or country, the great educational and inspirational values of broadcast programs, adequate in number and varied in character, and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

(2) Assign the radio communication channels, regional, continental, and transoceanic,—in the best interest of the American business man, the American farmer, and the American public generally.

Waterways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

Cheaper transportation for bulk goods from the midwest agricultural sections to the sea is recognized by the Republican Party as a vital factor for the relief of agriculture. To that end we favor the continued development in inland and in intra-coastal waterways as an essential part of our transportation system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

The Republican Administration during the last four years initiated the systematic development of the Mississippi system of inland transportation lanes, and it proposes to carry on this modernization of transportation to speedy completion. Great improvements have been made during this administration in our harbors, and the party pledges itself to continue these activities for the modernization of our national equipment.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.287

Our country is honored whenever it bestows relief on those who have faithfully served its flag. The Republican Party, appreciative of this solemn obligation and honor, has made its sentiments evident in Congress. Our expenditures for the benefit of all our veterans now aggregate 750 million dollars annually. Increased hospital facilities have been provided, payments in compensation have more than doubled, and in the matter of rehabilitations, pensions, and insurance, generous provision has been made. The administration of laws dealing with the relief of veterans and their dependents has been a difficult task, but every effort has been made to carry service to the veteran and bring about not only a better and generous interpretation of the law, but a sympathetic consideration of the many problems of the veteran. Full and adequate relief for our disabled veterans is [p.288] our aim, and we commend the action of Congress in further liberalizing the laws applicable to veterans' relief.

Public Utilities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

Republican Congresses and Administrations have steadily strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission. The protection of the public from exactions or burdens in rates for service by reason of monopoly control, and the protection of the smaller organizations from suppression in their own field, has been a fundamental idea in all regulatory enactments. While recognizing that at times Federal regulations might be more effective than State regulations in controlling intrastate utilities, the Party favors and has sustained State regulations, believing that such responsibility in the end will create a force of State public opinion which will be more effective in preventing discriminations and injustices.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

We believe in the practical application of the conservation principle by the wise development of our natural resources. The measure of development is our national requirement, and avoidance of waste so that future generations may share in this natural wealth. The Republican policy is to prevent monopolies in the control and utilization of natural resources. Under the General Leasing Law, enacted by a Republican Congress, the ownership of the mineral estate remains in the Government, but development occurs through private capital and energy. Important for the operation of this law is the classification and appraisement of public lands according to their mineral content and value. Over five hundred million acres of public land have been thus classified.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

To prevent wasteful exploitation of our oil products, President Coolidge appointed an Oil Conservation Board, which is now conducting an inquiry into all phases of petroleum production, in the effort to devise a national policy for the conservation and proper utilization of our oil resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

The Republican Party has been forehanded in assuring the development of water power in accordance with public interest. A policy of permanent public retention of the power sites on public land and power privileges in domestic and international navigable streams, and one-third of the potential water power resources in the United States on public domain, has been assured by the Federal Water Powers Act, passed by a Republican Congress.

Law Enforcement

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

We reaffirm the American Constitutional Doctrine as announced by George Washington in his "Farewell Address," to-wit:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

"The Constitution which at any time exists until changed by the explicit and authentic act by the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

We also reaffirm the attitude of the American people toward the Federal Constitution as declared by Abraham Lincoln:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

"We are by both duty and inclination bound to stick by that Constitution in all its letter and spirit from beginning to end. I am for the honest enforcement of the Constitution. Our safety, our liberty, depends upon preserving the Constitution of the United States, as our forefathers made it inviolate."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

The people through the method provided by the Constitution have written the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. The Republican Party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance and vigorous enforcement of this provision of the Constitution.

Honesty in Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

We stand for honesty in government, for the appointment of officials whose integrity cannot be questioned. We deplore the fact that any official has ever fallen from this high standard and that certain American citizens of both parties have so far forgotten their duty as citizens as to traffic in national interests for private gain. We have prosecuted and shall always prosecute any official who subordinates his public duty to his personal interest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

The Government today is made up of thousands of conscientious, earnest, self-sacrificing men and women, whose single thought is service to the nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.288

We pledge ourselves to maintain and, if possible, to improve the quality of this great company of Federal employees.[p.289]

Campaign Expenditures

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

Economy, honesty, and decency in the conduct of political campaigns are a necessity if representative government is to be preserved to the people and political parties are to hold the respect of the citizens at large.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

The Campaign of 1924 complied with all these requirements. It was a campaign, the expenses of which were carefully budgeted in advance, and, which, at the close, presented a surplus and not a deficit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

There will not be any relaxing of resolute endeavor to keep our elections clean, honest and free from taint of any kind. The improper use of money in governmental and political affairs is a great national evil. One of the most effective remedies for this abuse is publicity in all matters touching campaign contributions and expenditures. The Republican Party, beginning not later than August 1, 1928, and every 30 days thereafter,—the last publication being not later than five days before the election—will file with the Committees of the House and Senate a complete account of all contributions, the names of the contributors, the amounts expended, and for what purposes, and will at all times hold its records and books touching such matters open for inspection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

The party further pledges that it will not create, or permit to be created, any deficit which shall exist at the close of the campaign.

Reclamation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

Federal reclamation of arid lands is a Republican policy, adopted under President Roosevelt, carried forward by succeeding Republican Presidents, and put upon a still higher plane of efficiency and production by President Coolidge. It has increased the wealth of the nation and made the West more prosperous.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

An intensive study of the methods and practices of reclamation has been going on for the past four years under the direction of the Department of the Interior in an endeavor to create broader human opportunities and their financial and economic success. The money value of the crops raised on reclamation projects is showing a steady and gratifying increase as well as the number of farms and people who have settled on the lands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

The continuation of a surplus of agricultural products in the selling markets of the world has influenced the Department to a revaluation of plans and projects. It has adopted a ten-year program for the completion of older projects and will hold other suggestions in abeyance until the surveys now under way as to the entire scope of the work are completed.

Commercial Aviation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

Without governmental grants or subsidies and entirely by private initiative, the nation has made extraordinary advances in the field of commercial aviation. Over 20,000 miles of air mail service privately operated are now being flown daily, and the broadening of this service is an almost weekly event. Because of our close relations with our sister republics on the south and our neighbor on the north, it is fitting our first efforts should be to establish an air communication with Latin-America and Canada.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

The achievements of the aviation branches of the Army and Navy are all to the advantage of commercial aviation, and in the Mississippi flood disaster the work performed by civil and military aviators was of inestimable value.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

The development of a system of aircraft registration, inspection and control is a credit to the Republican Administration, which, quick to appreciate the importance of this new transportation development, created machinery for its safeguarding.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

The Republican Party believes that in the interest of both native and foreign-born wage-earners, it is necessary to restrict immigration. Unrestricted immigration would result in widespread unemployment and in the breakdown of the American standard of living. Where, however, the law works undue hardships by depriving the immigrant of the comfort and society of those bound by close family ties, such modification should be adopted as will afford relief.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

We commend Congress for correcting defects for humanitarian reasons and for providing an effective system of examining prospective immigrants in their home countries.

Naturalization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.289

The priceless heritage of American citizenship is our greatest gift to our friends of foreign birth. [p.290] Only those who will be loyal to our institutions, who are here in conformity with our laws, and who are in sympathy with our national traditions, ideals, and principles, should be naturalized.

Navy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

We pledge ourselves to round out and maintain the Navy in all types of combatant ships to the full ratio provided for the United States by the Washington Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armament and any amendment thereto.

Hawaii-Alaska

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

We favor a continuance for the Territory of Hawaii of Federal assistance in harbor improvements, the appropriation of its share of federal funds and the systematic extension of the settlement of public lands by the Hawaiian race.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

We indorse the policy of the present administration with reference to Alaska and favor a continuance of the constructive development of the territory.

Women and Public Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

Four years ago at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland women members of the National Committee were welcomed into full association and responsibility in party management. During the four years which have passed they have carried with their men associates an equal share of all responsibilities and their contribution to the success of the 1924 campaign is well recognized.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

The Republican Party, which from the first has sought to bring this development about, accepts wholeheartedly equality on the part of women, and in the public service it can present a record of appointments of women in the legal, diplomatic, judicial, treasury and other governmental departments. We earnestly urge on the women that they participate even more generally than now in party management and activity.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

We believe that in time of war the nation should draft for its defense not only its citizens but also every resource which may contribute to success. The country demands that should the United States ever again be called upon to defend itself by arms, the President be empowered to draft such material resources and such services as may be required, and to stabilize the prices of services and essential commodities, whether utilized in actual warfare or private activity.

Our Indian Citizens

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

National citizenship was conferred upon all native born Indians in the United States by the General Indian Enfranchisement Act of 1924. We favor the creation of a Commission to be appointed by the President including one or more Indian citizens to investigate and report to Congress upon the existing system of the administration of Indian affairs and to report any inconsistencies that may be found to exist between that system and the rights of the Indian citizens of the United States. We also favor the repeal of any law and the termination of any administrative practice which may be inconsistent with Indian citizenship, to the end that the Federal guardianship existing over the persons and properties of Indian tribal communities may not work a prejudice to the personal and property fights of Indian citizens of the United States. The treaty and property rights of the Indians of the United States must be guaranteed to them.

The Negro

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

We renew our recommendation that the Congress enact at the earliest possible date a Federal Anti-Lynching Law so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime.

Home Rule

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

We believe in the essential unity of the American people. Sectionalism in any form is destructive of national life. The Federal Government should zealously protect the national and international rights of its citizens. It should be equally zealous to respect and maintain the rights of the States and territories and to uphold the vigor and balance of our dual system of government. The Republican party has always given its energies to supporting the Government in this direction when any question has arisen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.290

There are certain other well-defined Federal obligations such as interstate commerce, the development of rivers and harbors, and the guarding and conservation of national resources. The effort, which, however, is being continually made to have the Federal Government move into the [p.291] field of state activities, has never had, and never will have the support of the Republican Party. In the majority of the cases state citizens and officers are most pressing in their desire to have the Federal Government take over these state functions. This is to be deplored for it weakens the sense of initiative and creates a feeling of dependence which is unhealthy and unfortunate for the whole body politic.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1928, p.291

There is a real need of restoring the individual and local sense principles; there is a real need of restoring the individual and local sense of responsibility and self-reliance; there is a real need for the people once more to grasp the fundamental fact that under our system of government they are expected to solve many problems themselves through their municipal and State governments, and to combat the tendency that is all too common to turn to the Federal Government as the easiest and least burdensome method of lightening their own responsibilities.[p.331]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1932

Democratic Platform of 1932

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

In this time of unprecedented economic and social distress the Democratic Party declares its conviction that the chief causes of this condition were the disastrous policies pursued by our government since the World War, of economic isolation, fostering the merger of competitive businesses into monopolies and encouraging the indefensible expansion and contraction of credit for private profit at the expense of the public.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

Those who were responsible for these policies have abandoned the ideals on which the war was won and thrown away the fruits of victory, thus rejecting the greatest opportunity in history to bring peace, prosperity, and happiness to our people and to the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

They have ruined our foreign trade; destroyed the values of our commodities and products, crippled our banking system, robbed millions of our people of their life savings, and thrown millions more out of work, produced wide-spread poverty and brought the government to a state of financial distress unprecedented in time of peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

The only hope for improving present conditions, restoring employment, affording permanent relief to the people, and bringing the nation back to the proud position of domestic happiness and of financial, industrial, agricultural and commercial leadership in the world lies in a drastic change in economic governmental policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We believe that a party platform is a covenant with the people to have [sic] faithfully kept by the party when entrusted with power, and that the people are entitled to know in plain words the terms of the contract to which they are asked to subscribe. We hereby declare this to be the platform of the Democratic Party:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

The Democratic Party solemnly promises by appropriate action to put into effect the principles, policies, and reforms herein advocated, and to eradicate the policies, methods, and practices herein condemned. We advocate an immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus, and eliminating extravagance to accomplish a saving of not less than twenty-five per cent in the cost of the Federal Government. And we call upon the Democratic Party in the states to make a zealous effort to achieve a proportionate result.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We favor maintenance of the national credit by a federal budget annually balanced on the basis of accurate executive estimates within revenues, raised by a system of taxation levied on the principle of ability to pay.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards and an international monetary conference called on the invitation of our government to consider the rehabilitation of silver and related questions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We advocate a competitive tariff for revenue with a fact-finding tariff commission free from executive interference, reciprocal tariff agreements with other nations, and an international economic conference designed to restore international trade and facilitate exchange.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We advocate the extension of federal credit to the states to provide unemployment relief wherever the diminishing resources of the states makes it impossible for them to provide for the needy; expansion of the federal program of necessary and useful construction effected [sic] with a public interest, such as adequate flood control and waterways.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We advocate the spread of employment by a substantial reduction in the hours of labor, the encouragement of the shorter week by applying that principle in government service; we advocate advance planning of public works.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We advocate unemployment and old-age insurance under state laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We favor the restoration of agriculture, the nation's basic industry; better financing of farm mortgages through recognized farm bank agencies at low rates of interest on an amortization plan, giving preference to credits for the redemption of farms and homes sold under foreclosure.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

Extension and development of the Farm co-operative movement and effective control of crop surpluses so that our farmers may have the full benefit of the domestic market.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

The enactment of every constitutional measure that will aid the farmers to receive for their basic farm commodities prices in excess of cost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.331

We advocate a Navy and an Army adequate for national defense, based on a survey of all facts [p.332] affecting the existing establishments, that the people in time of peace may not be burdened by an expenditure fast approaching a billion dollars annually.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We advocate strengthening and impartial enforcement of the anti-trust laws, to prevent monopoly and unfair trade practices, and revision thereof for the better protection of labor and the small producer and distributor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

The conservation, development, and use of the nation's water power in the public interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

The removal of government from all fields of private enterprise except where necessary to develop public works and natural resources in the common interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We advocate protection of the investing public by requiring to be filed with the government and carried in advertisements of all offerings of foreign and domestic stocks and bonds true information as to bonuses, commissions, principal invested, and interests of the sellers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

Regulation to the full extent of federal power, of:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

(a) Holding companies which sell securities in interstate commerce;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

(b) Rates of utilities companies operating across State lines;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

(c) Exchanges in securities and commodities. We advocate quicker methods of realizing on assets for the relief of depositors of suspended banks, and a more rigid supervision of national banks for the protection of depositors and the prevention of the use of their moneys in speculation to the detriment of local credits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

The severance of affiliated security companies from, and the divorce of the investment banking business from, commercial banks, and further restriction of federal reserve banks in permitting the use of federal reserve facilities for speculative purposes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We advocate the full measure of justice and generosity for all war veterans who have suffered disability or disease caused by or resulting from actual service in time of war and for their dependents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We advocate a firm foreign policy, including peace with all the world and the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; no interference in the internal affairs of other nations; and sanctity of treaties and the maintenance of good faith and of good will in financial obligations; adherence to the World Court with appending reservations; the Pact of Paris abolishing war as an instrument of national policy, to be made effective by provisions for consultation and conference in case of threatened violations of treaties.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

International agreements for reduction of armaments and cooperation with nations of the Western Hemisphere to maintain the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We oppose cancelation of the debts owing to the United States by foreign nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

Independence for the Philippines; ultimate statehood for Puerto Rico.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

The employment of American citizens in the operation of the Panama Canal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

Simplification of legal procedure and reorganization of the judicial system to make the attainment of justice speedy, certain, and at less cost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

Continuous publicity of political contributions and expenditures; strengthening of the Corrupt Practices Act and severe penalties for misappropriation of campaign funds.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We advocate the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. To effect such repeal we demand that the Congress immediately propose a Constitutional Amendment to truly represent [sic] the conventions in the states called to act solely on that proposal; we urge the enactment of such measures by the several states as will actually promote temperance, effectively prevent the return of the saloon, and bring the liquor traffic into the open under complete supervision and control by the states.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We demand that the Federal Government effectively exercise its power to enable the states to protect themselves against importation of intoxicating liquors in violation of their laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

Pending repeal, we favor immediate modification of the Volstead Act; to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer and other beverages of such alcoholic content as is permissible under the Constitution and to provide therefrom a proper and needed revenue.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We condemn the improper and excessive use of money in political activities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We condemn paid lobbies of special interests to influence members of Congress and other public servants by personal contact.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.332

We condemn action and utterances of high public officials designed to influence stock exchange prices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.333

We condemn the open and cover resistance of [p.333] administrative officials to every effort made by Congressional Committees to curtail the extravagant expenditures of the Government and to revoke improvident subsidies granted to favorite interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.333

We condemn the extravagance of the Farm Board, its disastrous action which made the Government a speculator in farm products, and the unsound policy of restricting agricultural products to the demands of domestic markets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.333

We condemn the usurpation of power by the State Department in assuming to pass upon foreign securities offered by international bankers as a result of which billions of dollars in questionable bonds have been sold to the public upon the implied approval of the Federal Government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1932, p.333

And in conclusion, to accomplish these purposes and to recover economic liberty, we pledge the nominees of this convention the best efforts of a great Party whose founder announced the doctrine which guides us now in the hour of our country's need: equal rights to all; special privilege to none.[p.339]

Republican Platform of 1932

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.339

We, the representatives of the Republican Party, in convention assembled, renew our pledge to the principles and traditions of our party and dedicate it anew to the service of the nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.339

We meet in a period of widespread distress and of an economic depression that has swept the world. The emergency is second only to that of a great war. The human suffering occasioned may well exceed that of a period of actual conflict.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.339

The supremely important problem that challenges our citizens and government alike is to break the back of the depression, to restore the economic life of the nation and to bring encouragement and relief to the thousands of American families that are sorely afflicted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.339

The people themselves, by their own courage, their own patient and resolute effort in the readjustments of their own affairs, can and will work out the cure. It is our task as a party, by leadership and a wise determination of policy, to assist that recovery.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.339

To that task we pledge all that our party possesses in capacity, leadership, resourcefulness and ability. Republicans, collectively and individually, in nation and State, hereby enlist in a war which will not end until the promise of American life is once more fulfilled.[p.340]

Leadership

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

For nearly three years the world has endured an economic depression of unparalleled extent and severity. The patience and courage of our people have been severely tested, but their faith in themselves, in their institutions and in their future remains unshaken. When victory comes, as it will, this generation will hand on to the next a great heritage unimpaired.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

This will be due in large measure to the quality of the leadership that this country has had during this crisis. We have had in the White House a leader—wise, courageous, patient, understanding, resourceful, ever present at his post of duty, tireless in his efforts and unswervingly faithful to American principles and ideals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

At the outset of the depression, when no man could foresee its depth and extent, the President succeeded in averting much distress by securing agreement between industry and labor to maintain wages and by stimulating programs of private and governmental construction. Throughout the depression unemployment has been limited by the systematic use of part-time employment as a substitute for the general discharge of employees. Wage scales have not been reduced except under compelling necessity. As a result there have been fewer strikes and less social disturbance than during any similar period of hard times.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

The suffering and want occasioned by the great drought of 1930 were mitigated by the prompt mobilization of the resources of the Red Cross and of the government. During the trying winters of 1930-31 and 1931-32 a nation-wide organization to relieve distress was brought into being under the leadership of the President. By the Spring of 1931 the possibility of a business upturn in the United States was clearly discernible when, suddenly, a train of events was set in motion in Central Europe which moved forward with extraordinary rapidity and violence, threatening the credit structure of the world and eventually dealing a serious blow to this country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

The President foresaw the danger. He sought to avert it by proposing a suspension of intergovernmental debt payments for one year, with the purpose of relieving the pressure at the point of greatest intensity. But the credit machinery of the nations of Central Europe could not withstand the strain, and the forces of disintegration continued to gain momentum until in September

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

Great Britain was forced to depart from the gold standard. This momentous event, followed by tremendous raid on the dollar, resulted in a series of bank suspensions in this country, and the hoarding of currency on a large scale.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

Again the President acted. Under his leadership the National Credit Association came into being. It mobilized our banking resources, saved scores of banks from failure, helped restore confidence and proved of inestimable value in strengthening the credit structure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

By the time the Congress met the character of our problems was clearer than ever. In his message to Congress the President outlined a constructive and definite program which in the main has been carried out; other portions may yet be carried out.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

The Railroad Credit Corporation was created. The capital of the Federal Land Banks was increased. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation came into being and brought protection to millions of depositors, policy holders and others.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

Legislation was enacted enlarging the discount facilities of the Federal Reserve System, and, without reducing the legal reserves of the Federal Reserve Banks, releasing a billion dollars of gold, a formidable protection against raids on the dollar and a greatly enlarged basis for an expansion of credit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

An earlier distribution to depositors in closed banks has been brought about through the action of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Above all, the national credit has been placed in an impregnable position by provision for adequate revenue and a program of drastic curtailment of expenditures. All of these measures were designed to lay a foundation for the resumption of business and increased employment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

But delay and the constant introduction and consideration of new and unsound measures has kept the country in a state of uncertainty and fear, and offset much of the good otherwise accomplished.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.340

The President has recently supplemented his original program to provide for distress, to stimulate the revival of business and employment, and to improve the agricultural situation, he recommended extending the authority of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to enable it:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

(a) To make loans to political subdivisions [p.341] of public bodies or private corporations for the purpose of starting construction of income-producing or self-liquidating projects which will at once increase employment;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

(b) To make loans upon security of agricultural commodities so as to insure the carrying of normal stocks of those commodities, and thus stabilize their loan value and price levels:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

(c) To make loans to the Federal Farm Board to enable extension of loans to farm co-operatives and loans for export of agricultural commodities to quarters unable to purchase them;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

(d) To loan up to $300,000,000 to such States as are unable to meet the calls made on them by their citizens for distress relief.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

The President's program contemplates an attack on a broad front, with far-reaching objectives, but entailing no danger to the budget. The Democratic program, on the other hand, contemplates a heavy expenditure of public funds, a budget unbalanced on a large scale, with a doubtful attainment of at best a strictly limited objective.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

We strongly endorse the President's program.

Unemployment and Relief

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

True to American traditions and principles of government, the administration has regarded the relief problem as one of State and local responsibility. The work of local agencies, public and private has been coordinated and enlarged on a nation-wide scale under the leadership of the President.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

Sudden and unforeseen emergencies such as the drought have been met by the Red Cross and the Government. The United States Public Health Service has been of inestimable benefit to stricken areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

There has been magnificent response and action to relieve distress by citizens, organizations and agencies, public and private throughout the country.

Public Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

Constructive plans for financial stabilization cannot be completely organized until our national, State and municipal governments not only balance their budgets but curtail their current expenses as well to a level which can be steadily and economically maintained for some years to come.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

We urge prompt and drastic reduction of public expenditure and resistance to every appropriation not demonstrably necessary to the performance of government, national or local.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

The Republican Party established and will continue to uphold the gold standard and will oppose any measure which will undermine the government's credit or impair the integrity of our national currency. Relief by currency inflation is unsound in principle and dishonest in results. The dollar is impregnable in the marts of the world today and must remain so. An ailing body cannot be cured by quack remedies. This is no time to experiment upon the body politic or financial.

Banks and the Banking System

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

The efficient functioning of our economic machinery depends in no small measure on the aid rendered to trade and industry by our banking system. There is need of revising the banking laws so as to place our banking structure on a sounder basis generally for all concerned, and for the better protection of the depositing public there should be more stringent supervision and broader powers vested in the supervising authorities. We advocate such a revision.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

One of the serious problems affecting our banking system has arisen from the practice of organizing separate corporations by the same interests as banks, but participating in operations which the banks themselves are not permitted legally to undertake. We favor requiring reports of and subjecting to thorough and periodic examination all such affiliates of member banks until adequate information has been acquired on the basis of which this problem may definitely be solved in a permanent manner.

International Conference

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

We favor the participation by the United States in an international conference to consider matters relating to monetary questions, including the position of silver, exchange problems, and commodity prices, and possible co-operative action concerning them.

Home Loan Discount Bank System

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.341

The present Republican administration has initiated legislation for the creation of a system of Federally supervised home loan discount banks, designed to serve the home owners of all parts of the country and to encourage home ownership [p.342] by making possible long term credits for homes on more stable and more favorable terms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

There has arisen in the last few years a disturbing trend away from home ownership. We believe that everything should be done by Governmental agencies, national State and local, to reverse this tendency; to aid home owners by encouraging better methods of home financing; and to relieve the present inequitable tax burden on the home. In the field of national legislation we pledge that the measures creating a home loan discount system will be pressed in Congress until adopted.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

Farm distress in America has its root in the enormous expansion of agricultural production during the war, the deflation of 1919, 1920 and the dislocation of markets after the war. There followed, under Republican Administrations, a long record of legislation in aid of the co-operative organization of farmers and in providing farm credit. The position of agriculture was gradually improved. In 1928 the Republican Party pledged further measures in aid of agriculture, principally tariff protection for agricultural products and the creation of a Federal Farm Board "clothed with the necessary power to promote the establishment of a farm marketing system of farmer-owned and controlled stabilization corporations."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

Almost the first official act of President Hoover was the calling of a special session of Congress to redeem these party pledges. They have been redeemed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

The 1930 tariff act increased the rates on agricultural products by 30 per cent, upon industrial products only 12 per cent. That act equalized, so far as legislation can do so, the protection afforded the farmer with the protection afforded industry, and prevented a vast flood of cheap wool, grain, livestock, dairy and other products from entering the American market.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

By the Agricultural Marketing Act, the Federal Farm Board was created and armed with broad powers and ample funds. The object of that act, as stated in its preamble, was:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

"To promote the effective merchandising of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce so that \* \* \* agriculture will be placed on the basis of economic equality with other industries \* \* \* By encouraging the organization of producers into effective association for their own control \* \* \* and by promoting the establishment of a farm marketing system of producer-owned and producer-controlled co-operative associations ."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

The Federal Farm Board, created by the agricultural marketing act, has been compelled to conduct its operations during a period in which all commodity prices, industrial as well as agricultural, have fallen to disastrous levels. A period of decreasing demand and of national calamities such as drought and flood has intensified the problem of agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

Nevertheless, after only a little more than two years' efforts, the Federal Farm Board has many achievements of merit to its credit. It has increased the membership of the co-operative farms marketing associations to coordinate efforts of the local associations. By cooperation with other Federal agencies, it has made available to farm marketing associations a large value of credit, which, in the emergency, would not have otherwise been available. Larger quantities of farm products have been handled co-operatively than ever before in the history of the co-operative movement. Grain crops have been sold by the farmer through his association directly upon the world market.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

Due to the 1930 tariff act and the agricultural marketing act, it can truthfully be stated that the prices received by the American farmer for his wheat, corn, rye, barley, oats, flaxseed, cattle, butter and many other products, cruelly low though they are, are higher than the prices received by the farmers of any competing nation for the same products.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

The Republican Party has also aided the American farmer by relief of the sufferers in the drought-stricken areas, through loans for rehabilitation and through road building to provide employment, by the development of the inland waterway system, by the perishable product act, by the strengthening of the extension system, and by the appropriation of $125,000,000 to recapitalize the Federal land banks and enable them to extend time to worthy borrowers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.342

The Republican Party pledges itself to the principle of assistance to co-operative marketing associations, owned and controlled by the farmers themselves, through the provisions of the agricultural marketing act, which will be promptly amended or modified as experience shows to be [p.343] necessary to accomplish the objects set forth in the preamble of that act.

Tariff and the Marketing Act

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

The party pledges itself to make such revision of tariff schedules as economic changes require to maintain the parity of protection to agriculture with other industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

The American farmer is entitled not only to tariff schedules on his products but to protection from substitutes therefor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

We will support any plan which will help to balance production against demand, and thereby raise agricultural prices, provided it is economically sound and administratively workable without burdensome bureaucracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

The burden of taxation borne by the owners of farm land constitutes one of the major problems of agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

President Hoover has aptly and truly said, "Taxes upon real property are easiest to enforce and are the least flexible of all taxes. The tendency under pressure of need is to continue these taxes unchanged in times of depression, despite the decrease in the owner's income. Decreasing price and decreasing income results in an increasing burden upon property owners \* \* \* which is now becoming almost unbearable. The tax burden upon real estate is wholly out of proportion to that upon other forms of property and income. There is no farm relief more needed today than tax relief."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

The time has come for a reconsideration of our tax systems, Federal State and local, with a view to developing a better coordination, reducing duplication and relieving unjust burdens. The Republican Party pledges itself to this end.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

More than all else, we point to the fact that, in the administration of executive departments, and in every plan of the President for the coordination of national effort and for strengthening our financial structure, for expanding credit, for rebuilding the rural credit system and laying the foundations for better prices, the President has insisted upon the interest of the American farmer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

The fundamental problem of American agriculture is the control of production to such volume as will balance supply with demand. In the solution of this problem the co-operative organization of farmers to plan production, and the tariff, to hold the home market for American farmers, are vital elements. A third element equally as vital is the control of the acreage of land under cultivation, as an aid to the efforts of the farmer to balance production.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

We favor a national policy of land utilization which looks to national needs, such as the administration has already begun to formulate. Such a policy must foster reorganization of taxing units in areas beset by tax delinquency and divert lands that are submarginal for crop production to other uses. The national welfare plainly can be served by the acquisition of submarginal lands for watershed protection, grazing, forestry, public parks and game preserves. We favor such acquisition.

The Tariff

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

The Republican Party has always been the staunch supporter of the American system of a protective tariff. It believes that the home market, built up under that policy, the greatest and richest market in the world, belongs first to American agriculture, industry and labor. No pretext can justify the surrender of that market to such competition as would destroy our farms, mines and factories, and lower the standard of living which we have established for our workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

Because many foreign countries have recently abandoned the gold standard, as a result of which the costs of many commodities produced in such countries have, at least for the time being, fallen materially in terms of American currency, adequate tariff protection is today particularly essential to the welfare of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

The Tariff Commission should promptly investigate individual commodities so affected by currency depreciation and report to the President any increase in duties found necessary to equalize domestic with foreign costs of production.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.343

To fix the duties on some thousands of commodities, subject to highly complex conditions, is necessarily a difficult technical task. It is unavoidable that some of the rates established by legislation should, even at the time of their enactment, to be too low or too high. Moreover, a subsequent change in costs or other conditions may render obsolete a rate that was before appropriate. The Republican Party has, therefore, long supported the policy of a flexible tariff, giving power to the President, after investigation by an impartial commission and in accordance with prescribed [p.344] principles, to modify the rates named by the Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

We commend the President's veto of the measure, sponsored by Democratic Congressmen, which would have transferred from the President to Congress the authority to put into effect the findings of the Tariff Commission. Approval of the measure would have returned tariff making to politics and destroyed the progress made during ten years of effort to lift it out of log-rolling methods. We pledge the Republican Party to a policy which will retain the gains made and enlarge the present scope of greater progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

We favor the extension of the general Republican principle of tariff protection to our natural resource industries, including the products of our farms, forests, mines and oil wells, with compensatory duties on the manufactured and refined products thereof.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

Our country is honored whenever it bestows relief on those who have faithfully served its flag. The Republican Party, appreciative of this solemn obligation and honor, has made its sentiments evident in Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

Increased hospital facilities have been provided, payments in compensation have more than doubled and in the matter of rehabilitations, pensions and insurance, generous provision has been made.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

The administration of laws dealing with the relief of the veterans and their dependents has been a difficult task, but every effort has been made to carry service to the veterans and bring about not only a better and generous interpretation of the law but a sympathetic consideration of the many problems of the veteran.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

We believe that every veteran incapacitated in any degree by reason of illness should be cared for and compensated, so far as compensation is possible, by a grateful nation, and that the dependents of those who lost their lives in war or whose death since the war in which service was rendered is traceable to service causes, should be provided for adequately. Legislation should be in accord with this principle.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

Disability from causes subsequent and not attributable to war and the support of dependents of deceased veterans whose death is unconnected with war have been to some measure accepted obligations of the nation as a part of the debt due.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

A careful study should be made of existing veterans' legislation with a view to elimination of inequalities and injustices and effecting all possible economies, but without departing from our purpose to provide on a sound basis full and adequate relief for our service disabled men, their widows and orphans.

Foreign Affairs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

Our relations with foreign nations have been carried on by President Hoover with consistency and firmness, but with mutual understanding and peace with all nations. The world has been overwhelmed with economic strain which has provoked extreme nationalism in every quarter, has overturned many governments, stirred the springs of suspicion and distrust and tried the spirit of international cooperation, but we have held to our own course steadily and successfully.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

The party will continue to maintain its attitude of protecting our national interests and policies wherever threatened but at the same time promoting common understanding of the varying needs and aspirations of other nations and going forward in harmony with other peoples without alliances or foreign partnerships.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

The facilitation of world intercourse, the freeing of commerce from unnecessary impediments, the settlement of international difficulties by conciliation and the methods of law and the elimination of war as a resort of national policy have been and will be our party program.

Friendship and Commerce

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

We believe in and look forward to the steady enlargement of the principles of equality of treatment between nations great and small, the concessions of sovereignty and self-administration to every nation which is capable of carrying on stable government and conducting sound orderly relationships with other peoples, and the cultivation of trade and intercourse on the basis of uniformity of opportunity of all nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.344

In pursuance of these principles, which have steadily gained favor in the world, the administration has asked no special favors in commerce, has protested discriminations whenever they arose, and has steadily cemented this procedure by reciprocal treaties guaranteeing equality for trade and residence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

[p.345] The historic American plan known as the most-favored-nation principle has been our guiding program, and we believe that policy to be the only one consistent with a full development of international trade, the only one suitable for a country having as wide and diverse a commerce as America, and the one most appropriate for us in view of the great variety of our industrial, agricultural and mineral products and the traditions of our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

Any other plan involves bargains and partnerships with foreign nations, and as a permanent policy is unsuited to America's position.

Conditions on the Pacific

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

Events in the Far East, involving the employment of arms on a large scale in a controversy between Japan and China, have caused worldwide concern in the past year and sorely tried the bulwarks erected to insure peace and pacific means for the settlement of international disputes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

The controversy has not only threatened the security of the nations bordering the Pacific but has challenged the maintenance of the policy of the open door in China and the administrative and political integrity of that people, programs which upon American initiation were adopted more than a generation ago and secured by international treaty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

The President and his Secretary of State have maintained throughout the controversy a just balance between Japan and China, taking always a firm position to avoid entanglements in the dispute, but consistently upholding the established international policies and the treaty rights and interests of the United States, and never condoning developments that endangered the obligation of treatises or the peace of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

Throughout the controversy our government has acted in harmony with the governments represented in the League of Nations, always making it clear that American policy would be determined at home, but always lending a hand in the common interest of peace and order.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

In the application of the principles of the Kellogg pact the American Government has taken the lead, following the principle that a breach of the pact or a threat of infringement thereof was a matter of international concern wherever and however brought about.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

As a further step the Secretary of State, upon the instruction of the President, adopted the principle later enlarged upon in his letter to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate that this government would not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement brought about between Japan and China by force and in defiance of the covenants of the Kellogg pact.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

This principle, associated as it is with the name of President Hoover, was later adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva as a rule for the conduct of all those governments. The principle remains today as an important contribution to international law and a significant moral and material barrier to prevent a nation obtaining the fruits of aggressive warfare. It thus opens a new pathway to peace and order.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

We favor enactment by Congress of a measure that will authorize our government to call or participate in an international conference in case of any threat of non-fulfillment of Article 2 of the Treaty of Paris (Kellogg-Briand pact).

Latin-America

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

The policy of the administration has proved to our neighbors of Latin-America that we have no imperialistic ambitions, but that we wish only to promote the welfare and common interest of the independent nations in the western hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

We have aided Nicaragua in the solution of its troubles and our country, in greatly reduced numbers, at the request of the Nicaraguan Government only to supervise the coming election. After that they will all be returned to the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

In Haiti, in accord with the recommendations of the Forbes commission, appointed by the President, the various services of supervision are being rapidly withdrawn, and only those will be retained which are mandatory under the treaties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

Throughout Latin America the policy of the government of the United States has been and will, under Republican leadership, continue to be one of frank and friendly understanding.

World Court

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.345

The acceptance by America of membership in the World Court has been approved by three successive Republican Presidents and we commend this attitude of supporting in this form the settlement of international disputes by the rule of law. America should join its influence and gain [p.346] a voice in this institution, which would offer us a safer, more judicial and expeditious instrument for the constantly recurring questions between us and other nations than is now available by arbitration.

Reduction of Armament

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

Conscious that the limitation of armament will contribute to security against war, and that the financial burdens of military preparation have been shamefully increased throughout the world, the Administration under President Hoover has made steady efforts and marked progress in the direction of proportional reduction of arms by agreement with other nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

Upon his initiative a treaty between the chief naval powers at London in 1930, following the path marked by the Washington Conference of 1922, established a limitation of all types of fighting ships on a proportionate basis as between the three great naval powers. For the first time, a general limitation of a most costly branch of armament was successfully accomplished.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

In the Geneva disarmament conference, now in progress, America is an active participant and a representative delegation of our citizens is laboring for progress in a cause to which this country has been an earnest contributor. This policy will be pursued.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

Meanwhile maintenance of our navy on the basis of parity with any nation is a fundamental policy to which the Republican Party is committed. While in the interest of necessary government retrenchment, humanity and relief of the taxpayer we shall continue to exert our full influence upon the nations of the world in the cause of reduction of arms, we do not propose to reduce our navy defenses below that of any other nation.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

Armaments are relative and, therefore, flexible and subject to changes as necessity demands. We believe that in time of war every material resource in the nation should bear its proportionate share of the burdens occasioned by the public need and that it is a duty of government to perfect plans in time of peace whereby this objective may be attained in war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

We support the essential principles of the National Defense Act as amended in 1920 and by the Air Corps Act of 1926, and believe that the army of the United States has, through successive reductions accomplished in the last twelve years, reached an irreducible minimum consistent with the self-reliance, self-respect and security of this country.

Wages and Work

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

We believe in the principle of high wages. We favor the principle of the shorter working week and shorter work day with its application to government as well as to private employment, as rapidly and as constructively as conditions will warrant.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

We favor legislation designed to stimulate, encourage and assist in home building.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

The restriction of immigration is a Republican policy. Our party formulated and enacted into law the quota system, which for the first time has made possible an adequate control of foreign immigration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

Rigid examination of applicants in foreign countries prevented the coming of criminals and other undesirable classes, while other provisions of the law have enabled the President to suspend immigration of foreign wage-earners who otherwise, directly or indirectly, would have increased unemployment among native-born and legally resident foreign-born wage-earners in this country. As a result, immigration is now less than at any time during the past one hundred years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of our present laws upon this subject.

Department of Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

We commend the constructive work of the United States Department of Labor.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

Collective bargaining by responsible representatives of employers and employes of their own choice, without the interference of any one, is recognized and approved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.346

Legislation, such as laws, prohibiting alien contract labor, peonage labor and the shanghaiing of sailors; the eight-hour law on government contracts and in government employment; provision for railroad safety devices, of methods of conciliation, mediation and arbitration in industrial labor [p.347] disputes, including the adjustment of railroad disputes; the providing of compensation for injury to government employes (the forerunner of Federal workers' compensation acts), and other laws to aid and protect labor are of Republican origin, and have had and will continue to have the unswerving support of the party.

Employment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

We commend the constructive work of the United States Employment Service in the Department of Labor. This service was enlarged and its activities extended through an appropriation made possible by the President with the cooperation of the Congress. It has done high service for the unemployed in the ranks of civil life and in the ranks of the former soldiers of the World War.

Freedom of Speech

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

Freedom of speech, press and assemblages are fundamental principles upon which our form of government rests. These vital principles should be preserved and protected.

Public Utilities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

Supervision, regulation and control of interstate public utilities in the interest of the public is an established policy of the Republican Party, to the credit of which stands the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with its authority to assure reasonable transportation rates, sound railway finance and adequate service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

As proof of the progress made by the Republican Party in government control of public utilities, we cite the reorganization under this administration of the Federal Power Commission, with authority to administer the Federal water power act. We urge legislation to authorize this commission to regulate the charges for electric current when transmitted across State lines.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

The promotion of agriculture, commerce and industry requires coordination of transportation by rail, highway, air and water. All should be subjected to appropriate and constructive regulation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

The public will, of course, select the form of transportation best fitted to its particular service, but the terms of competition fixed by public authority should operate without discrimination, so that all common carriers by rail, highway, air and water shall operate under conditions of equality.

Inland Waterways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

The Republican Party recognizes that low cost transportation for bulk commodities will enable industry to develop in the midst of agriculture in the Mississippi Valley, thereby creating a home market for farm products in that section. With a view to aiding agriculture in the middle west the present administration has pushed forward as rapidly as possible the improvement of the Mississippi waterway system, and we favor the continued vigorous prosecution of these works to the end that agriculture and industry in that great area may enjoy the benefits of these improvements at the earliest possible date.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

The railroads constitute the backbone of our transportation system and perform an essential service for the country. The railroad industry is our largest employer of labor and the greatest consumer of goods. The restoration of their credit and the maintenance of their ability to render adequate service are of paramount importance to the public, to their many thousands of employes and to savings banks, insurance companies and other similar institutions, to which the savings of the people have been entrusted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

We should continue to encourage the further development of the merchant marine under American registry and ownership.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

Under the present administration the American merchant fleet has been enlarged and strengthened until it now occupies second place among the merchant marines of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

By the gradual retirement of the government from the field of ship operations and marked economics in costs, the United States Shipping Board will require no appropriation for the fiscal year 1933 for ship operations.

St. Lawrence Seaway

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.347

The Republican Party stands committed to the development of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway. Under the direction of President Hoover negotiation of a treaty with Canada for this development is now at a favorable point. Recognizing the inestimable benefits which will accrue to the nation from placing the ports of the Great Lakes on an ocean base, the party reaffirms [p.348] allegiance to this great project and pledges its best efforts to secure its early completion.

Highways

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

The Federal policy to cooperate with the States in the building of roads was thoroughly established when the Federal highway act of 1921 was adopted under a Republican Congress. Each year since that time appropriations have been made which have greatly increased the economic value of highway transportation and helped to raise the standards and opportunities of rural life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

We pledge our support to the continuation of this policy in accordance with our needs and resources.

Crime

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

We favor the enactment of rigid penal laws that will aid the States in stamping out the activities of gangsters, racketeers and kidnappers. We commend the intensive and effective drive made upon these public enemies by President Hoover and pledge our party to further efforts to the same purpose.

Narcotics

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

The Republican Party pledges itself to continue the present relentless warfare against the illicit narcotic traffic and the spread of the curse of drug addiction among our people. This administration has by treaty greatly strengthened our power to deal with this traffic.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

The merit system has been amply justified since the organization of the Civil Service by the Republican Party. As a part of our governmental system it is now unassailable. We believe it should remain so.

The Eighteenth Amendment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

The Republican Party has always stood and stands today for obedience to and enforcement of the law as the very foundation of orderly government and civilization. There can be no national security otherwise. The duty of the President of the United States and the officers of the law is dear. The law must be enforced as they find it enacted by the people. To these courses of action we pledge our nominees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

The Republican Party is and always has been the party of the Constitution. Nullification by non-observance by individuals or State action threatens the stability of government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

While the Constitution makers sought a high degree of permanence, they foresaw the need of changes and provided for them. Article V limits the proposals of amendments to two methods: (1) Two-thirds of both houses of Congress may propose amendments or (2) on application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States a national convention shall be called by Congress to propose amendments. Thereafter ratification must be had in one of two ways: (1) By the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States or (2) by conventions held in three-fourths of the several States. Congress is given power to determine the mode of ratification.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

Referendums without constitutional sanction cannot furnish a decisive answer. Those who propose them innocently are deluded by false hopes; those who propose them knowingly are deceiving the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

A nation wide controversy over the Eighteenth Amendment now distracts attention from the constructive solution of many pressing national problems. The principle of national prohibition as embodied in the amendment was supported and opposed by members of both great political parties. It was submitted to the States by members of Congress of different political faith and ratified by State Legislatures of different political majorities. It was not then and is not now a partisan political question.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

Members of the Republican Party hold different opinions with respect to it and no public official or member of the party should be pledged or forced to choose between his party affiliations and his honest convictions upon this question.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

We do not favor a submission limited to the issue of retention or repeal, for the American nation never in its history has gone backward, and in this case the progress which has been thus far made must be preserved, while the evils must be eliminated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.348

We therefore believe that the people should have an opportunity to pass upon a proposed amendment the provision of which, while retaining in the Federal Government power to preserve the gains already made in dealing with the evils inherent in the liquor traffic, shall allow the States to deal with the problem as their citizens may [p.349] determine, but subject always to the power of the Federal Government to protect those States where prohibition may exist and safeguard our citizens everywhere from the return of the saloon and attendant abuses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

Such an amendment should be promptly submitted to the States by Congress, to be acted upon by State conventions called for that sole purpose in accordance with the provisions of Article V of the Constitution and adequately safeguarded so as to be truly representative.

Conservation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

The wise use of all natural resources freed from monopolistic control is a Republican policy, initiated by Theodore Roosevelt. The Roosevelt, Coolidge and Hoover reclamation projects bear witness to the continuation of that policy. Forestry and all other conservation activities have been supported and enlarged.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

The conservation of oil is a major problem to the industry and the nation. The administration has sought to bring coordination of effort through the States, the producers and the Federal Government. Progress has been made and the effort will continue.

The Negro

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

For seventy years the Republican Party has been the friend of the American Negro. Vindication of the rights of the Negro citizen to enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is traditional in the Republican Party, and our party stands pledged to maintain equal opportunity and rights for Negro citizens. We do not propose to depart from that tradition nor to alter the spirit or letter of that pledge.

Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

We believe that the existing status of self-government which for many years has been enjoyed by the citizens of the Territory of Hawaii should be maintained, and that officials appointed to administer the government should be bona-fide residents of the Territory.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

Puerto Rico being a part of the United States and its inhabitants American citizens, we believe that they are entitled to a good-faith recognition of the spirit and purposes of their organic act.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

We, therefore, favor the inclusion of the island in all legislative and administrative measures enacted or adopted by Congress or otherwise for the economic benefit of their fellow-citizens of the mainland.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

We also believe that, in so far as possible, all officials appointed to administer the affairs of the island government should be qualified by at least five years of bona-fide residence therein.

Alaska

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

We favor the policy of giving to the people of Alaska the widest possible territorial self-government and the selection so far as possible of bona-fide residents for positions in that Territory and the placing of its citizens on an equality with those in the several States.

Welfare Work and Children

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

The children of our nation, our future citizens, have had the most solicitous thought of our President. Child welfare and protection has been a major effort of this administration. The organization of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection is regarded as one of the outstanding accomplishments of this administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

Welfare work in all its phases has had the support of the President and aid of the administration. The work of organized agencies—local, State and Federal has been advanced and an increased impetus given by that recognition and help. We approve and pledge a continuation of that policy.

Indians

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

We favor the fullest protection of the property rights of the American Indians and the provision for them of adequate educational facilities.

Reorganization of Government Bureaus

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.349

Efficiency and economy demand reorganization of government bureaus. The problem is nonpartisan and must be so treated if it is to be solved. As a result of years of study and personal contact with conflicting activities and wasteful duplication of effort, the President is particularly fitted to direct measures to correct the situation. We favor legislation by Congress which will give him the required authority.[p.350]

Democratic Failure

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

The vagaries of the present Democratic House of Representatives offer characteristic and appalling proof of the existing incapacity of that party for leadership in a national crisis. Individualism running amuck has displaced party discipline and has trampled under foot party leadership. A bewildered electorate has viewed the spectacle with profound dismay and deep misgivings.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

Goaded to desperation by their confessed failure, the party leaders have resorted to "pork barrel" legislation to obtain a unity of action which could not otherwise be achieved. A Republican President stands resolutely between the helpless citizen and the disaster threatened by such measures; and the people, regardless of party, will demand his continued service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

Many times during his useful life has Herbert Hoover responded to such a call, and his response has never disappointed. He will not disappoint us now.

Party Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

The delays and differences which recently hampered efforts to obtain legislation imperatively demanded by prevailing critical conditions strikingly illustrate the menace to self-government brought about by the weakening of party ties and party fealty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

Experience has demonstrated that coherent political parties are indispensable agencies for the prompt and effective operation of the functions of our government under the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

Only by united party action can consistent, well-planned and wholesome legislative programs be enacted. We believe that the majority of the Congressmen elected in the name of a party have the right and duty to determine the general policies of that party requiring Congressional action, and that Congressmen belonging to that party are, in general, bound to adhere to such policies. Any other course inevitably makes of Congress a body of detached delegates which, instead of representing the collective wisdom of our people, become the confused voices of a heterogeneous group of unrelated local prejudices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

We believe that the time has come when Senators and Representatives of the United States should be impressed with the inflexible truth that their first concern should be the welfare of the United States and the well-being of all of its people, and that stubborn pride of individual opinion is not a virtue, but an obstacle to the orderly and successful achievement of the objects of representative government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

Only by cooperation can self-government succeed. Without it election under a party aegis becomes a false pretense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

We earnestly request that Republicans throughout the Union demand that their representatives in the Congress pledge themselves to these principles, to the end that the insidious influences of party disintegration may not undermine the very foundations of the Republic.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

In contrast with the Republican policies and record, we contrast those of the democratic as evidenced by the action of the House of Representatives under Democratic leadership and control, which includes:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

1. The issuance of fiat currency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

2. Instructions to the Federal Reserve Board and the Secretary of the Treasury to attempt to manipulate commodity prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

3. The guarantee of bank deposits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

4. The squandering of the public resources and the unbalancing of the budget through pork-barrel appropriations which bear little relation to distress and would tend through delayed business revival to decrease rather than increase employment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

Generally on economic matters we pledge the Republican Party:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

1. To maintain unimpaired the national credit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

2. To defend and preserve a sound currency and an honest dollar.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

3. To stand steadfastly by the principle of a balanced budget.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

4. To devote ourselves fearlessly and unremittingly to the task of eliminating abuses and extravagance and of drastically cutting the cost of government so as to reduce the heavy burden of taxation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

5. To use all available means consistent with sound financial and economic principles to promote an expansion of credit to stimulate business and relieve unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.350

6. To make a thorough study of the conditions which permitted the credit and the credit machinery of the country to be made available, with [p.351] out adequate check, for wholesale speculation in securities, resulting in ruinous consequences to millions of our citizens and to the national economy, and to correct those conditions so that they shall not recur.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.351

Recognizing that real relief to unemployment must come through a revival of industrial activity and agriculture, to the promotion of which our every effort must be directed, our party in State and nation undertakes to do all in its power that is humanly possible to see that distress is fully relieved in accordance with American principles and traditions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.351

No successful solution of the problems before the country today can be expected from a Congress and a President separated by partisan lines or opposed in purposes and principles. Responsibility cannot be placed unless a clear mandate is given by returning to Washington a Congress and a Chief Executive united in principles and program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.351

The return to power of the Republican Party with that mandate is the duty of every voter who believes in the doctrines of the party and its program as herein stated. Nothing else, we believe, will insure the orderly recovery of the country and that return to prosperous days which every American so ardently desires.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1932, p.351

The Republican Party faces the future unafraid! With courage and confidence in ultimate success, we will strive against the forces that strike at our social and economic ideals, our political institutions.[p.360]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1936

Democratic Platform of 1936

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that the test of a representative government is its ability to promote the safety and happiness of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that 12 years of Republican leadership left our Nation sorely stricken in body, mind, and spirit; and that three years of Democratic leadership have put it back on the road to restored health and prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that 12 years of Republican surrender to the dictatorship of a privileged few have been supplanted by a Democratic leadership which has returned the people themselves to the places of authority, and has revived in them new faith and restored the hope which they had almost lost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that this three-year recovery in all the basic values of life and the reestablishment of the American way of living has been brought about by humanizing the policies of the Federal Government as they affect the personal, financial, industrial, and agricultural well-being of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

(1) Protection of the family and the home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

(2) Establishment of a democracy of opportunity for all the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

(3) Aid to those overtaken by disaster. These obligations, neglected through 12 years of the old leadership, have once more been recognized by American Government. Under the new leadership they will never be neglected.

For the Protection of the Family and the Home

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

(1) We have begun and shall continue the successful drive to rid our land of kidnappers and bandits. We shall continue to use the powers of government to end the activities of the malefactors of great wealth who defraud and exploit the people.

Savings and Investment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

(2) We have safeguarded the thrift of our citizens by restraining those who would gamble with other peoples savings, by requiring truth in the sale of securities; by putting the brakes upon the use of credit for speculation; by outlawing the manipulation of prices in stock and commodity markets; by curbing the overweening power and unholy practices of utility holding companies; by insuring fifty million bank accounts.

Old Age and Social Security

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.360

(3) We have built foundations for the security of those who are faced with the hazards of unemployment and old age; for the orphaned, the crippled, and the blind. On the foundation of the Social Security Act we are determined to erect a structure of economic security for all our people, making sure that this benefit shall keep step with the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.[p.361]

Consumer

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

(4) We will act to secure to the consumer fair value, honest sales and a decreased spread between the price he pays and the price the producer receives.

Rural Electrification

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

(5) This administration has fostered power rate yardsticks in the Tennessee Valley and in several other parts of the Nation. As a result, electricity has been made available to the people at a lower rate. We will continue to promote plans for rural electrification and for cheap power by means of the yardstick method.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

(6) We maintain that our people are entitled to decent, adequate housing at a price which they can afford. In the last three years, the Federal Government, having saved more than two million homes from foreclosure, has taken the first steps in our history to provide decent housing for people of meagre incomes. We believe every encouragement should be given to the building of new homes by private enterprise; and that the Government should steadily extend its housing program toward the goal of adequate housing for those forced through economic necessities to live in unhealthy and slum conditions.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

(7) We shall continue just treatment of our war veterans and their dependents.

For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

We have taken the farmers off the road to ruin. We have kept our pledge to agriculture to use all available means to raise farm income toward its pre-war purchasing power. The farmer is no longer suffering from 15-cent corn, 3-cent hogs, 2 1/2-cent beef at the farm, 5-cent wool, 30-cent wheat, 5-cent cotton, and 8-cent sugar.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

By Federal legislation, we have reduced the farmer's indebtedness and doubled his net income. In cooperation with the States and through the varmers' own committees, we are restoring the fertility of his land and checking the erosion of his soil. We are bringing electricity and good roads to his home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

We will continue to improve the soil conservation and domestic allotment program with payments to farmers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

We will continue a fair-minded administration of agricultural laws, quick to recognize and meet new problems and conditions. We recognize the gravity of the evils of farm tenancy, and we pledge the full cooperation of the Government in the refinancing of farm indebtedness at the lowest possible rates of interest and over a long term of years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

We favor the production of all the market will absorb, both at home and abroad, plus a reserve supply sufficient to insure fair prices to consumers; we favor judicious commodity loans on seasonal surpluses; and we favor assistance within Federal authority to enable farmers to adjust and balance production with demand, at a fair profit to the farmers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

We favor encouragement of sound, practical farm co-operatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

By the purchase and retirement of ten million acres of sub-marginal land, and assistance to those attempting to eke out an existence upon it, we have made a good beginning toward proper land use and rural rehabilitation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

The farmer has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

We have given the army of America's industrial workers something more substantial than the Republicans' dinner pail full of promises. We have increased the worker's pay and shortened his hours; we have undertaken to put an end to the sweated labor of his wife and children; we have written into the law of the land his right to collective bargaining and self-organization free from the interference of employers; we have provided Federal machinery for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.361

We will continue to protect the worker and we will guard his rights, both as wage-earner and consumer, in the production and consumption of all commodities, including coal and water power and other natural resource products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

The worker has been returned to the road to [p.362] freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Business

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

We have taken the American business man out of the red. We have saved his bank and given it a sounder foundation; we have extended credit; we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the ravages of cutthroat competition.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

The American business man has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him on that road.

Youth

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

We have aided youth to stay in school; given them constructive occupation; opened the door to opportunity which 12 years of Republican neglect had closed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

Our youth have been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep them on that road.

Monopoly and Concentration of Economic Power

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

Monopolies and the concentration of economic power, the creation of Republican rule and privilege, continue to be the master of the producer, the exploiter of the consumer, and the enemy of the independent operator. This is a problem challenging the unceasing effort of untrammeled public officials in every branch of the Government. We pledge vigorously and fearlessly to enforce the criminal and civil provisions of the existing anti-trust laws, and to the extent that their effectiveness has been weakened by new corporate devices or judicial construction, we propose by law to restore their efficacy in stamping out monopolistic practices and the concentration of economic power.

Aid to Those Overtaken By Disaster

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

We have aided and will continue to aid those who have been visited by widespread drought and floods, and have adopted a Nation-wide flood-control policy.

Unemployment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

We believe that unemployment is a national problem, and that it is an inescapable obligation of our Government to meet it in a national way.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

Due to our stimulation of private business, more than five million people have been reemployed; and we shall continue to maintain that the first objective of a program of economic security is maximum employment in private industry at adequate wages. Where business fails to supply such employment, we believe that work at prevailing wages should be provided in cooperation with State and local governments on useful public projects, to the end that the national wealth may be increased, the skill and energy of the worker may be utilized, his morale maintained, and the unemployed assured the opportunity to earn the necessities of life.

The Constitution

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

The Republican platform proposes to meet many pressing national problems solely by action of the separate States. We know that drought, dust storms, floods, minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor, and working conditions in industry, monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled exclusively by 48 separate State legislatures, 48 separate State administrations, and 48 separate State courts. Transactions and activities which inevitably overflow State boundaries call for both State and Federal treatment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

We have sought and will continue to seek to meet these problems through legislation within the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

If these problems cannot be effectively solved by legislation within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will assure to the legislatures of the several States and to the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact those laws which the State and Federal legislatures, within their respective spheres, shall find necessary, in order adequately to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety and safeguard economic security. Thus we propose to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

The Merit System in Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.362

For the protection of government itself and promotion of its efficiency, we pledge the immediate extension of the merit system through the classified civil service—which was first established and fostered under Democratic auspices—to all non-policy-making positions in the Federal service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

[p.363] We shall subject to the civil service law all continuing positions which, because of the emergency, have been exempt from its operation.

Civil Liberties

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

We shall continue to guard the freedom of speech, press, radio, religion and assembly which our Constitution guarantees; with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

Government Finance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

The Administration has stopped deflation, restored values and enabled business to go ahead with confidence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

When national income shrinks, government income is imperilled. In reviving national income, we have fortified government finance. We have raised the public credit to a position of unsurpassed security. The interest rate on Government bonds has been reduced to the lowest point in twenty eight years. The same Government bonds which in 1932 sold under 83 are now selling over 104.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

We approve the objective of a permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent the former wide fluctuations in value which injured in turn producers, debtors, and property owners on the one hand, and wage-earners and creditors on the other, a currency which will permit full utilization of the country's resources. We assert that today we have the soundest currency in the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

We are determined to reduce the expenses of government. We are being aided therein by the recession in unemployment. As the requirements of relief decline and national income advances, an increasing percentage of Federal expenditures can and will be met from current revenues, secured from taxes levied in accordance with ability to pay. Our retrenchment, tax and recovery programs thus reflect our firm determination to achieve a balanced budget and the reduction of the national debt at the earliest possible moment.

Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

In our relationship with other nations, this Government will continue to extend the policy of the Good Neighbor. We reaffirm our opposition to war as an instrument of national policy, and declare that disputes between nations should be settled by peaceful means. We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared, resolutely to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take the profits out of war; to guard against being drawn, by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into any war which may develop anywhere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

We shall continue to foster the increase in our foreign trade which has been achieved by this administration; to seek by mutual agreement the lowering of those tariff barriers, quotas and embargoes which have been raised against our exports of agricultural and industrial products; but continue as in the past to give adequate protection to our farmers and manufacturers against unfair competition or the dumping on our shores of commodities and goods produced abroad by cheap labor or subsidized by foreign governments.

The Issue

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

The issue in this election is plain. The American people are called upon to choose between a Republican administration that has and would again regiment them in the service of privileged groups and a Democratic administration dedicated to the establishment of equal economic opportunity for all our people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

We have faith in the destiny of our nation. We are sufficiently endowed with natural resources and with productive capacity to provide for all a quality of life that meets the standards of real Americanism.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

Dedicated to a government of liberal American principles, we are determined to oppose equally, the despotism of Communism and the menace of concealed Fascism.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1936, p.363

We hold this final truth to be self-evident—that the interests, the security and the happiness of the people of the United States of America can be perpetuated only under democratic government as conceived by the founders of our nation.[p.365]

Republican Platform of 1936

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

America is in peril. The welfare of American men and women and the future of our youth are at stake. We dedicate ourselves to the preservation of their political liberty, their individual opportunity and their character as free citizens, which today for the first time are threatened by Government itself.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

For three long years the New Deal Administration has dishonored American traditions and flagrantly betrayed the pledges upon which the Democratic Party sought and received public support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

The powers of Congress have been usurped by the President.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

The integrity and authority of the Supreme Court have been flouted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

The rights and liberties of American citizens have been violated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

Regulated monopoly has displaced free enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

The New Deal Administration constantly seeks to usurp the rights reserved to the States and to the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has insisted on the passage of laws contrary to the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has intimidated witnesses and interfered with the right of petition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has dishonored our country by repudiating its most sacred obligations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has been guilty of frightful waste and extravagance, using public funds for partisan political purposes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has promoted investigations to harass and intimidate American citizens, at the same time denying investigations into its own improper expenditures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has created a vast multitude of new offices, filled them with its favorites, set up a centralized bureaucracy, and sent out swarms of inspectors to harass our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has bred fear and hesitation in commerce and industry, thus discouraging new enterprises, preventing employment and prolonging the depression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It secretly has made tariff agreements with our foreign competitors, flooding our markets with foreign commodities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has coerced and intimidated voters by withholding relief to those opposing its tyrannical policies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.365

It has destroyed the morale of our people and made them dependent upon government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

[p.366] Appeals to passion and class prejudice have replaced reason and tolerance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

To a free people, these actions are insufferable. This campaign cannot be waged on the traditional differences between the Republican and Democratic parties. The responsibility of this election transcends all previous political divisions. We invite all Americans, irrespective of party, to join us in defense of American institutions.

Constitutional Government and Free Enterprise

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

We pledge ourselves:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

1. To maintain the American system of Constitutional and local self government, and to resist all attempts to impair the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, the final protector of the rights of our citizens against the arbitrary encroachments of the legislative and executive branches of government. There can be no individual liberty without an independent judiciary.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

2. To preserve the American system of free enterprise, private competition, and equality of opportunity, and to seek its constant betterment in the interests of all.

Reemployment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

The only permanent solution of the unemployment problem is the absorption of the unemployed by industry and agriculture. To that end, we advocate:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

Removal of restrictions on production. Abandonment of all New Deal policies that raise production costs, increase the cost of living, and thereby restrict buying, reduce volume and prevent reemployment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

Encouragement instead of hindrance to legitimate business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

Withdrawal of government from competition with private payrolls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

Elimination of unnecessary and hampering regulations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

Adoption of such other policies as will furnish a chance for individual enterprise, industrial expansion, and the restoration of jobs.

Relief

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

The necessities of life must be provided for the needy, and hope must be restored pending recovery. The administration of relief is a major failing of the New Deal. It has been faithless to those who must deserve our sympathy. To end confusion, partisanship, waste and incompetence, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

1. The return of responsibility for relief administration to non-political local agencies familiar with community problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

2. Federal grants-in-aid to the States and territories while the need exists, upon compliance with these conditions: (a) a fair proportion of the total relief burden to be provided from the revenues of States and local governments; (b) all engaged in relief administration to be selected on the basis of merit and fitness; (c) adequate provision to be made for the encouragement of those persons who are trying to become self-supporting.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

3. Undertaking of Federal public works only on their merits and separate from the administration of relief.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

4. A prompt determination of the facts concerning relief and unemployment.

Security

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

Real security will be possible only when our productive capacity is sufficient to furnish a decent standard of living for all American families and to provide a surplus for future needs and contingencies. For the attainment of that ultimate objective, we look to the energy, self-reliance and character of our people, and to our system of free enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

Society has an obligation to promote the security of the people, by affording some measure of protection against involuntary unemployment and dependency in old age. The New Deal policies, while purporting to provide social security, have, in fact, endangered it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

We propose a system of old age security, based upon the following principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

1. We approve a pay-as-you-go policy, which requires of each generation the support of the aged and the determination of what is just and adequate.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

2. Every American citizen over sixty-five should receive the supplementary payment necessary to provide a minimum income sufficient to protect him or her from want.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.366

3. Each state and territory, upon complying with simple and general minimum standards, should receive from the federal government a [p.367] graduated contribution in proportion to its own, up to a fixed maximum.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

4. To make this program consistent with sound fiscal policy the Federal revenues for this purpose must be provided from the proceeds of a direct tax widely distributed. All will be benefited and all should contribute.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

We propose to encourage adoption by the states and territories of honest and practical measures for meeting the problems of unemployment insurance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

The unemployment insurance and old age annuity sections of the present Social Security Act are unworkable and deny benefits to about two-thirds of our adult population, including professional men and women and all those engaged in agriculture and domestic service, and the self employed while imposing heavy tax burdens upon all. The so-called reserve fund estimated at forty-seven billion dollars for old age insurance is no reserve at all, because the fund will contain nothing but the Government's promise to pay, while the taxes collected in the guise of premiums will be wasted by the Government in reckless and extravagant political schemes.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

The welfare of labor rests upon increased production and the prevention of exploitation. We pledge ourselves to:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

Protect the right of labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing without interference from any source.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

Prevent governmental job holders from exercising autocratic powers over labor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

Support the adoption of state laws and interstate compacts to abolish sweatshops and child labor, and to protect women and children with respect to maximum hours, minimum wages and working conditions. We believe that this can be done within the Constitution as it now stands.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

The farm problem is an economic and social, not a partisan problem, and we propose to treat it accordingly. Following the wreck of the restrictive and coercive A.A.A.., the New Deal Administration has taken to itself the principles of the Republican Policy of soil conservation and land retirement. This action opens the way for a non-political and permanent solution. Such a solution cannot be had under a New Deal Administration which misuses the program to serve partisan ends, to promote scarcity and to limit by coercive methods the farmer's control over his own farm.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

Our paramount object is to protect and foster the family type of farm, traditional in American life, and to promote policies which will bring about an adjustment of agriculture to meet the needs of domestic and foreign markets. As an emergency measure, during the agricultural depression, federal benefits payments or grants-in-aid when administered within the means of the Federal government are consistent with a balanced budget.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

We propose:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

1. To facilitate economical production and increased consumption on a basis of abundance instead of scarcity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

2. A national land-use program, including the acquisition of abandoned and non-productive farm lands by voluntary sale or lease, subject to approval of the legislative and executive branches of the States concerned, and the devotion of such land to appropriate public use, such as watershed protection and flood prevention, reforestation, recreation, and conservation of wild life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

3. That an agricultural policy be pursued for the protection and restoration of the land resources, designed to bring about such a balance between soil-building and soil-depleting crops as will permanently insure productivity, with reasonable benefits to cooperating farmer's on family-type farms, but so regulated as to eliminate the New Deal's destructive policy towards the dairy and live-stock industries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

4. To extend experimental aid to farmers developing new crops suited to our soil and climate.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

5. To promote the industrial use of farm products by applied science.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

6. To protect the American farmer against the importation of all live stock, dairy, and agricultural products, substitutes thereof, and derivatives therefrom, which will depress American farm prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.367

7. To provide effective quarantine against imported live-stock, dairy and other farm products from countries which do not impose health and sanitary regulations fully equal to those required of our own producers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

[p.368] 8. To provide for ample farm credit at rates as low as those enjoyed by other industries, including commodity and live-stock loans, and preference in land loans to the farmer acquiring or refinancing a farm as a home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

9. To provide for decentralized, non-partisan control of the Farm Credit Administration and the election by National Farm Loan Associations of at least one-half of each Board of Directors of the Federal Land Banks, and thereby remove these institutions from politics.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

10. To provide in the case of agricultural products of which there are exportable surpluses, the payment of reasonable benefits upon the domestically consumed portion of such crops in order to make the tariff effective. These payments are to be limited to the production level of the family type farm.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

11. To encourage and further develop co-operative marketing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

12. To furnish Government assistance in disposing of surpluses in foreign trade by bargaining for foreign markets selectively by countries both as to exports and imports. We strenuously oppose so called reciprocal treaties which trade off the American farmer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

13. To give every reasonable assistance to producers in areas suffering from temporary disaster, so that they may regain and maintain a self-supporting status.

Tariff

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

Nearly sixty percent of all imports into the United States are now free of duty. The other forty percent of imports compete directly with the product of our industry. We would keep on the free list all products not grown or produced in the United States in commercial quantities. As to all commodities that commercially compete with our farms, our forests, our mines, our fisheries, our oil wells, our labor and our industries, sufficient protection should be maintained at all times to defend the American farmer and the American wage earner from the destructive competition emanating from the subsidies of foreign governments and the imports from low-wage and depreciated-currency countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

We will repeal the present Reciprocal Trade Agreement Law. It is futile and dangerous. Its effect on agriculture and industry has been destructive. Its continuation would work to the detriment of the wage earner and the farmer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

We will restore the principle of the flexible tariff in order to meet changing economic conditions here and abroad and broaden by careful definition the powers of the Tariff Commission in order to extend this policy along non-partisan lines.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

We will adjust tariffs with a view to promoting international trade, the stabilization of currencies, and the attainment of a proper balance between agriculture and industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

We condemn the secret negotiations of reciprocal trade treaties without public hearing or legislative approval.

Monopolies

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. It menaces and, if continued, will utterly destroy constitutional government and the liberty of the citizen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

We favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws, as well as the civil laws, against monopolies and trusts and their officials, and we demand the enactment of such additional legislation as is necessary to make it impressible for private monopoly to exist in the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

We will employ the full powers of the government to the end that monopoly shall be eliminated and that free enterprise shall be fully restored and maintained.

Regulation of Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

We recognize the existence of a field within which governmental regulation is desirable and salutary. The authority to regulate should be vested in an independent tribunal acting under clear and specific laws establishing definite standards. Their determinations on law and facts should be subject to review by the Courts. We favor Federal regulation, within the Constitution, of the marketing of securities to protect investors. We favor also Federal regulation of the interstate activities of public utilities.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.368

Under the New Deal, official authority has been given to inexperienced and incompetent persons. The Civil Service has been sacrificed to create a national political machine. As a result the Federal [p.369] Government has never presented such a picture of confusion and inefficiency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We pledge ourselves to the merit system, virtually destroyed by New Deal spoilsmen. It should be restored, improved and extended.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We will provide such conditions as offer an attractive permanent career in government service to young men and women of ability, irrespective of party affiliations.

Government Finance

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

The New Deal Administration has been characterized by shameful waste, and general financial irresponsibility. It has piled deficit upon deficit. It threatens national bankruptcy and the destruction through inflation of insurance policies and savings bank deposits. We pledge ourselves to:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

Stop the folly of uncontrolled spending. Balance the budget—not by increasing taxes but by cutting expenditures, drastically and immediately.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

Revise the federal tax system and coordinate it with state and local tax systems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

Use the taxing power for raising revenue and not for punitive or political purposes.

Money and Banking

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

The first requisite to a sound and stable currency is a balanced budget.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We oppose further devaluation of the dollar. We will restore to the Congress the authority lodged with it by the Constitution to coin money and regulate the value thereof by repealing all the laws delegating this authority to the Executive.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We will cooperate with other countries toward stabilization of currencies as soon as we can do so with due regard for our National interests and as soon as other nations have sufficient stability to justify such action.

Foreign Affairs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We pledge ourselves to promote and maintain peace by all honorable means not leading to foreign alliances or political commitments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

Obedient to the traditional foreign policy of America and to the repeatedly expressed will of the American people, we pledge that America shall not become a member of the League of Nations nor of the World Court nor shall America take on any entangling alliances in foreign affairs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We shall promote, as the best means of securing and maintaining peace by the pacific settlement of disputes, the great cause of international arbitration through the establishment of free, independent tribunals, which shall determine such disputes in accordance with law, equity and justice.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We favor an army and navy, including air forces, adequate for our National Defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We will cooperate with other nations in the limitation of armaments and control of tragic in arms.

Bill of Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We pledge ourselves to preserve, protect and defend, against all intimidation and threat, freedom of religion, speech, press and radio; and the right of assembly and petition and immunity from unreasonable searches and seizures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We offer the abiding security of a government of laws as against the autocratic perils of a government of men.

Furthermore

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

1. We favor the construction by the Federal Government of head-water storage basins to prevent floods, subject to the approval of the legislative and executive branches of the government of the States whose lands are concerned.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

2. We favor equal opportunity for our colored citizens. We pledge our protection of their economic status and personal safety. We will do our best to further their employment in the gainfully occupied life of America, particularly in private industry, agriculture, emergency agencies and the Civil Service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

We condemn the present New Deal policies which would regiment and ultimately eliminate the colored citizen from the country's productive life, and make him solely a ward of the federal government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.369

3. To our Indian population we pledge every effort on the part of the national government to ameliorate living conditions for them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.370

4. We pledge continuation of the Republican [p.370] policy of adequate compensation and care for veterans disabled in the service of our country and for their widows, orphans and dependents.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.370

5. We shall use every effort to collect the war debt due us from foreign countries, amounting to $12,000,000—one-third of our national debt. No effort has been made by the present administration even to reopen negotiations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.370

6. We are opposed to legislation which discriminates against women in Federal and State employment.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.370

We assume the obligations and duties imposed upon Government by modern conditions. We affirm our unalterable conviction that, in the future as in the past, the fate of the nation will depend, not so much on the wisdom and power of government, as on the character and virtue, self-reliance, industry and thrift of the people and on their willingness to meet the responsibilities essential to the preservation of a free society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.370

Finally, as our party affirmed in its first Platform in 1856: "Believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among our citizens we oppose all legislation tending to impair them," and "we invite the affiliation and cooperation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1936, p.370

The acceptance of the nomination tendered by the Convention carries with it, as a matter of private honor and public faith, an undertaking by each candidate to be true to the principles and program herein set forth.[p.381]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1940

Democratic Platform of 1940

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

The world is undergoing violent change. Humanity, uneasy in this machine age, is demanding a sense of security and dignity based on human values.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

No democratic government which fails to recognize this trend—and take appropriate action—can survive.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

That is why the Government of this nation has moved to keep ahead of this trend; has moved with speed incomprehensible to those who do not see this trend.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

Outside the Americas, established institutions are being overthrown and democratic philosophies are being repudiated by those whose creed recognizes no power higher than military force, no values other than a false efficiency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

What the founding fathers realized upon this continent was a daring dream, that men could have not only physical security, not only efficiency, but something else in addition that men had never had before—the security of the heart that comes with freedom, the peace of mind that comes from a sense of justice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

To this generation of Americans it is given to defend this democratic faith as it is challenged by social maladjustment within and totalitarian greed without. The world revolution against which we prepare our defense is so threatening that not until it has burned itself out in the last corner of the earth will our democracy be able to relax its guard.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

In this world crisis, the purpose of the Democratic Party is to defend against external attack and justify by internal progress the system of government and way of life from which the Democratic Party takes its name.

Fulfilling American Ideal

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

Toward the modern fulfillment of the American ideal, the Democratic Party, during the last seven years, has labored successfully:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

1. To strengthen democracy by defensive preparedness against aggression, whether by open attack or secret infiltration;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.381

2. To strengthen democracy by increasing our economic efficiency; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

[p.382] 3. To strengthen democracy by improving the welfare of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

These three objectives are one and inseparable. No nation can be strong by armaments alone. It must possess and use all the necessary resources for producing goods plentifully and distributing them effectively. It must add to these factors of material strength the unconquerable spirit and energy of a contented people, convinced that there are no boundaries to human progress and happiness in a land of liberty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

Our faith that these objectives can be attained is made unshakable by what has already been done by the present Administration—in stopping the waste and exploitation of our human and natural resources, in restoring to the average man and woman a stake in the preservation of our democracy, in enlarging our national armaments, and in achieving national unity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

We shall hold fast to these gains. We are proud of our record. Therefore the Party in convention assembled endorses wholeheartedly the brilliant and courageous leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his statesmanship and that of the Congress for the past seven trying years. And to our President and great leader we send our cordial greetings.

We Must Strengthen Democracy Against Aggression

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

The American people are determined that war, raging in Europe, Asia and Africa, shall not come to America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack. We favor and shall rigorously enforce and defend the Monroe Doctrine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

The direction and aim of our foreign policy has been, and will continue to be, the security and defense of our own land and the maintenance of its peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

For years our President has warned the nation that organized assaults against religion, democracy and international good faith threatened our own peace and security. Men blinded by partisanship brushed aside these warnings as war-mongering and officious intermeddling. The fall of twelve nations was necessary to bring their belated approval of legislative and executive action that the President had urged and undertaken with the full support of the people. It is a tribute to the President's foresight and action that our defense forces are today at the peak of their peacetime effectiveness.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

Weakness and unpreparedness invite aggression. We must be so strong that no possible combination of powers would dare to attack us. We propose to provide America with an invincible air force, a navy strong enough to protect all our seacoasts and our national interests, and a fully-equipped and mechanized army. We shall continue to coordinate these implements of defense with the necessary expansion of industrial productive capacity and with the training of appropriate personnel. Outstanding leaders of industry and labor have already been enlisted by the Government to harness our mighty economic forces for national defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

Experience of other nations gives warning that total defense is necessary to repel attack, and that partial defense is no defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

We have seen the downfall of nations accomplished through internal dissension provoked from without. We denounce and will do all in our power to destroy the treasonable activities of disguised anti-democratic and un-American agencies which would sap our strength, paralyze our will to defend ourselves, and destroy our unity by inciting race against race, class against class, religion against religion and the people against their free institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

To make America strong, and to keep America free, every American must give of his talents and treasure in accordance with his ability and his country's needs. We must have democracy of sacrifice as well as democracy of opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

To insure that our armaments shall be implements of peace rather than war, we shall continue our traditional policies of the good neighbor; observe and advocate international respect for the fights of others and for treaty obligations; cultivate foreign trade through desirable trade agreements; and foster economic collaboration with the Republics of the Western Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.382

In self-defense and in good conscience, the world's greatest democracy cannot afford heartlessly or in a spirit of appeasement to ignore the peace-loving and liberty-loving peoples wantonly attacked by ruthless aggressors. We pledge to extend to these peoples all the material aid at our [p.383] command, consistent with law and not inconsistent with the interests of our own national self-defense—all to the end that peace and international good faith may yet emerge triumphant.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

We do not regard the need for preparedness a warrant for infringement upon our civil liberties, but on the contrary we shall continue to protect them, in the keen realization that the vivid contrast between the freedom we enjoy and the dark repression which prevails in the lands where liberty is dead, affords warning and example to our people to confirm their faith in democracy.

We Must Strengthen Democracy By Increasing Our Economic Efficiency

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

The well being of the land and those who work upon it is basic to the real defense and security of America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

The Republican Party gives its promises to the farmer and its allegiance to those who exploit him.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

Since 1932 farm income has been doubled; six million farmers, representing more than 80 per cent of all farm families, have participated in an effective soil conservation program; the farm debt and the interest rate on farm debt have been reduced, and farm foreclosures have been drastically curtailed; rural highways and farm-to-market roads have been vastly improved and extended; the surpluses on the farms have been used to feed the needy; low cost electricity has been brought to five million farm people as a result of the rural electrification program; thousands of impoverished farm families have been rehabilitated; and steps have been taken to stop the alarming growth of farm tenancy, to increase land ownership, and to mitigate the hardships of migratory farm labor.

The Land and the Farmer

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

We pledge ourselves:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To make parity as well as soil conservation payments until such time as the goal of parity income for agriculture is realized.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To extend and enlarge the tenant-purchase program until every deserving tenant farmer has a real opportunity to have a firm of his own.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To refinance existing farm debts at lower interest rates and on longer and more flexible terms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To continue to provide for adjustment of production through democratic processes to the extent that excess surpluses are capable of control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To continue the program of rehabilitation of farmers who need and merit aid.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To preserve and strengthen the ever-normal granary on behalf of the national defense, the consumer at home and abroad, and the American farmer.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To continue to make commodity loans to maintain the ever-normal granary and to prevent destructively low prices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To expand the domestic consumption of our surpluses by the food and cotton stamp plan, the free school lunch, low-cost milk and other plans for bringing surplus farm commodities to needy consumers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To continue our substantially increased appropriations for research and extension work through the land-grant colleges, and for research laboratories established to develop new outlets for farm products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To conserve the soil and water resources for the benefit of farmers and the nation. In such conservation programs we shall, so far as practicable, bring about that development in forests and other permanent crops as will not unduly expand livestock and dairy production.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To safeguard the farmer's foreign markets and expand his domestic market for all domestic crops. To enlarge the rural electrification [sic].

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To encourage farmer-owned and controlled co-operatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To continue the broad program launched by this Administration for the coordinated development of our river basins through reclamation and irrigation, flood control, reforestation and soil conservation, stream purification, recreation, fish and game protection, low-cost power, and rural industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To encourage marketing agreements in aid of producers of dairy products, vegetables, fruits and specialty crops for the purpose of orderly marketing and the avoidance of unfair and wasteful practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To extend crop insurance from wheat to other crops as rapidly as experience justifies such extension.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To safeguard the family-sized farm in all our programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

To finance these programs adequately in order that they may be effective.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.383

In settling new lands reclaimed from desert by projects like Grand Coulee, we shall give [p.384] priority to homeless families who have lost their farms. As these new lands are brought into use, we shall continue by Federal purchase to retire from the plow submarginal lands so that an increased percentage of our farmers may he able to live and work on good land.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

These programs will continue to be in the hands of locally-elected farmer committees to the largest extent possible. In this truly democratic way, we will continue to bring economic security to the farmer and his family, while recognizing the dignity and freedom of American farm life.

Industry and the Worker

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

Under Democratic auspices, more has been done in the last seven years to foster the essential freedom, dignity and opportunity of the American worker than in any other administration in the nation's history. In consequence, labor is today taking its rightful place as a partner of management in the common cause of higher earnings, industrial efficiency, national unity and national defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

A far-flung system of employment exchanges has brought together millions of idle workers and available jobs. The workers' right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing is being enforced. We have enlarged the Federal machinery for the mediation of labor disputes. We have enacted an effective wage and hour law. Child labor in factories has been outlawed. Prevailing wages to workers employed on Government contracts have been assured.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We pledge to continue to enforce fair labor standards; to maintain the principles of the National Labor Relations Act; to expand employment training and opportunity for our youth, older workers, and workers displaced by technological changes; to strengthen the orderly processes of collective bargaining and peaceful settlement of labor disputes; and to work always for a just distribution of our national income among those who labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We will continue our efforts to achieve equality of opportunity for men and women without impairing the social legislation which promotes true equality by safeguarding the health, safety and economic welfare of women workers. The right to work for compensation in both public and private employment is an inalienable privilege of women as well as men, without distinction as to marital status.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

The production of coal is one of our most important basic industries. Stability of production, employment, distribution and price are indispensable to the public welfare. We pledge continuation of the Federal Bituminous Coal Stabilization Act, and sympathetic consideration of the application of similar legislation to the anthracite coal industry, in order to provide additional protection for the owners, miners and consumers of hard coal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We shall continue to emphasize the human element in industry and strive toward increasingly wholehearted cooperation between labor and industrial management.

Capital and the Business Man

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

To make democracy strong, our system of business enterprise and individual initiative must be free to gear its tremendous productive capacity to serve the greatest good of the greatest number.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We have defended and will continue to defend all legitimate business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We have attacked and will continue to attack unbridled concentration of economic power and the exploitation of the consumer and the investor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We have attacked the kind of banking which treated America as a colonial empire to exploit; the kind of securities business which regarded the Stock Exchange as a private gambling club for wagering other people's money; the kind of public utility holding companies which used consumers' and investors' money to suborn a free press, bludgeon legislatures and political conventions, and control elections against the interest of their customers and their security holders.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We have attacked the kind of business which levied tribute on all the rest of American business by the extortionate methods of monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We did not stop with attack—we followed through with the remedy. The American people found in themselves, through the democratic process, ability to meet the economic problems of the average American business where concentrated power had failed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.384

We found a broken and prostrate banking and financial system. We restored it to health by strengthening banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions. We have insured 62 million bank accounts, and protected millions of [p.385] small investors in the security and commodity markets. We have thus revived confidence, safeguarded thrift, and opened the road to all honorable business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We have made credit at low interest rates available to small-business men, thus unfastening the oppressive yoke of a money monopoly, and giving the ordinary citizen a chance to go into business and stay in business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We recognize the importance of small business concerns and new enterprises in our national economy, and favor the enactment of constructive legislation to safeguard the welfare of small business. Independent small-scale enterprise, no less than big business, should be adequately represented on appropriate governmental boards and commissions, and its interests should be examined and fostered by a continuous research program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We have provided an important outlet for private capital by stimulating home building and low-rent housing projects. More new homes were built throughout the nation last year than in any year since 1929.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We have fostered a well-balanced American merchant marine and the world's finest system of civil aeronautics, to promote our commerce and our national defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We have steered a steady course between a bankruptcy-producing deflation and a thrift-destroying inflation, so that today the dollar is the most stable and sought-after currency in the world—a factor of immeasurable benefit in our foreign and domestic commerce.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We shall continue to oppose barriers which impede trade among the several states. We pledge our best efforts in strengthening our home markets, and to this end we favor the adjustment of freight rates so that no section or state will have undue advantage over any other.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

To encourage investment in productive enterprise, the tax-exempt privileges of future Federal, state and local bonds should be removed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We have enforced the anti-trust laws more vigorously than at any time in our history, thus affording the maximum protection to the competitive system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We favor strict supervision of all forms of the insurance business by the several states for the protection of policyholders and the public.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

The full force of our policies, by raising the national income by thirty billion dollars from the low of 1932, by encouraging vast reemployment, and by elevating the level of consumer demand, has quickened the flow of buying and selling through every artery of industry and trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

With mass purchasing power restored and many abuses eliminated, American business stands at the threshold of a great new era, richer in promise than any we have witnessed—an era of pioneering and progress beyond the present frontiers of economic activity—in transportation, in housing, in industrial expansion, and in the new utilization of the products of the farm and the factory.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We shall aid business in redeeming America's promise.

Electric Power

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

During the past seven years the Democratic Party has won the first major victories for the people of the nation in their generation-old contest with the power monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

These victories have resulted in the recognition of certain self evident principles and the realization of vast benefits by the people. These principles, long opposed by the Republican Party, are:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

That the power of falling water is a gift from God, and consequently belongs not to a privileged few, but to all the people, who are entitled to enjoy its benefits;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

That the people have the right through their government to develop their own power sites and bring low-cost electricity to their homes, farms and factories;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

That public utility holding companies must not be permitted to serve as the means by which a few men can pyramid stocks upon stocks for the sole purpose of controlling vast power empires.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We condemn the Republican policies which permitted the victimizing of investors in the securities of private power corporations, and the exploitation of the people by unnecessarily high utility costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.385

We condemn the opposition of utility power interests which delayed for years the development of national defense projects in the Tennessee Valley, and which obstructed river basin improvements and other public projects bringing low-cost electric power to the people. The successful power developments in the Tennessee and Columbia River basins show the wisdom of the Democratic Party in establishing government-owned and operated [p.386] hydro-electric plants in the interests of power and light consumers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

Through these Democratic victories, whole regions have been revived and restored to prosperous habitation. Production costs have been reduced. Industries have been established which employ men and capital. Cheaper electricity has brought vast economic benefits to thousands of homes and communities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

These victories of the people must be safeguarded. They will be turned to defeat if the Republican Party should be returned to power. We pledge our Party militantly to oppose every effort to encroach upon the inherent right of our people to be provided with this primary essential of life at the lowest possible cost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

The nomination of a utility executive by the Republican Party as its presidential candidate raises squarely the issue, whether the nation's water power shall be used for all the people or for the selfish interests of a few. We accept that issue.

Developments of Western Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

We take satisfaction in pointing out the incomparable development of the public land states under the wise and constructive legislation of this Administration. Mining has been revived, agriculture fostered, reclamation extended and natural resources developed as never before in a similar period. We pledge the continuance of such policies, based primarily on the expansion of opportunity for the people, as will encourage the full development, free from financial exploitation, of the great resources—mineral, agricultural, livestock, fishing and lumber—which the West affords.

Radio

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

Radio has become an integral part of the democratically accepted doctrine of freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion. We urge such legislative steps as may be required to afford the same protection from censorship that is now afforded the press under the Constitution of the United States.

We Must Strengthen Democracy By Improving the Welfare of the People

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

We place human resources first among the assets of a democratic society.

Unemployment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

The Democratic Party wages war on unemployment, one of the gravest problems of our times, inherited at its worst from the last Republican administration. Since we assumed office, nine million additional persons have gained regular employment in normal private enterprise. All our policies—financial, industrial and agricultural—will continue to accelerate the rate of this progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

By public action, where necessary to supplement private reemployment, we have rescued millions from idleness that breeds weakness, and given them a real stake in their country's well being. We shall continue to recognize the obligation of Government to provide work for deserving workers who cannot be absorbed by private industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

We are opposed to vesting in the states and local authorities the control of Federally-financed work relief. We believe that this Republican proposal is a thinly disguised plan to put the unemployed back on the dole.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

We will continue energetically to direct our efforts toward the employment in private industry of all those willing to work, as well as the fullest employment of money and machines. This we pledge as our primary objective. To further implement this objective, we favor calling, under the direction of the President, a national unemployment conference of leaders of government, industry, labor and farm groups.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

There is work in our factories, mines, fields, forests and river basins, on our coasts, highways, railroads and inland waterways. There are houses to be built to shelter our people. Building a better America means work and a higher standard of living for every family, and a richer and more secure heritage for every American.

Social Security

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.386

The Democratic Party, which established social security for the nation, is dedicated to its extension. We pledge to make the Social Security Act increasingly effective, by covering millions of persons not now protected under its terms; by strengthening our unemployment insurance system and establishing more adequate and uniform benefits, through the Federal equalization fund principle; by progressively extending and increasing the benefits of the old-age and survivors [p.387] insurance system, including protection of the permanently disabled; and by the early realization of a minimum pension for all who have reached the age of retirement and are not gainfully employed.

Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

Good health for all the people is a prime requisite of national preparedness in its broadest sense. We have advanced public health, industrial hygiene, and maternal and child care. We are coordinating the health functions of the Federal Government. We pledge to expand these efforts, and to provide more hospitals and health centers and better health protection wherever the need exists, in rural and urban areas, all through the co-operative efforts of the Federal, state and local governments, the medical, dental, nursing and other scientific professions, and the voluntary agencies.

Youth and Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

Today, when the youth of other lands is being sacrificed in war, this nation recognizes the full value of the sound youth program established by the Administration. The National Youth Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps have enabled our youth to complete their education, have maintained their health, trained them for useful citizenship, and aided them to secure employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

Our public works have modernized and greatly expanded the nation's schools. We have increased Federal aid for vocational education and rehabilitation, and undertaken a comprehensive program of defense-industry training. We shall continue to bring to millions of children, youths and adults, the educational and economic opportunities otherwise beyond their reach.

Slum-Clearance and Low-Rent Housing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

We have launched a soundly conceived plan of loans and contributions to rid America of overcrowded slum dwellings that breed disease and crime, and to replace them by low-cost housing projects within the means of low-income families. We will extend and accelerate this plan not only in the congested city districts, but also in the small towns and farm areas, and we will make it a powerful arm of national defense by supplying housing for the families of enlisted personnel and for workers in areas where industry is expanding to meet defense needs.

Consumers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

We are taking effective steps to insure that, in this period of stress, the cost of living shall not be increased by speculation and unjustified price rises.

Negroes

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

Our Negro citizens have participated actively in the economic and social advances launched by this Administration, including fair labor standards, social security benefits, health protection, work relief projects, decent housing, aid to education, and the rehabilitation of low-income farm families. We have aided more than half a million Negro youths in vocational training, education and employment. We shall continue to strive for complete legislative safeguards against discrimination in government service and benefits, and in the national defense forces. We pledge to uphold due process and the equal protection of the laws for every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

We pledge to continue our policy of fair treatment of America's war veterans and their dependents, in just tribute to their sacrifices and their devotion to the cause of liberty.

Indians

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

We favor and pledge the enactment of legislation creating an Indian Claims Commission for the special purpose of entertaining and investigating claims presented by Indian groups, bands and tribes, in order that our Indian citizens may have their claims against the Government considered, adjusted, and finally settled at the earliest possible date.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.387

We pledge the immediate extension of a genuine system of merit to all positions in the executive branch of the Federal Government except actual bona fide policy-making positions. The competitive method of selecting employes shall be improved until experience and qualification shall be the sole test in determining fitness for employment in the Federal service. Promotion and tenure in Federal service shall likewise depend upon [p.388] fitness, experience and qualification. Arbitrary and unreasonable rules as to academic training shall be abolished, all to the end that a genuine system of efficiency and merit shall prevail throughout the entire Federal service.

Territories and District of Columbia

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.388

We favor a larger measure of self-government leading to statehood, for Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico. We favor the appointment of residents to office, and equal treatment of the citizens of each of these three territories. We favor the prompt determination and payment of any just claims by Indian and Eskimo citizens of Alaska against the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.388

We also favor the extension of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia.

True First Line of Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.388

We pledge to continue to stand guard on our true first line of defense—the security and welfare of the men, women and children of America.

Our Democratic Faith

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.388

Democracy is more than a political system for the government of a people. It is the expression of a people's faith in themselves as human beings. If this faith is permitted to die, human progress will die with it. We believe that a mechanized existence, lacking the spiritual quality of democracy, is intolerable to the free people of this country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.388

We therefore pledge ourselves to fight, as our fathers fought, for the right of every American to enjoy freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, petition, and security in his home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.388

It is America's destiny, in these days of rampant despotism, to be the guardian of the world heritage of liberty and to hold aloft and aflame the torch of Western civilization.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.388

The Democratic Party rededicates itself to this faith in democracy, to the defense of the American system of government, the only system under which men are masters of their own souls, the only system under which the American people, composed of many races and creeds, can live and work, play and worship in peace, security and freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1940, p.388

Firmly relying upon a continuation of the blessings of Divine Providence upon all our righteous endeavors to preserve forever the priceless heritage of American liberty and peace, we appeal to all the liberal-minded men and women of the nation to approve this platform and to go forward with us by wholeheartedly supporting the candidates who subscribe to the principles which it proclaims.[p.389]

Republican Platform of 1940

Introduction

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

The Republican party, in representative Convention assembled, submits to the people of the United States the following declaration of its principles and purposes:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

We state our general objectives in the simple and comprehensive words of the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Those objectives as there stated are these:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

"To form a more perfect Union; establish justice; insure domestic tranquility; provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Meeting within the shadow of Independence Hall where those words were written we solemnly reaffirm them as a perfect statement of the ends for which we as a party propose to plan and to labor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

The record of the Roosevelt Administration is a record of failure to attain any one of those essential objectives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Instead of leading us into More Perfect Union the Administration has deliberately fanned the flames of class hatred.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Instead of the Establishment of Justice the Administration has sought the subjection of the Judiciary to Executive discipline and domination.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Instead of insuring Domestic Tranquility the Administration has made impossible the normal friendly relation between employers and employees and has even succeeded in alienating both the great divisions of Organized Labor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Instead of Providing for the Common Defense the Administration, notwithstanding the expenditure of billions of our dollars, has left the Nation unprepared to resist foreign attack.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Instead of promoting the General Welfare the Administration has Domesticated the Deficit, Doubled the Debt, Imposed Taxes where they do the greatest economic harm, and used public money for partisan political advantage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Instead of the Blessings of Liberty the Administration has imposed upon us a Regime of Regimentation which has deprived the individual of his freedom and has made of America a shackled giant.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.389

Wholly ignoring these great objectives, as solemnly declared by the people of the United States, the New Deal Administration has for seven long years whirled in a turmoil of shifting, contradictory and overlapping administrations and policies. Confusion has reigned supreme. The only steady undeviating characteristic has been the relentless expansion of the power of the Federal government over the everyday life of the farmer, the industrial worker and the business man. The emergency demands organization—not confusion. It demands free and intelligent cooperation—not incompetent domination. It demands a change. [p.390] The New Deal Administration has failed America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

It has failed by seducing our people to become continuously dependent upon government, thus weakening their morale and quenching the traditional American spirit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

It has failed by viciously attacking our industrial system and sapping its strength and vigor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

It has failed by attempting to send our Congress home during the world's most tragic hour, so that we might be eased into the war by word of deed during the absence of our elected representatives from Washington.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

It has failed by disclosing military details of our equipment to foreign powers over protests by the heads of our armed defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

It has failed by ignoring the lessons of fact concerning modern, mechanized, armed defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

In these and countless other ways the New Deal Administration has either deliberately deceived the American people or proved itself incompetent longer to handle the affairs of our government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

The zero hour is here. America must prepare at once to defend our shores, our homes, our lives and our most cherished ideals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

To establish a first line of defense we must place in official positions men of faith who put America first and who are determined that her governmental and economic system be kept unimpaired.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

Our national defense must be so strong that no unfriendly power shall ever set foot on American soil. To assure this strength our national economy, the true basis of America's defense, must be free of unwarranted government interference.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

Only a strong and sufficiently prepared America can speak words of reassurance and hope to the liberty-loving peoples of the world.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

The Republican Party is firmly opposed to involving this Nation in foreign war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

We are still suffering from the ill effects of the last World War: a war which cost us a twenty-four billion dollar increase in our national debt, billions of uncollectible foreign debts, and the complete upset of our economic system, in addition to the loss of human life and irreparable damage to the health of thousands of our boys.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

The present National Administration has already spent for all purposes more than fifty-four billion dollars;—has boosted the national debt and current federal taxes to an all-time high; and yet by the President's own admission we are still wholly unprepared to defend our country, its institutions and our individual liberties in a war that threatens to engulf the whole world; and this in spite of the fact that foreign wars have been in progress for two years or more and that military information concerning these wars and the re-armament programs of the warring nations has been at all times available to the National Administration through its diplomatic and other channels.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

The Republican Party stands for Americanism, preparedness and peace. We accordingly fasten upon the New Deal full responsibility for our un-preparedness and for the consequent danger of involvement in war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

We declare for the prompt, orderly and realistic building of our national defense to the point at which we shall be able not only to defend the United States, its possessions, and essential outposts from foreign attack, but also efficiently to uphold in war the Monroe Doctrine. To this task the Republican party pledges itself when entrusted with national authority. In the meantime we shall support all necessary and proper defense measures proposed by the Administration in its belated effort to make up for lost time; but we deplore explosive utterances by the President directed at other governments which serve to imperil our peace; and we condemn all executive acts and proceedings which might lead to war without the authorization of the Congress of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

Our sympathies have been profoundly stirred by invasion of unoffending countries and by disaster to nations whole ideals most closely resemble our own. We favor the extension to all peoples fighting for liberty, or whose liberty is threatened, of such aid as shall not be in violation of international law or inconsistent with the requirements of our own national defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

We believe that the spirit which should animate our entire defensive policy is determination to preserve not our material interests merely, but those liberties which are the priceless heritage of America.

Re-Employment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.390

The New Deal's failure to solve the problem of unemployment and revive opportunity for our [p.391] youth presents a major challenge to representative government and free enterprise. We propose to recreate opportunity for the youth of America and put our idle millions back to work in private industry, business, and agriculture. We propose to eliminate needless administrative restrictions, thus restoring lost motion to the wheels of individual enterprise.

Relief

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

We shall remove waste, discrimination, and politics from relief—through administration by the States with federal grants-in-aid on a fair and nonpolitical basis, thus giving the man and woman on relief a larger share of the funds appropriated.

Social Security

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

We favor the extension of necessary old age benefits on an ear-marked pay-as-you-go basis to the extent that the revenues raised for this purpose will permit. We favor the extension of the unemployment compensation provisions of the Social Security Act, wherever practicable, to those groups and classes not now included. For such groups as may thus be covered we favor a system of unemployment compensation with experience rating provisions, aimed at protecting the worker in the regularity of his employment and providing adequate compensation for reasonable periods when that regularity of employment is interrupted. The administration should be left with the States with a minimum of Federal control.

Labor Relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

The Republican party has always protected the American worker.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

We shall maintain labor's right of free organization and collective bargaining.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

We believe that peace and prosperity at home require harmony, teamwork, and understanding in all relations between worker and employer. When differences arise, they should be settled directly and voluntarily across the table.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

Recent disclosures respecting the administration of the National Labor Relations Act require that this Act be amended in fairness to employers and all groups of employees so as to provide true freedom for, and orderliness in self-organization and collective bargaining.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

A prosperous and stable agriculture is the foundation of our economic structure. Its preservation is a national and non-political social problem not yet solved, despite many attempts. The farmer is entitled to a profit-price for his products. The Republican party will put into effect such governmental policies, temporary and permanent, as will establish and maintain an equitable balance between labor, industry, and agriculture by expanding industrial and business activity, eliminating unemployment, lowering production costs, thereby creating increased consumer buying power for agricultural products.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

Until this balance has been attained, we propose to provide benefit payments, based upon a widely-applied, constructive soil conservation program free from government-dominated production control, but administered, as far as practicable, by farmers themselves; to restrict the major benefits of these payments to operators of family-type farms; to continue all present benefit payments until our program becomes operative; and to eliminate the present extensive and costly bureaucratic interference.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

We shall provide incentive payments, when necessary, to encourage increased production of agricultural commodities, adaptable to our soil and climate, not now produced in sufficient quantities for our home markets, and will stimulate the use and processing of all farm products in industry as raw materials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

We shall promote a co-operative system of adequate farm credit, at lowest interest rates commensurate with the cost of money, supervised by an independent governmental agency, with ultimate farmer ownership and control; farm commodity loans to facilitate orderly marketing and stabilize farm income; the expansion of sound, farmer-owned and farmer-controlled co-operative associations; and the support of educational and extension programs to ,achieve more efficient production and marketing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

We shall foster Government refinancing, where necessary, of the heavy Federal farm debt load through an agency segregated from co-operative credit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.391

We shall promote a national land use program for Federal acquisition, without dislocation of local tax returns, of non-productive farm lands by voluntary sale or lease subject to approval of the States concerned; and the disposition of such lands to appropriate public uses including watershed protection and flood prevention, reforestation, [p.392] recreation, erosion control, and the conservation of wild life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We advocate a foreign trade policy which will end one-man tariff making, afford effective protection to farm products, regain our export markets, and assure an American price level for the domestically consumed portion of our export crops.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We favor effective quarantine against imported livestock, dairy, and other farm products from countries which do not impose health and sanitary standards equal to our own domestic standards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We approve the orderly development of reclamation and irrigation, project by project and as conditions justify.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We promise adequate assistance to rural communities suffering disasters from flood, drought, and other natural causes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We shall promote stabilization of agricultural income through intelligent management of accumulated surpluses, and through the development of outlets by supplying those in need at home and abroad.

Tariff and Reciprocal Trade

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We are threatened by unfair competition in world markets and by the invasion of our home markets, especially by the products of state-controlled foreign economies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We believe in tariff protection for Agriculture, Labor, and Industry, as essential to our American standard of living. The measure of the protection shall be determined by scientific methods with due regard to the interest of the consumer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We shall explore every possibility of reopening the channels of international trade through negotiations so conducted as to produce genuine reciprocity and expand our exports.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

We condemn the manner in which the so-called reciprocal trade agreements of the New Deal have been put into effect without adequate hearings, with undue haste, without proper consideration of our domestic producers, and without Congressional approval. These defects we shall correct.

Money

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

The Congress should reclaim its constitutional powers over money, and withdraw the President's arbitrary authority to manipulate the currency, establish bimetallism, issue irredeemable paper money, and debase the gold and silver coinage. We shall repeal the Thomas Inflation Amendment of 1933 and the (foreign) Silver Purchase Act of 1934, and take all possible steps to preserve the value of the Government's huge holdings of gold and re-introduce gold into circulation.

Jobs and Idle Money

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

Believing it possible to keep the securities market clean without paralyzing it, we endorse the principle of truth in securities in the Securities Act. To get billions of idle dollars and a multitude of idle men back to work and to promote national defense, these acts should be revised and the policies of the Commission changed to encourage the flow of private capital into industry.

Taxation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

Public spending has trebled under the New Deal, while tax burdens have doubled. Huge taxes are necessary to pay for New Deal waste and for neglected national defense. We shall revise the tax system and remove those practices which impede recovery and shall apply policies which stimulate enterprise. We shall not use the taxing power as an instrument of punishment or to secure objectives not otherwise obtainable under existing law.

Public Credit

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

With urgent need for adequate defense, the people are burdened by a direct and contingent debt exceeding fifty billion dollars. Twenty-nine billion of this debt has been created by New Deal borrowings during the past seven years. We pledge ourselves to conserve the public credit for all essential purposes by levying taxation sufficient to cover necessary civil expenditure, a substantial part of the defense cost, and the interest and retirement of the national debt.

Public Spending

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.392

Millions of men and women still out of work after seven years of excessive spending refute the New Deal theory that "deficit spending" is the way to prosperity and jobs. Our American system of private enterprise, if permitted to go to work, can rapidly increase the wealth, income, and standard of living of all the people. We solemnly pledge that public expenditures, other than those required for full national defense and relief, shall [p.393] be cut to levels necessary for the essential services of government.

Equal Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

We favor submission by Congress to the States of an amendment to the Constitution providing for equal rights for men and women.

Negro

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

We pledge that our American citizens of Negro descent shall be given a square deal in the economic and political life of this nation. Discrimination in the civil service, the army, navy, and all other branches of the Government must cease. To enjoy the full benefits of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness universal suffrage must be made effective for the Negro citizen. Mob violence shocks the conscience of the nation and legislation to curb this evil should be enacted.

Un-American Activities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

We vigorously condemn the New Deal encouragement of various groups that seek to change the American form of government by means outside the Constitution. We condemn the appointment of members of such un-American groups to high positions of trust in the national Government. The development of the treacherous so-called Fifth Column, as it has operated in war-stricken countries, should be a solemn warning to America. We pledge the Republican Party to get rid of such borers from within.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

We favor the strict enforcement of all laws controlling the entry of aliens. The activities of undesirable aliens should be investigated and those who seek to change by force and violence the American form of government should be deported.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

We pledge adequate compensation and care for veterans disabled in the service of our country, and for their widows, orphans, and dependents.

Indians

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

We pledge an immediate and final settlement of all Indian claims between the government and the Indian citizenship of the nation.

Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

Hawaii, sharing the nation's obligations equally with the several States, is entitled to the fullest measure of home rule; and to equality with the several States in the rights of her citizens and in the application of our national laws.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

Statehood is a logical aspiration of the people of Puerto Rico who were made citizens of the United States by Congress in 1917; legislation affecting Puerto Rico, in so far as feasible, should be in harmony with the realization of that aspiration.

Government and Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

We shall encourage a healthy, confident, and growing private enterprise, confine Government activity to essential public services, and regulate business only so as to protect consumer, employee, and investor and without restricting the production of more and better goods at lower prices.

Monopoly

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

Since the passage of the Sherman Anti-trust Act by the Republican party we have consistently fought to preserve free competition with regulation to prevent abuse. New Deal policy fosters Government monopoly, restricts production, and fixes prices. We shall enforce anti-trust legislation without prejudice or discrimination. We condemn the use or threatened use of criminal indictments to obtain through consent decrees objectives not contemplated by law.

Government Competition

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

We promise to reduce to the minimum Federal competition with business. We pledge ourselves to establish honest accounting and reporting by every agency of the Federal Government and to continue only those enterprises whose maintenance is clearly in the public interest.

Free Speech

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.393

The principles of a free press and free speech, as established by the Constitution, should apply to the radio. Federal regulation of radio is necessary in view of the natural limitations of wave lengths, but this gives no excuse for censorship. We oppose the use of licensing to establish arbitrary [p.394] controls. Licenses should be revocable only when, after public hearings, due cause for cancellation is shown.

Small Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

The New Deal policy of interference and arbitrary regulation has injured all business, but especially small business. We promise to encourage the small business man by removing unnecessary bureaucratic regulation and interference.

Stock and Commodity Exchanges

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

We favor regulation of stock and commodity exchanges. They should be accorded the fullest measure of self-control consistent with the discharge of their public trust and the prevention of abuse.

Insurance

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

We condemn the New Deal attempts to destroy the confidence of our people in private insurance institutions. We favor continuance of regulation of insurance by the several States.

Government Reorganization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

We shall reestablish in the Federal Civil Service a real merit system on a truly competitive basis and extend it to all non-policy-forming positions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

We pledge ourselves to enact legislation standardizing and simplifying quasi-judicial and administrative agencies to insure adequate notice and hearing, impartiality, adherence to the rules of evidence and full judicial review of all questions of law and fact.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

Our greatest protection against totalitarian government is the American system of checks and balances. The constitutional distribution of legislative, executive, and judicial functions is essential to the preservation of this system. We pledge ourselves to make it the basis of all our policies affecting the organization and operation of our Republican form of Government.

Third Term

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

To insure against the overthrow of our American system of government we favor an amendment to the Constitution providing that no person shall be President of the United States for more than two terms.

A Pledge of Good Faith

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

The acceptance of the nominations made by this Convention carries with it, as a matter of private honor and public faith, an undertaking by each candidate to be true to the principles and program herein set forth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1940, p.394

We earnestly urge all patriotic men and women, regardless of former affiliations, to unite with us in the support of our declaration of principles to the end that "government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from this earth."[p.402]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1944

Democratic Platform of 1944

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

The Democratic Party stands on its record in peace and in war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

To speed victory, establish and maintain peace, guarantee full employment and provide prosperity —this is its platform.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

We do not here detail scores of planks. We cite action.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

Beginning March, 1933, the Democratic Administration took a series of actions which saved our system of free enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It brought that system out of collapse and thereafter eliminated abuses which had imperiled it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It used the powers of government to provide employment in industry and to save agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It wrote a new Magna Carta for labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It provided social security, including old age pensions, unemployment insurance, security for crippled and dependent children and the blind. It established employment offices. It provided federal bank deposit insurance, flood prevention, soil conservation, and prevented abuses in the security markets. It saved farms and homes from foreclosure, and secured profitable prices for farm products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It adopted an effective program of reclamation, hydro-electric power, and mineral development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It found the road to prosperity through production and employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

We pledge the continuance and improvement of these programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

Before war came, the Democratic Administration awakened the Nation, in time, to the dangers that threatened its very existence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It succeeded in building, in time, the best-trained and equipped army in the world, the most powerful navy in the world, the greatest air force in the world, and the largest merchant marine in the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It gained for our country, and it saved for our country, powerful allies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

When war came, it succeeded in working out with those allies an effective grand strategy against the enemy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It set that strategy in motion, and the tide of battle was turned.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It held the line against wartime inflation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It ensured a fair share-and-share-alike distribution of food and other essentials.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

It is leading our country to certain victory.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.402

The primary and imperative duty of the United States is to wage the war with every resource available to final triumph over our enemies, and we pledge that we will continue to fight side by side with the United Nations until this supreme objective shall have been attained and [p.403] thereafter to secure a just and lasting peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

That the world may not again be drenched in blood by international outlaws and criminals, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

To join with the other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

To make all necessary and effective agreements and arrangements through which the nations would maintain adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of making impossible the preparation for war and which would have such forces available for joint action when necessary.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

Such organization must be endowed with power to employ armed forces when necessary to prevent aggression and preserve peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We favor the maintenance of an international court of justice of which the United States shall be a member and the employment of diplomacy, conciliation, arbitration and other like methods where appropriate in the settlement of international disputes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

World peace is of transcendent importance. Our gallant sons are dying on land, on sea, and in the air. They do not die as Republicans. They do not die as Democrats. They die as Americans. We pledge that their blood shall not have been shed in vain. America has the opportunity to lead the world in this great service to mankind. The United States must meet the challenge. Under Divine Providence, she must move forward to her high destiny.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We pledge our support to the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and the application of the principles enunciated therein to the United Nations and other peace-loving nations, large and small.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We shall uphold the good-neighbor policy, and extend the trade policies initiated by the present administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We favor legislation assuring equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We recommend to Congress the submission of a Constitutional amendment on equal rights for women.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We favor Federal aid to education administered by the states without interference by the Federal Government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We favor Federal legislation to assure stability of products, employment, distribution and prices in the bituminous coal industry, to create a proper balance between consumer, producer and mine worker.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We endorse the President's statement recognizing the importance of the use of water in arid land states for domestic and irrigation purposes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We favor non-discriminatory transportation charges and declare for the early correction of inequalities in such charges.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We favor enactment of legislation granting the fullest measure of self-government for Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, and eventual statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

We favor the extension of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia. We offer these postwar programs:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

A continuation of our policy of full benefits for ex-servicemen and women with special consideration for the disabled. We make it our first duty to assure employment and economic security to all who have served in the defense of our country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

Price guarantees and crop insurance to farmers with all practical steps:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

To keep agriculture on a parity with industry and labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

To foster the success of the small independent farmer.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

To aid the home ownership of family-sized farms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

To extend rural electrification and develop broader domestic and foreign markets for agricultural products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

Adequate compensation for workers during demobilization.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

The enactment of such additional humanitarian, labor, social and farm legislation as time and experience may require, including the amendment or repeal of any law enacted in recent years which has failed to accomplish its purpose.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

Promotion of the success of small business. Earliest possible release of wartime controls.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.403

Adaptation of tax laws to an expanding peacetime economy, with simplified structure and war- [p.404] time taxes reduced or repealed as soon as possible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

Encouragement of risk capital, new enterprise, development of natural resources in the West and other parts of the country, and the immediate reopening of the gold and silver mines of the West as soon as manpower is available.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

We reassert our faith in competitive private enterprise, free from control by monopolies, cartels, or any arbitrary private or public authority.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

We assert that mankind believes in the Four Freedoms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

We believe that the country which has the greatest measure of social justice is capable of the greatest achievements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

We believe that without loss of sovereignty, world development and lasting peace are within humanity's grasp. They will come with the greater enjoyment of those freedoms by the peoples of the world, and with the freer flow among them of ideas and goods.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

We believe in the world right of all men to write, send and publish news at uniform communication rates and without interference by governmental or private monopoly and that right should be protected by treaty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

To these beliefs the Democratic Party subscribes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

These principles the Democratic Party pledges itself in solemn sincerity to maintain.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

Finally, this Convention sends its affectionate greetings to our beloved and matchless leader and President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

He stands before the nation and the world, the champion of human liberty and dignity. He has rescued our people from the ravages of economic disaster. His rare foresight and magnificent courage have saved our nation from the assault of international brigands and dictators. Fulfilling the ardent hope of his life, he has already laid the foundation of enduring peace for a troubled world and the well being of our nation. All mankind is his debtor. His life and services have been a great blessing to humanity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1944, p.404

That God may keep him strong in body and in spirit to carry on his yet unfinished work is our hope and our prayer.[p.407]

Republican Platform of 1944

Introduction

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.407

The tragedy of the war is upon our country as we meet to consider the problems of government and our people. We take this opportunity to render homage and enduring gratitude to those brave members of our armed forces who have already made the supreme sacrifice, and to those who stand ready to make the same sacrifice that the American course of life may be secure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.407

Mindful of this solemn hour and humbly conscious of our heavy responsibilities, the Republican Party in convention assembled presents herewith its principles and makes these covenants with the people of our Nation.

The War and the Peace

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.407

We pledge prosecution of the war to total victory against our enemies in full cooperation with the United Nations and all-out support of our Armies and the maintenance of our Navy under the competent and trained direction of our General Staff and Office of Naval Operations without civilian interference and with every civilian resource. At the earliest possible time after the cessation of hostilities we will bring home all members of our armed forces who do not have unexpired enlistments and who do not volunteer for further overseas duty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.407

We declare our relentless aim to win the war against all our enemies: (1) for our own American security and welfare; (2) to make and keep the Axis powers impotent to renew tyranny and attack; (3) for the attainment of peace and freedom based on justice and security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.407

We shall seek to achieve such aims through organized international cooperation and not by joining a World State.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.407

We favor responsible participation by the United States in post-war co-operative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain permanent peace with organized justice in a free world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.407

Such organization should develop effective co-operative means to direct peace forces to prevent or repel military aggression. Pending this, we pledge continuing collaboration with the United Nations to assure these ultimate objectives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.407

We believe, however, that peace and security do not depend upon the sanction of force alone, but should prevail by virtue of reciprocal interests [p.408] and spiritual values recognized in these security agreements. The treaties of peace should be just; the nations which are the victims of aggression should be restored to sovereignty and self-government; and the organized cooperation of the nations should concern itself with basic causes of world disorder. It should promote a world opinion to influence the nations to right conduct, develop international law and maintain an international tribunal to deal with justiciable disputes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

We shall seek, in our relations with other nations, conditions calculated to promote world-wide economic stability, not only for the sake of the world, but also to the end that our own people may enjoy a high level of employment in an increasingly prosperous world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

We shall keep the American people informed concerning all agreements with foreign nations. In all of these undertakings we favor the widest consultation of the gallant men and women in our armed forces who have a special right to speak with authority in behalf of the security and liberty for which they fight. We shall sustain the Constitution of the United States in the attainment of our international aims; and pursuant to the Constitution of the United States any treaty or agreement to attain such aims made on behalf of the United States with any other nation or any association of nations, shall be made only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

We shall at all times protect the essential interests and resources of the United States.

Western Hemisphere Relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

We shall develop Pan-American solidarity. The citizens of our neighboring nations in the Western Hemisphere are, like ourselves, Americans. Cooperation with them shall be achieved through mutual agreement and without interference in the internal affairs of any nation. Our policy should be a genuine Good Neighbor policy, commanding their respect, and not one based on the reckless squandering of American funds by overlapping agencies.

Postwar Preparedness

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

We favor the maintenance of postwar military forces and establishments of ample strength for the successful defense and the safety of the United States, its possessions and outposts, for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and for meeting any military commitments determined by Congress. We favor the peacetime maintenance and strengthening of the National Guards under State control with the Federal training and equipment as now provided in the National Defense Act.

Domestic Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

We shall devote ourselves to re-establishing liberty at home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

We shall adopt a program to put men to work in peace industry as promptly as possible and with special attention to those who have made sacrifice by serving in the armed forces. We shall take government out of competition with private industry and terminate rationing, price fixing and all other emergency powers. We shall promote the fullest stable employment through private enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

The measures we propose shall avoid federalization of government activities, to the end that our States, schools and cities shall be freed; shall avoid delegation of legislative and judicial power to administrative agencies, to the end that the people's representatives in Congress shall be independent and in full control of legislative policy; and shall avoid, subject to war necessities, detailed regulation of farmers, workers, businessmen and consumers, to the end that the individual shall be free. The remedies we propose shall be based on intelligent cooperation between the Federal Government, the States and local government and the initiative of civic groups—not on the panacea of Federal cash.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

Four more years of New Deal policy would centralize all power in the President, and would daily subject every act of every citizen to regulation by his henchmen; and this country could remain a Republic only in name. No problem exists which cannot be solved by American methods. We have no need of either the communistic or the fascist technique.

Security

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

Our goal is to prevent hardship and poverty in America. That goal is attainable by reason of the productive ability of free American labor, industry and agriculture, if supplemented by a system of social security on sound principles.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.408

We pledge our support of the following:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

[p.409] 1. Extension of the existing old-age insurance and unemployment insurance systems to all employees not already covered.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

2. The return of the public employment-office system to the States at the earliest possible time, financed as before Pearl Harbor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

3. A careful study of Federal-State programs for maternal and child health, dependent children, and assistance to the blind, with a view to strengthening these programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

4. The continuation of these and other programs relating to health, and the stimulation by Federal aid of State plans to make medical and hospital service available to those in need without disturbing doctor-patient relationships or socializing medicine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

5. The stimulation of State and local plans to provide decent low-cost housing properly financed by the Federal Housing Administration, or otherwise, when such housing cannot be supplied or financed by private sources.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

The Republican Party is the historical champion of free labor. Under Republican administrations American manufacturing developed, and American workers attained the most progressive standards of living of any workers in the world. Now the Nation owes those workers a debt of gratitude for their magnificent productive effort in support of the war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

Regardless of the professed friendship of the New Deal for the workingman, the fact remains that under the New Deal American economic life is being destroyed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

The New Deal has usurped selfish and partisan control over the functions of Government agencies where labor relationships are concerned. The continued perversion of the Wagner Act by the New Deal menaces the purposes of the law and threatens to destroy collective bargaining completely and permanently.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

The long series of Executive orders and bureaucratic decrees reveal a deliberate purpose to substitute for contractual agreements of employers and employees the political edicts of a New Deal bureaucracy. Labor would thus remain organized only for the convenience of the New Deal in enforcing its orders and inflicting its whims upon labor and industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

We condemn the conversion of administrative boards, ostensibly set up to settle industrial disputes, into instruments for putting into effect the financial and economic theories of the New Deal.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

We condemn the freezing of wage rates at arbitrary levels and the binding of men to their jobs as destructive to the advancement of a free people. We condemn the repeal by Executive order of the laws secured by the Republican party to abolish "contract labor" and peonage. We condemn the gradual but effective creation of a Labor Front as but one of the New Deal's steps toward a totalitarian state.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

We pledge an end to political trickery in the administration of labor laws and the handling of labor disputes; and equal benefits on the basis of equality to all labor in the administration of labor controls and laws, regardless of political affiliation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

The Department of Labor has been emasculated by the New Deal. Labor bureaus, agencies and committees are scattered far and wide, in Washington and throughout the country, and have no semblance of systematic or responsible organization. All governmental labor activities must be placed under the direct authority and responsibility of the Secretary of Labor. Such labor bureaus as are not performing a substantial and definite service in the interest of labor must be abolished.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

The Secretary of Labor should be a representative of labor. The office of the Secretary of Labor was created under a Republican President, William Howard Taft. It was intended that a representative of labor should occupy this Cabinet office. The present administration is the first to disregard this intention.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

The Republican Party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.409

American well-being is indivisible. Any national program which injures the national economy inevitably injures the wage-earner. The American labor movement and the Republican Party, while continuously striving for the betterment of labor's status, reject the communistic and New Deal concept that a single group can benefit while the general economy suffers.[p.410]

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

We commend the American farmers, their wives and families for their magnificent job of wartime production and their contribution to the war effort, without which victory could not be assured. They have accomplished this in spite of labor shortages, a bungled and inexcusable machinery program and confused, unreliable, impractical price and production administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

Abundant production is the best security against inflation. Governmental policies in war and in peace must be practical and efficient with freedom from regimentation by an impractical Washington bureaucracy in order to assure independence of operation and bountiful production, fair and equitable market prices for farm products, and a sound program for conservation and use of our soil and natural resources. Educational progress and the social and economic stability and well-being of the farm family must be a prime national purpose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

For the establishment of such a program we propose the following:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

1. A Department of Agriculture under practical and experienced administration, free from regimentation and confusing government manipulation and control of farm programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

2. An American market price to the American farmer and the protection of such price by means of support prices, commodity loans, or a combination thereof, together with such other economic means as will assure an income to agriculture that is fair and equitable in comparison with labor, business and industry. We oppose subsidies as a substitute for fair markets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

3. Disposition of surplus war commodities in an orderly manner without destroying markets or continued production and without benefit to speculative profiteers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

4. The control and disposition of future surpluses by means of (a) new uses developed through constant research, (b) vigorous development of foreign markets, (c) efficient domestic distribution to meet all domestic requirements, and (d) arrangements which will enable farmers to make necessary adjustments in production of any given basic crop only if domestic surpluses should become abnormal and exceed manageable proportions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

5. Intensified research to discover new crops, and new and profitable uses for existing crops.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

6. Support of the principle of bona fide farmer-owned and farmer-operated co-operatives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

7. Consolidation of all government farm credit under a non-partisan board.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

8. To make life more attractive on the family type farm through development of rural roads, sound extension of rural electrification service to the farm and elimination of basic evils of tenancy wherever they exist.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

9. Serious study of and search for a sound program of crop insurance with emphasis upon establishing a self-supporting program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

10. A comprehensive program of soil, forest, water and wildlife conservation and development, and sound irrigation projects, administered as far as possible at State and regional levels.

Business and Industry

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

We give assurance now to restore peacetime industry at the earliest possible time, using every care to avoid discrimination between different sections of the country, (a) by prompt settlement of war contracts with early payment of government obligations and disposal of surplus inventories, and (h) by disposal of surplus government plants, equipment, and supplies, with due consideration to small buyers and with care to prevent monopoly and injury to existing agriculture and industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

Small business is the basis of American enterprise. It must be preserved. If protected against discrimination and afforded equality of opportunity throughout the Nation, it will become the most potent factor in providing employment. It must also be aided by changes in taxation, by eliminating excessive and repressive regulation and government competition, by the enforcement of laws against monopoly and unfair competition, and by providing simpler and cheaper methods for obtaining venture capital necessary for growth and expansion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

For the protection of the public, and for the security of millions of holders of policies of insurance in mutual and private companies, we insist upon strict and exclusive regulation and supervision of the business of insurance by the several States where local conditions are best known and where local needs can best be met.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.410

We favor the re-establishment and maintenance, as early as military considerations will permit, of a sound and adequate American Merchant Marine under private ownership and management.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

[p.411] The Republican Party pledges itself to foster the development of such strong privately owned air transportation systems and communications systems as will best serve the interests of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

The Federal Government should plan a program for flood control, inland waterways and other economically justifiable public works, and prepare the necessary plans in advance so that construction may proceed rapidly in emergency and in times of reduced employment. We urge that States and local governments pursue the same policy with reference to highways and other public works within their jurisdiction.

Taxation and Finance

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

As soon as the war ends the present rates of taxation on individual incomes, on corporations, and on consumption should be reduced as far as is consistent with the payment of the normal expenditures of government in the postwar period. We reject the theory of restoring prosperity through government spending and deficit financing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

We shall eliminate from the budget all wasteful and unnecessary expenditures and exercise the most rigid economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

It is essential that Federal and State tax structures be more effectively coordinated to the end that State tax sources be not unduly impaired.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

We shall maintain the value of the American dollar and regard the payment of government debt as an obligation of honor which prohibits any policy leading to the depreciation of the currency. We shall reduce that debt as soon as economic conditions make such reduction possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

Control of the currency must be restored to Congress by repeal of existing legislation which gives the President unnecessary powers over our currency.

Foreign Trade

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

We assure American farmers, livestock producers, workers and industry that we will establish and maintain a fair protective tariff on competitive products so that the standards of living of our people shall not be impaired through the importation of commodities produced abroad by labor or producers functioning upon lower standards than our own.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

If the postwar world is to be properly organized, a great extension of world trade will be necessary to repair the wastes of war and build an enduring peace. The Republican Party, always remembering that its primary obligation, which must be fulfilled, is to our own workers, our own farmers and our own industry, pledges that it will join with others in leadership in every co-operative effort to remove unnecessary and destructive barriers to international trade. We will always bear in mind that the domestic market is America's greatest market and that tariffs which protect it against foreign competition should be modified only by reciprocal bilateral trade agreements approved by Congress.

Relief and Rehabilitation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

We favor the prompt extension of relief and emergency assistance to the peoples of the liberated countries without duplication and conflict between government agencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

We favor immediate feeding of the starving children of our Allies and friends in the Nazi-dominated countries and we condemn the New Deal administration for its failure, in the face of humanitarian demands, to make any effort to do this.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

We favor assistance by direct credits in reasonable amounts to liberated countries to enable them to buy from this country the goods necessary to revive their economic systems.

Bureaucracy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

The National Administration has become a sprawling, overlapping bureaucracy. It is undermined by executive abuse of power, confused lines of authority, duplication of effort, inadequate fiscal controls, loose personnel practices and an attitude of arrogance previously unknown in our history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

The times cry out for the restoration of harmony in government, for a balance of legislative and executive responsibility, for efficiency and economy, for priming and abolishing unnecessary agencies and personnel, for effective fiscal and personnel controls, and for an entirely new spirit in our Federal Government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.411

We pledge an administration wherein the President, acting in harmony with Congress, will effect these necessary reforms and raise the Federal [p.412] service to a high level of efficiency and competence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We insist that limitations must be placed upon spending by government corporations of vast sums never appropriated by Congress but made available by directives, and that their accounts should be subject to audit by the General Accounting Office.

Two-Term Limit for President

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We favor an amendment to the Constitution providing that no person shall be President of the United States for more than two terms of four years each.

Equal Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We favor submission by Congress to the States of an amendment to the Constitution providing for equal rights for men and women. We favor job opportunities in the postwar world open to men and women alike without discrimination in rate of pay because of sex.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

The Republican Party has always supported suitable measures to reflect the Nation's gratitude and to discharge its duty toward the veterans of all wars.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We approve, have supported and have aided in the enactment of laws which provide for re-employment of veterans of this war in their old positions, for mustering-out-pay, for pensions for widows and orphans of such veterans killed or disabled, for rehabilitation of disabled veterans, for temporary unemployment benefits, for education and vocational training, and for assisting veterans in acquiring homes and farms and in establishing themselves in business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We shall be diligent in remedying defects in veterans' legislation and shall insist upon efficient administration of all measures for the veteran's benefit.

Racial and Religious Intolerance

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We unreservedly condemn the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We pledge an immediate Congressional inquiry to ascertain the extent to which mistreatment, segregation and discrimination against Negroes who are in our armed forces are impairing morale and efficiency, and the adoption of corrective legislation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.

Anti-Poll Tax

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

The payment of any poll tax should not be a condition of voting in Federal elections and we favor immediate submission of a Constitutional amendment for its abolition.

Anti-Lynching

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We favor legislation against lynching and pledge our sincere efforts in behalf of its early enactment.

Indians

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We pledge an immediate, just and final settlement of all Indian claims between the Government and the Indian citizenship of the Nation. We will take politics out of the administration of Indian affairs.

Problems of the West

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We favor a comprehensive program of reclamation projects for our arid and semi-arid States, with recognition and full protection of the rights and interests of those States in the use and control of water for present and future irrigation and other beneficial consumptive uses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.412

We favor (a) exclusion from this country of livestock and fresh and chilled meat from countries harboring foot and mouth disease or Rinderpest; (b) full protection of our fisheries whether by domestic regulation or treaties; (c) consistent with military needs, the prompt return to private ownership of lands acquired for war purposes; (d) withdrawal or acquisition of lands for establishment of national parks, monuments, and wildlife refuges, only after due regard to local problems and under closer controls to be established by the Congress; (e) restoration of the long established public land policy which provides opportunity of ownership by citizens to promote the highest land use; (f) full development of our forests on the basis of cropping and sustained yield; cooperation with private owners for conservation and fire protection; (g) the prompt reopening of mines which can be operated by miners and workers not subject to military service [p.413] and which have been closed by bureaucratic denial of labor or material; (h) adequate stock-piling of war minerals and metals for possible future emergencies; (i) continuance, for tax purposes, of adequate depletion allowances on oil, gas and minerals; (j) administration of laws relating to oil and gas on the public domain to encourage exploratory operations to meet the public need; (k) continuance of present Federal laws on mining claims on the public domain, good faith administration thereof, and we state our opposition to the plans of the Secretary of the Interior to substitute a leasing system; and (l) larger representation in the Federal Government of men and women especially familiar with Western problems,

Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

Hawaii, which shares the Nation's obligations equally with the several States, is entitled to the fullest measure of home rule looking toward statehood; and to equality with the several States in the rights of her citizens and in the application of all our national laws.

Alaska

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

Alaska is entitled to the fullest measure of home rule looking toward statehood.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

Statehood is a logical aspiration of the people of Puerto Rico who were made citizens of the United States by Congress in 1917; legislation affecting Puerto Rico, in so far as feasible, should be in harmony with the realization of that aspiration.

Palestine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic Commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the mandatory of Palestine carry out the provision of the Balfour Declaration and of the mandate while he pretends to support them.

Free Press and Radio

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

In times like these, when whole peoples have found themselves shackled by governments which denied the truth, or, worse, dealt in half-truths or withheld the facts from the public, it is imperative to the maintenance of a free America that the press and radio be free and that full and complete information be available to Americans. There must be no censorship except to the extent required by war necessity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

We insistently condemn any tendency to regard the press or the radio as instruments of the Administration and the use of government publicity agencies for partisan ends. We need a new radio law which will define, in clear and unmistakable language, the role of the Federal Communications Commission.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

All channels of news must be kept open with equality of access to information at the source. If agreement can be achieved with foreign nations to establish the same principles, it will be a valuable contribution to future peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

Vital facts must not be withheld.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

We want no more Pearl Harbor reports.

Good Faith

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

The acceptance of the nominations made by this Convention carries with it, as a matter of private honor and public faith, an undertaking by each candidate to be true to the principles and program herein set forth.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

The essential question at trial in this nation is whether men can organize together in a highly industrialized society, succeed, and still be free. That is the essential question at trial throughout the world today.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1944, p.413

In this time of confusion and strife, when moral values are being crushed on every side, we pledge ourselves to uphold with all our strength the Bill of Rights, the Constitution and the law of the land. We so pledge ourselves that the American tradition may stand forever as the beacon light of civilization.[p.430]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1948

Democratic Platform of 1948

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

The Democratic Party adopts this platform in the conviction that the destiny of the United States is to provide leadership in the world toward a realization of the Four Freedoms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

We chart our future course as we charted our course under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman in the abiding belief that democracy—when dedicated to the service of all and not to a privileged few—proves its superiority over all other forms of government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Our party record of the past is assurance of its policies and performance in the future.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party which was entrusted with responsibility when twelve years of Republican neglect had blighted the hopes of mankind, had squandered the fruits of prosperity and had plunged us into the depths of depression and despair.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party which rebuilt a shattered economy, rescued our banking system, revived our agriculture, reinvigorated our industry, gave labor strength and security, and led the American people to the broadest prosperity in our history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party which introduced the spirit of humanity into our law, as we outlawed child labor and the sweatshop, insured bank deposits, protected millions of home-owners and farmers from foreclosure, and established national social security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party under which this nation before Pearl Harbor gave aid and strength to those countries which were holding back the Nazi and Fascist tide.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party which stood at the helm and led the nation to victory in the war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party which, during the war, prepared for peace so well that when peace came reconversion promptly led to the greatest production and employment in this nation's life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party under whose leadership farm owners' income in this nation increased from less than $2.5 billions in 1933 to more than $18 billions in 1947; independent business and professional income increased from less than $3 billions in 1933 to more than $22 billions in 1947; employees' earnings increased from $29 billions in 1933 to more than 128 billions in 1947; and employment grew from 39 million jobs in 1933 to a record of 60 million jobs in 1947.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party under which the framework of the world organization for peace and justice was formulated and created.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party under which were conceived the instruments for resisting Communist aggression and for rebuilding the economic strength of the democratic countries of Europe and Asia—the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. They are the materials with which we must build the peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

Ours is the party which first proclaimed that the actions and policies of this nation in the foreign field are matters of national and not just party concern. We shall go forward on the course charted by President Roosevelt and President Truman and the other leaders of Democracy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

We reject the principle—which we have always rejected, but which the Republican 80th Congress enthusiastically accepted—that government exists for the benefit of the privileged few.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.430

To serve the interests of all and not the few; to assure a world in which peace and justice can [p.431] prevail; to achieve security, full production, and full employment—this is our platform.

Our Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

We declared in 1944 that the imperative duty of the United States was to wage the war to final triumph and to join with the other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

Under Democratic leadership, those pledges were gloriously redeemed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

When the United States was treacherously and savagely attacked, our great Democratic President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and a Democratic Congress preserved the nation's honor, and with high courage and with the invincible might of the American people, the challenge was accepted. Under his inspiring leadership, the nation created the greatest army that ever assembled under the flag, the mightiest air force, the most powerful navy on the globe, and the largest merchant marine in the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

The nation's gallant sons on land, on sea, and in the air, ended the war in complete and overwhelming triumph. Armed aggression against peaceful peoples was resisted and crushed. Arrogant and powerful war lords were vanquished and forced to unconditional surrender.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

Before the end of the war the Democratic administration turned to the task of establishing measures for peace and the prevention of aggression and the threat of another war. Under the leadership of a Democratic President and his Secretary of State, the United Nations was organized at San Francisco. The charter was ratified by an overwhelming vote of the Senate. We support the United Nations fully and we pledge our whole-hearted aid toward its growth and development. We will constitute to lead the way toward curtailment of the use of the veto. We shall favor such amendments and modifications of the charter as experience may justify. We will continue our efforts toward the establishment of an international armed force to aid its authority. We advocate the grant of a loan to the United Nations recommended by the President, but denied by the Republican Congress, for the construction of the United Nations headquarters in this country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

We pledge our best endeavors to conclude treaties of peace with our former enemies. Already treaties have been made with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. We shall strive to conclude treaties with the remaining enemy states, based on justice and with guarantees against the revival of aggression, and for the preservation of peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

We advocate the maintenance of an adequate Army, Navy and Air Force to protect the nation's vital interests and to assure our security against aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

We advocate the effective international control of weapons of mass destruction, including the atomic bomb, and we approve continued and vigorous efforts within the United Nations to bring about the successful consummation of the proposals which our Government has advanced.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

The adoption of these proposals would be a vital and most important step toward safe and effective world disarmament and world peace under a strengthened United Nations which would then truly constitute a more effective parliament of the world's peoples.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

Under the leadership of a Democratic President, the United States has demonstrated its friendship for other peace-loving nations and its support of their freedom and independence. Under the Truman doctrine vital aid has been extended to China, to Greece, and to Turkey. Under the Marshall Plan generous sums have been provided for the relief and rehabilitation of European nations striving to rebuild their economy and to secure and strengthen their safety and freedom. The Republican leadership in the House of Representatives, by its votes in the 80th Congress, has shown its reluctance to provide funds to support this program, the greatest move for peace and recovery made since the end of World War II.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

We pledge a sound, humanitarian administration of the Marshall Plan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

We pledge support not only for these principles—we pledge further that we will not withhold necessary funds by which these principles can be achieved. Therefore, we pledge that we will implement with appropriations the commitments which are made in this nation's foreign program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.431

We pledge ourselves to restore the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program formulated in 1934 by Secretary of State Cordell Hull and operated [p.432] successfully for 14 years—until crippled by the Republican 80th Congress. Further, we strongly endorse our country's adherence to the International Trade Organization.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

A great Democratic President established the Good Neighbor Policy toward the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The Act of Chapultepec was negotiated at Mexico City under Democratic leadership. It was carried forward in the Western Hemisphere defense pact concluded at Rio de Janeiro, which implemented the Monroe Doctrine and united the Western Hemisphere in behalf of peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We pledge continued economic cooperation with the countries of the Western Hemisphere. We pledge continued support of regional arrangements within the United Nations Charter, such as the Inter-American Regional Pact and the developing Western European Union.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

President Truman, by granting immediate recognition to Israel, led the world in extending friendship and welcome to a people who have long sought and justly deserve freedom and independence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We pledge full recognition to the State of Israel. We affirm our pride that the United States under the leadership of President Truman played a leading role in the adoption of the resolution of November 29, 1947, by the United Nations General Assembly for the creation of a Jewish State.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution of November 29th and consider that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full participation in the international community of nations. We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We favor the revision of the arms embargo to accord to the State of Israel the right of self-defense. We pledge ourselves to work for the modification of any resolution of the United Nations to the extent that it may prevent any such revision.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We continue to support, within the framework of the United Nations, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the Holy Places in Palestine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

The United States has traditionally been in sympathy with the efforts of subjugated countries to attain their independence, and to establish a democratic form of government. Poland is an outstanding example. After a century and a half of subjugation, it was resurrected after the first World War by our great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson. We look forward to development of these countries as prosperous, free, and democratic fellow members of the United Nations.

Our Domestic Policies

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

The Republican 80th Congress is directly responsible for the existing and ever increasing high cost of living. It cannot dodge that responsibility. Unless the Republican candidates are defeated in the approaching elections, their mistaken policies will impose greater hardships and suffering on large numbers of the American people. Adequate food, clothing and shelter—the bare necessities of life—are becoming too expensive for the average wage earner and the prospects are more frightening each day. The Republican 80th Congress has lacked the courage to face this vital problem.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We shall curb the Republican inflation. We shall put a halt to the disastrous price rises which have come as a result of the failure of the Republican 80th Congress to take effective action on President Truman's recommendations, setting forth a comprehensive program to control the high cost of living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We shall enact comprehensive housing legislation, including provisions for slum clearance and low-rent housing projects initiated by local agencies. This nation is shamed by the failure of the Republican 80th Congress to pass the vitally needed general housing legislation as recommended by the President. Adequate housing will end the need for rent control. Until then, it must be continued.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We pledge the continued maintenance of those sound fiscal policies which under Democratic leadership have brought about a balanced budget and reduction of the public debt by $28 billion since the close of the war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.432

We favor the reduction of taxes, whenever it is possible to do so without unbalancing the nation's economy, by giving a full measure of relief to those millions of low-income families on whom the wartime burden of taxation fell most [p.433] heavily. The form of tax reduction adopted by the Republican 80th Congress gave relief to those who need it least and ignored those who need it most.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We shall endeavor to remove tax inequities and to continue to reduce the public debt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We are opposed to the imposition of a general federal sales tax.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We advocate the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. It was enacted by the Republican 80th Congress over the President's veto. That act was proposed with the promise that it would secure "the legitimate rights of both employees and employers in their relations affecting commerce." It has failed. The number of labor-management disputes has increased. The number of cases before the National Labor Relations Board has more than doubled since the Act was passed, and efficient and prompt administration is becoming more and more difficult. It has encouraged litigation in labor disputes and undermined the established American policy of collective bargaining. Recent decisions by the courts prove that the Act was so poorly drawn that its application is uncertain, and that it is probably, in some provisions, unconstitutional.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We advocate such legislation as is desirable to establish a just body of rules to assure free and effective collective bargaining, to determine, in the public interest, the rights of employees and employers, to reduce to a minimum their conflict of interests, and to enable unions to keep their membership free from communistic influences.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We urge that the Department of Labor be rebuilt and strengthened, restoring to it the units, including the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and the United States Employment Service, which properly belong to it, and which the Republican 80th Congress stripped from it over the veto of President Truman. We urge that the Department's facilities for collecting and disseminating economic information be expanded, and that a Labor Education Extension Service be established in the Department of Labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We favor the extension of the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act as recommended by President Truman, and the adoption of a minimum wage of at least 75 cents an hour in place of the present obsolete and inadequate minimum of 40 cents an hour.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We favor legislation assuring that the workers of our nation receive equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We favor the extension of the Social Security program established under Democratic leadership, to provide additional protection against the hazards of old age, disability, disease or death. We believe that this program should include:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

Increases in old-age and survivors' insurance benefits by at least 50 percent, and reduction of the eligibility age for women from 65 to 60 years; extension of old-age and survivors' and unemployment insurance to all workers not now covered; insurance against loss of earnings on account of illness or disability; improved public assistance for the needy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We favor the enactment of a national health program far expanded medical research, medical education, and hospitals and clinics.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We will continue our efforts to aid the blind and other handicapped persons to become self-supporting.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We will continue our efforts to expand maternal care, improve the health of the nation's children, and reduce juvenile delinquency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We approve the purposes of the Mental Health Act and we favor such appropriations as may be necessary to make it effective.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We advocate federal aid for education administered by and under the control of the states. We vigorously support the authorization, which was so shockingly ignored by the Republican 80th Congress, for the appropriation of $300 million as a beginning of Federal aid to the states to assist them in meeting the present educational needs. We insist upon the right of every American child to obtain a good education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

The nation can never discharge its debt to its millions of war veterans. We pledge ourselves to the continuance and improvement of our national program of benefits for veterans and their families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

We are proud of the sound and comprehensive program conceived, developed and administered under Democratic leadership, including the GI Bill of Rights, which has proved beneficial to many millions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.433

The level of veterans' benefits must be constantly re-examined in the light of the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar brought about by inflation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

Employment and economic security must be [p.434] afforded all veterans. We pledge a program of housing for veterans at prices they can afford to pay.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

The disabled veteran must be provided with medical care and hospitalization of the highest possible standard.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We pledge our efforts to maintain continued farm prosperity, improvement of the standard of living and the working conditions of the farmer, and to preserve the family-size farm.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

Specifically, we favor a permanent system of flexible price supports for agricultural products, to maintain farm income on a parity with farm operating costs; an intensified soil conservation program; an extended crop insurance program; improvement of methods of distributing agricultural products; development and maintenance of stable export markets; adequate financing for the school lunch program; the use of agricultural surpluses to improve the diet of low-income families in case of need; continued expansion of the rural electrification program; strengthening of all agricultural credit programs; intensified research to improve agricultural practices, and to find new uses for farm products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We strongly urge the continuance of maximum farmer participation in all these programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We favor the repeal of the discriminatory taxes on the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We will encourage farm co-operatives and oppose any revision of federal law designed to curtail their most effective functioning as a means of achieving economy, stability and security for American agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We favor provisions under which our fishery resources and industry will be afforded the benefits that will result from more scientific research and exploration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We recognize the importance of small business in a sound American economy. It must be protected against unfair discrimination and monopoly, and be given equal opportunities with competing enterprises to expand its capital structure.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We favor non-discriminatory transportation charges and declare for the early correction of inequalities in such charges.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We pledge the continued full and unified regional development of the water, mineral, and other natural resources of the nation, recognizing that the progress already achieved under the initiative of the Democratic Party in the arid and semi-arid states of the West, as well as in the Tennessee Valley, is only an indication of still greater results which can be accomplished. Our natural resources are the heritage of all our people and must not be permitted to become the private preserves of monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

The irrigation of arid land, the establishment of new, independent, competitive business and the stimulation of new industrial opportunities for all of our people depends upon the development and transmission of electric energy in accordance with the program and the projects so successfully launched under Democratic auspices during the past sixteen years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We favor acceleration of the Federal Reclamation Program, the maximum beneficial use of water in the several states for irrigation and domestic supply. In this connection, we propose the establishment and maintenance of new family-size farms for veterans and others seeking settlement opportunities, the development of hydroelectric power and its widespread distribution over publicly owned transmission lines to assure benefits to the water users in financing irrigation projects, and to the power users for domestic and industrial purposes, with preference to public agencies and R.E.A. co-operatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

These are the aims of the Democratic Party which in the future, as in the past, will place the interest of the people as individual citizens first.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We will continue to improve the navigable waterways and harbors of the nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic `latform of 1948, p.434

We pledge to continue the policy initiated by the Democratic Party of adequate appropriations for flood control for the protection of life and property.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

In addition to practicing false economy on flood control, the Republican-controlled 80th Congress was so cruel as even to deny emergency federal funds for the relief of individuals and municipalities victimized by recent great floods, tornadoes and other disasters.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.434

We shall expand our programs for forestation, for the improvement of grazing lands, public and private, for the stockpiling of strategic minerals and the encouragement of a sound domestic mining industry. We shall carry forward experiments for the broader utilization of mineral resources in the highly beneficial manner already demonstrated in the program for the manufacture of synthetic liquid fuel from our vast deposits of [p.435] coal and oil shale and from our agricultural resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We pledge an intensive enforcement of the antitrust laws, with adequate appropriations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We advocate the strengthening of existing antitrust laws by closing the gaps which experience has shown have been used to promote concentration of economic power.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We pledge a positive program to promote competitive business and to foster the development of independent trade and commerce.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We support the right of free enterprise and the right of all persons to work together in co-operatives and other democratic associations for the purpose of carrying out any proper business operations free from any arbitrary and discriminatory restrictions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

The Democratic Party is responsible for the great civil rights gains made in recent years in eliminating unfair and illegal discrimination based on race, creed or color,

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

The Democratic Party commits itself to continuing its efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We again state our belief that racial and religious minorities must have the right to live, the right to work, the right to vote, the full and equal protection of the laws, on a basis of equality with all citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We highly commend President Harry S. Truman for his courageous stand on the issue of civil rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We call upon the Congress to support our President in guaranteeing these basic and fundamental American Principles: (1) the right of full and equal political participation; (2) the right to equal opportunity of employment; (3) the right of security of person; (4) and the right of equal treatment in the service and defense of our nation. 1

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We pledge ourselves to legislation to admit a minimum of 400,000 displaced persons found eligible for United States citizenship without discrimination as to race or religion. We condemn the undemocratic action of the Republican 80th

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

Congress in passing an inadequate and bigoted bill for this purpose, which law imposes no-American restrictions based on race and religion upon such admissions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We urge immediate statehood for Hawaii and Alaska; immediate determination by the people of Puerto Rico as to their form of government and their ultimate status with respect to the United States; and the maximum degree of local self-government for the Virgin Islands, Guam and Samoa.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We recommend to Congress the submission of a constitutional amendment on equal rights for women.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We favor the extension of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We pledge adherence to the principle of nonpartisan civilian administration of atomic energy, and the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes through free scientific inquiry for the benefit of all the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We urge the vigorous promotion of world-wide freedom in the gathering and dissemination of news by press, radio, motion pictures, newsreels and television, with complete confidence that an informed people will determine wisely the course of domestic and foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We believe the primary step toward the achievement of world-wide freedom is access by all peoples to the facts and the truth. To that end, we will encourage the greatest possible vigor on the part of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations Economic and Social Council to establish the foundations on which freedom can exist in every nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We deplore the repeated attempts of Republicans in the 80th Congress to impose thought control upon the American people and to encroach on the freedom of speech and press.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We pledge the early establishment of a national science foundation under principles which will guarantee the most effective utilization of public and private research facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We will continue our efforts to improve and strengthen our federal civil service, and provide adequate compensation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We will continue to maintain an adequate American merchant marine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.435

We condemn Communism and other forms of totalitarianism and their destructive activity overseas and at home. We shall continue to build firm [p.436] defenses against Communism by strengthening the economic and social structure of our own democracy. We reiterate our pledge to expose and prosecute treasonable activities of anti-democratic and un-American organizations which would sap our strength, paralyze our will to defend ourselves, and destroy our unity, inciting race against race, class against class, and the people against free institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.436

We shall continue vigorously to enforce the laws against subversive activities, observing at all times the constitutional guarantees which protect free speech, the free press and honest political activity. We shall strengthen our laws against subversion to the full extent necessary, protecting at all times our traditional individual freedoms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.436

We recognize that the United States has become the principal protector of the free world. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation. For these reasons it is imperative that we maintain our military strength until world peace with justice is secure. Under the leadership of President Truman, our military departments have been united and our Government organization for the national defense greatly strengthened. We pledge to maintain adequate military strength, based on these improvements, sufficient to fulfill our responsibilities in occupation zones, defend our national interests, and to bolster those free nations resisting Communist aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.436

This is our platform. These are our principles. They form a political and economic policy which has guided our party and our nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.436

The American people know these principles well. Under them, we have enjoyed greater security, greater prosperity, and more effective world leadership than ever before.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1948, p.436

Under them and with the guidance of Divine Providence we can proceed to higher levels of prosperity and security; we can advance to a better life at home; we can continue our leadership in the world with ever-growing prospects for lasting peace.[p.450]

Republican Platform of 1948

I

Declaration of Principles

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

To establish and maintain peace, to build a country in which every citizen can earn a good living with the promise of real progress for himself and his family, and to uphold as a beacon light for mankind everywhere, the inspiring American tradition of liberty, opportunity and justice for all—that is the Republican platform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

To this end we propose as a guide to definite action the following principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Maximum voluntary cooperation between citizens and minimum dependence on law; never, however, declining courageous recourse to law if necessary.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Our competitive system furnishes vital opportunity for youth and for all enterprising citizens; it makes possible the productive power which is the unique weapon of our national defense; and is the mainspring of material well-being and political freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Government, as the servant of such a system, should take all needed steps to strengthen and develop public health, to promote scientific research, to provide security for the aged, and to promote a stable economy so that men and women need not fear the loss of their jobs or the threat of economic hardships through no fault of their own.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

The rights and obligations of workers are commensurate with the rights and obligations of employers and they are interdependent; these rights should be protected against coercion and exploitation from whatever quarter and with due regard for the general welfare of all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

The soil as our basic natural resource must be conserved with increased effectiveness; and farm prices should be supported on a just basis.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Development of the priceless national heritage which is in our West is vital to our nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Administration of government must be economical and effective.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Faulty governmental policies share an important responsibility for the present cruelly high cost of living. We pledge prompt action to correct these policies. There must be decent living at decent wages.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Our common defense must be strengthened and unified.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Our foreign policy is dedicated to preserving a free America in a free world of free men. This calls for strengthening the United Nations and primary recognition of America's self-interest in the liberty of other peoples. Prudently conserving our own resources, we shall cooperate on a self-help basis with other peace-loving nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

Constant and effective insistence on the personal dignity of the individual, and his right to complete justice without regard to race, creed or color, is a fundamental American principle.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

We aim always to unite and to strengthen; never to weaken or divide. In such a brotherhood will we Americans get results. Thus we will overcome all obstacles.

II

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

In the past eighteen months, the Republican Congress, in the face of frequent obstruction from the Executive Branch, made a record of solid achievement. Here are some of the accomplishments of this Republican Congress:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

The long trend of extravagant and ill-advised Executive action reversed;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

the budget balanced;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

taxes reduced;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

limitation of Presidential tenure to two terms passed;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

assistance to veterans, their widows and orphans provided;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

assistance to agriculture and business enacted;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

elimination of the poll tax as a requisite to soldier voting;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.450

a sensible reform of the labor law, protecting all rights of Labor while safeguarding the entire community against those breakdowns in essential [p.451] industries which endanger the health and livelihood of all;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

a long-range farm program enacted;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

unification of the armed services launched;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

a military manpower law enacted;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

the United Nations fostered;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

a haven for displaced persons provided;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

the most far-reaching measures in history adopted to aid the recovery of the free world on a basis of self-help and with prudent regard for our own resources;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

and, finally, the development of intelligent plans and party teamwork for the day when the American people entrust the Executive as well as the Legislative branch of our National Government to the Republican Party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

We shall waste few words on the tragic lack of foresight and general inadequacy of those now in charge of the Executive Branch of the National Government; they have lost the confidence of citizens of all parties.

III

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

Present cruelly high prices are due in large part to the fact that the government has not effectively used the powers it possesses to combat inflation, but has deliberately encouraged higher prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

We pledge an attack upon the basic causes of inflation, including the following measures:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

progressive reduction of the cost of government through elimination of waste;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

stimulation of production as the surest way to lower prices;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

fiscal policies to provide increased incentives for production and thrift;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

a sound currency;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

reduction of the public debt.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

We pledge further, that in the management of our National Government, we shall achieve the abolition of overlapping, duplication, extravagance, and excessive centralization;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

the more efficient assignment of functions within the government;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

and the rooting out of Communism wherever found.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

These things are fundamental.

IV

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

We must, however, do more.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

The Constitution gives us the affirmative mandate "to establish justice."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

In Lincoln's words: The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

The tragic experience of Europe tells us that popular government disappears when it is ineffective and no longer can translate into action the aims and the aspirations of the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

Therefore, in domestic affairs, we propose:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

The maintenance of armed services for air, land and sea, to a degree which will insure our national security; and the achievement of effective unity in the Department of National Defense so as to insure maximum economy in money and manpower, and maximum effectiveness in case of war. We favor sustained effective action to procure sufficient manpower for the services, recognizing the American principle that every citizen has an obligation of service to his country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

An adequate privately operated merchant marine, the continued development of our harbors and waterways, and the expansion of privately operated air transportation and communication systems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

The maintenance of Federal finances in a healthy condition and continuation of the efforts so well started by the Republican Congress to reduce the enormous burden of taxation in order to provide incentives for the creation of new industries and new jobs, and to bring relief from inflation. We favor intelligent integration of Federal-State taxing and spending policies designed to eliminate wasteful duplication, and in order that the State and local governments may be able to assume their separate responsibilities, the Federal government shall as soon as practicable withdraw or reduce those taxes which can be best administered by local governments, with particular consideration of excise and inheritance taxes; and we favor restoring to America a working federalism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.451

Small business, the bulwark of American enterprise, must be encouraged through aggressive anti-monopoly action, elimination of unnecessary controls, protection against discrimination, correction of tax abuses, and limitation of competition by governmental organizations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

[p.452] Collective bargaining is an obligation as well as a right, applying equally to workers and employers; and the fundamental right to strike is subordinate only to paramount considerations of public health and safety. Government's chief function in this field is to promote good will, encourage cooperation, and where resort is had to intervention, to be impartial, preventing violence and requiring obedience to all law by all parties involved. We pledge continuing study to improve labor-management legislation in the light of experience and changing conditions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

There must be a long-term program in the interest of agriculture and the consumer which should include: An accelerated program of sounder soil conservation; effective protection of reasonable market prices through flexible support prices, commodity loans, marketing agreements, together with such other means as may be necessary, and the development of sound farm credit; encouragement of family-size farms; intensified research to discover new crops, new uses for existing crops, and control of hoof and mouth and other animal diseases and crop pests; support of the principle of bona fide farmer-owned and farmer-operated co-operatives, and sound rural electrification.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

We favor progressive development of the Nation's water resources for navigation, flood control and power, with immediate action in critical areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

We favor conservation of all our natural resources and believe that conservation and stock-piling of strategic and critical raw materials is indispensable to the security of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

We urge the full development of our forests on the basis of cropping and sustained yield with co-operation of States and private owners for conservation and fire protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

We favor a comprehensive reclamation program for arid and semi-arid areas with full protection of the rights and interests of the States in the use and control of water for irrigation, power development incidental thereto and other beneficial uses; withdrawal or acquisition of lands for public purposes only by Act of Congress and after due consideration of local problems; development of processes for the extraction of oil and other substances from oil shale and coal; adequate representation of the West in the National Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

Recognizing the Nation's solemn obligation to all veterans, we propose a realistic and adequate adjustment of benefits on a cost-of-living basis for service-connected disabled veterans and their dependents, and for the widows, orphans and dependents of veterans who died in the service of their country. All disabled veterans should have ample opportunity for suitable, self-sustaining employment. We demand good-faith compliance with veterans preference in Federal service with simplification and codification of the hundreds of piecemeal Federal laws affecting veterans, and efficient and businesslike management of the Veterans Administration. We pledge the highest possible standards of medical care and hospitalization.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

Housing can best be supplied and financed by private enterprise; but government can and should encourage the building of better homes at less cost. We recommend Federal aid to the States for local slum clearance and low-rental housing programs only where there is a need that cannot be met either by private enterprise or by the States and localities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

Consistent with the vigorous existence of our competitive economy, we urge: extension of the Federal Old Age and Survivors' Insurance program and increase of the benefits to a more realistic level; strengthening of Federal-State programs designed to provide more adequate hospital facilities, too improve methods of treatment for the mentally ill, to advance maternal and child health and generally to foster a healthy America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

Lynching or any other form of mob violence anywhere is a disgrace to any civilized state, and we favor the prompt enactment of legislation to end this infamy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.452

One of the basic principles of this Republic is the equality of all individuals in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This principle is enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution of the United States; it was vindicated on the field of battle and became the cornerstone of this Republic. This right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color, or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such Federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of this Republic.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

[p.453] We favor the abolition of the poll tax as a requisite to voting.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We are opposed to the idea of racial segregation in the armed services of the United States.

V

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We pledge a vigorous enforcement of existing laws against Communists and enactment of such new legislation as may be necessary to expose the treasonable activities of Communists and defeat their objective of establishing here a godless dictatorship controlled from abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We favor a revision of the procedure for the election of the President and Vice President which will more exactly reflect the popular vote.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We recommend to Congress the submission of a constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We favor equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We propose a well-paid and efficient Federal career service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We favor the elimination of unnecessary Federal bureaus and of the duplication of the functions of necessary governmental agencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We favor equality of educational opportunity for all and the promotion of education and educational facilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We favor restoration to the States of their historic rights to the tide and submerged lands, tributary waters, lakes, and streams.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We favor eventual statehood for Hawaii, Alaska and Puerto Rico. We urge development of Alaskan land communications and natural resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We favor self-government for the residents of the nation's capital.

VI

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We dedicate our foreign policy to the preservation of a free America in a free world of free men. With neither malice nor desire for conquest, we shall strive for a just peace with all nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

America is deeply interested in the stability, security and liberty of other independent peoples. Within the prudent limits of our own economic welfare, we shall cooperate, on a basis of self-help and mutual aid, to assist other peace-loping nations to restore their economic independence and the human rights and fundamental freedoms for which we fought two wars and upon which dependable peace must build. We shall insist on businesslike and efficient administration of all foreign aid.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We welcome and encourage the sturdy progress toward unity in Western Europe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We shall erect our foreign policy on the basis of friendly firmness which welcomes co-operation but spurns appeasement. We shall pursue a consistent foreign policy which invites steadiness and reliance and which thus avoids the misunderstandings from which wars result. We shall protect the future against the errors of the Democrat Administration, which has too often lacked clarity, competence or consistency in our vital international relationships and has too often abandoned justice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We believe in collective security against aggression and in behalf of justice and freedom. We shall support the United Nations as the world's best hope in this direction, striving to strengthen it and promote its effective evolution and use. The United Nations should progressively establish international law, be freed of any veto in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and be provided with the armed forces contemplated by the Charter. We particularly commend the value of regional arrangements as prescribed by the Charter; and we cite the Western Hemispheric Defense Pact as a useful model.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We shall nourish these Pan-American agreements in the new spirit of co-operation which implements the Monroe Doctrine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We welcome Israel into the family of nations and take pride in the fact that the Republican Party was the first to call for the establishment of a free and independent Jewish Commonwealth. The vacillation of the Democrat Administration on this question has undermined the prestige of the United Nations. Subject to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, we pledge to Israel full recognition, with its boundaries as sanctioned by the United Nations and aid in developing its economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We will foster and cherish our historic policy of friendship with China and assert our deep interest in the maintenance of its integrity and freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.453

We shall seek to restore autonomy and self-sufficiency as rapidly as possible in our post-war occupied areas, guarding always against any rebirth of aggression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.454

We shall relentlessly pursue our aims for the [p.454] universal limitation and control of arms and implements of war on a basis of reliable disciplines against bad faith.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.454

At all times safeguarding our own industry and agriculture, and under efficient administrative procedures for the legitimate consideration of domestic needs, we shall support the system of reciprocal trade and encourage international commerce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.454

We pledge that under a Republican Administration all foreign commitments shall be made public and subject to constitutional ratification. We shall say what we mean and mean what we say. In all of these things we shall primarily consult the national security and welfare of our own United States. In all of these things we shall welcome the world's co-operation. But in none of these things shall we surrender our ideals or our free institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.454

We are proud of the part that Republicans have taken in those limited areas of foreign policy in which they have been permitted to participate. We shall invite the Minority Party to join us under the next Republican Administration in stopping partisan politics at the water's edge.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.454

We faithfully dedicate ourselves to peace with justice.

VII

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1948, p.454

Guided by these principles, with continuing faith in Almighty God; united in the spirit of brotherhood; and using to the full the skills, resources and blessings of liberty with which we are endowed; we, the American people, will courageously advance to meet the challenge of the future.[p.473]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1952

Democratic Platform of 1952

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.473

Our nation has entered into an age in which Divine Providence has permitted the genius of man to unlock the secret of the atom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.473

No system of government can survive the challenge of an atomic era unless its administration is committed to the stewardship of a trustee imbued with a democratic faith, a buoyant hope for the future, the charity of brotherhood, and the vision to translate these ideals into the realities of human government. The Government of the United States, administered by the Democratic Party, is today so entrusted.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.473

The free choice of the Democratic Party by the people of America as the instrument to achieve that purpose will mean world peace with honor, national security based on collective pacts with other free nations, and a high level of human dignity. National survival demands that these goals be attained, and the endowments of the Democratic Party alone can assure their attainment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.473

For twenty years, under the dedicated guidance of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, our country has moved steadily along the road which has led the United States of America to world leadership in the cause of freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.473

We will not retreat one inch along that road. Rather, it is our prayerful hope that the people, whom we have so faithfully served, will renew the mandate to continue our service and that Almighty God may grant us the wisdom to succeed.

Twenty Years of Progress

Achieving Prosperity

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.473

An objective appraisal of the past record clearly demonstrates that the Democratic Party has been the chosen American instrument to achieve prosperity, build a stronger democracy, erect the structure of world peace, and continue on the path of progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

[p.474] Democratic Party policies and programs rescued American business from total collapse from the fatal economic consequences of watered stock, unsound banks, useless and greedy holding companies, high tariff barriers, and predatory business practices, all of which prevailed under the last Republican administrations. Democratic policies have enabled the Federal Government to help all business, small and large, to achieve the highest rate of productivity, the widest domestic and world markets, and the largest profits in the history of the Nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

The simple fact is that today there are more than four million operating business enterprises in this country, over one million more than existed in 1932. Corporate losses in that fateful year were over three billion dollars; in 1951, corporate profits, after taxes, reached the staggering total of eighteen billion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

Democratic policies and programs rescued American agriculture from the economic consequences of blight, drought, flood and storm, from oppressive and indiscriminate foreclosures, and from the ruinous conditions brought about by the bungling incompetence and neglect of the preceding twelve years of Republican maladministration. Economic stability, soil conservation, rural electrification, farm dwelling improvement, increased production and efficiency and more than sevenfold increase in cash income have been the return to farmers for their faith in the Democratic Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

Democratic labor policies have rescued the wage earners in this country from mass unemployment and from sweatshop slavery at starvation wages. Under our Democratic administrations, decent hours, decent wages, and decent working conditions have become the rule rather than the exception.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

Self organizations of labor unions and collective bargaining, both of which are the keystone to labor management, peace and prosperity, must be encouraged, for the good of all.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

Unemployment is now less than 3 per cent of the labor force, compared with almost 25 per cent in 1932. Trade union membership has reached a total of 16 million, which is more than five times the total of 1932.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

The welfare of all economic and social groups in our society has been promoted by the sound, progressive and humane policies of the Democratic Party.

Strengthening Democracy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

We are convinced that lasting prosperity must be founded upon a healthy democratic society respectful of the rights of all people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

Under Democratic Party leadership more has been done in the past twenty years to enhance the sanctity of individual rights than ever before in our history. Racial and religious minorities have progressed further toward real equality than during the preceding 150 years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

Governmental services, Democratically administered, have been improved and extended. The efficiency, economy, and integration of Federal operations have been advocated and effectuated through sound programs and policies. Through cooperative programs of Federal aid, State and local governments have been encouraged and enabled to provide many more services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

The Democratic Party has been alert to the corroding and demoralizing effects of dishonesty and disloyalty in the public service. It has exposed and punished those who would corrupt the integrity of the public service, and it has always championed honesty and morality in government. The loyalty program of President Truman has served effectively to prevent infiltration by subversive elements and to protect honest and loyal public servants against unfounded and malicious attacks.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

We commend the relentless and fearless actions of Congressional Committees which, under vigorous Democratic leadership, have exposed dereliction in public service, and we pledge our support to a continuance of such actions as conditions require them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

The administration of our government by the Democratic Party has been based upon principles of justice and equity, and upon the American tradition of fair play. Men who are elected to high political office are entrusted with high responsibilities. Slander, defamation of character, deception and dishonesty are as truly transgressions of God's commandments, when resorted to by men in public life, as they are for all other men.

Building Peace with Honor

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

The Democratic Party has worked constantly for peace—lasting peace, peace with honor, freedom, justice and security for all nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.474

The return of the Democratic Party to power in 1933 marked the end of a tragic era of isolationism [p.475] fostered by Republican Administrations which had deliberately and callously rejected the golden opportunity created by Woodrow Wilson for collective action to secure the peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

This folly contributed to the second World War. Victory in that war has presented the nations of the world a new opportunity which the Democratic Party is determined shall not be lost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

We have helped establish the instrumentalities through which the hope of mankind for universal world peace can be realized. Under Democratic leadership, our Nation has moved promptly and effectively to meet and repel the menace to world peace by Soviet imperialism.

Progress in the New Era

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

The Democratic Party believes that past progress is but a prelude to the bureau aspirations which may be realized in the future.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

Under Democratic Party leadership, America has accepted each new challenge of history and has found practical solutions to meet and overcome them. This we have done without departing from the principles of our basic philosophy, that is, the destiny of man to achieve his earthly ends in the spirit of brotherhood.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

A great Democrat—Franklin Delano Roosevelt—devised the programs of the New Deal to meet the pressing problems of the 1930s. Another great Democrat—Harry S. Truman—devised the programs of the Fair Deal to meet the complex problems of America in the 1940s. The Democratic Party is ready to face and solve the challenging problems of the 1950s. We dedicate ourselves to the magnificent work of these great Presidents and to mould and adapt their democratic principles to the new problems of the years ahead.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

In this spirit we adopt and pledge ourselves to this, the Democratic platform for 1952:

Our Goal is Peace With Honor

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

Peace with honor is the greatest of all our goals. We pledge our unremitting efforts to avert another world war. We are determined that the people shall be spared that frightful agony.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

We are convinced that peace and security can be safeguarded if America does not deviate from the practical and successful policies developed under Democratic leadership since the close of World War II. We will resolutely move ahead with the constructive task of promoting peace.

The Democratic Program for Peace and National Security

Supporting the United Nations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

Under Democratic leadership, this country sponsored and helped create the United Nations and became a charter member and staunchly supports its aims.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

We will continue our efforts to strengthen the United Nations, improve its institutions as experience requires, and foster its growth and development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

The Communist aggressor has been hurled back from South Korea. Thus, Korea has proved, once and for all, that the United Nations will resist aggression. We urge continued effort, by every honorable means, to bring about a fair and effective peace settlement in Korea in accordance with the principles of the United Nations' charter.

Strong National Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

Our Nation has strengthened its national defenses against the menace of Soviet aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

The Democratic Party will continue to stand unequivocally for the strong, balanced defense forces for this country—land, sea and air. We will continue to support the expansion and maintenance of the military and civil defense forces required for our national security. We reject the defeatist view of those who say we cannot afford the expense and effort necessary to defend ourselves. We express our full confidence in the Joint Chiefs of Staff. We voice complete faith in the ability and valor of our armed forces, and pride in their accomplishments.

Collective Strength for the Free World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

We reject the ridiculous notions of those who would have the United States face the aggressors alone. That would be the most expensive—and the most dangerous—method of seeking security. This nation needs strong allies, around the world, making their maximum contribution to the common defense. They add their strength to ours in the defense of freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.475

The Truman Doctrine in 1947, the organization of hemisphere defense at Rio de Janeiro that same year, the Marshall Plan in 1948, the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949, the Point IV program, the resistance to Communist aggression in Korea, the Pacific Security pacts in 1951, and the Mutual Security programs now under way—all stand as [p.476] landmarks of America's progress in mobilizing the strength of the free world to keep the peace.

Encouraging European Unity

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We encourage the economic and political unity of free Europe and the increasing solidarity of the nations of the North Atlantic Community.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We hail the Schuman Plan to pool the basic resources of industrial Western Europe, and the European Defense Community. We are proud of America's part in carrying these great projects forward, and we pledge our continuing support until they are established.

Support for Free Germany

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We welcome the German Federal Republic into the company of free nations. We are determined that Germany shall remain free and continue as a good neighbor in the European community. We sympathize with the German people's wish for unity and will continue to do everything we can by peaceful means to overcome the Kremlin's obstruction of that rightful aim.

Support for the Victims of Soviet Imperialism

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We will not abandon the once-free peoples of Central and Eastern Europe who suffer now under the Kremlin's tyranny in violation of the Soviet Union's most solemn pledges at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam. The United States should join other nations in formally declaring genocide to be an international crime in time of peace as well as war. This crime was exposed once more by the shocking revelations of Soviet guilt as disclosed in the report filed in Congress by the special committee investigating the Katyn Forest massacre. We look forward to the clay when the liberties of Poland and the other oppressed Soviet satellites, including Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia and other nations in Asia under Soviet domination, will be restored to them and they can again take their rightful place in the community of free nations. We will carry forward and expand the vital and effective program of the "Voice of America" for penetration of the "Iron Curtain," bringing truth and hope to all the people subjugated by the Soviet Empire.

Support for the Nations of the Middle East

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We seek to enlist the people of the Middle East to work with us and with each other in the development of the region, the lifting of health and living standards, and the attainment of peace. We favor the development of integrated security arrangements for the Middle East and other assistance to help safeguard the independence of the countries in the area.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We pledge continued assistance to Israel so that she may fulfill her humanitarian mission of providing shelter and sanctuary for her homeless Jewish refugees while strengthening her economic development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We will continue to support the tripartite declaration of May 1950, to encourage Israel and the Arab States to settle their differences by direct negotiation, to maintain and protect the sanctity of the Holy Places and to permit free access to them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We pledge aid to the Arab States to enable them to develop their economic resources and raise the living standards of their people. We support measures for the relief and reintegration of the Palestine refugees, and we pledge continued assistance to the reintegration program voted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in January 1952.

South Asia: A Testing Ground for Democracy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

In the subcontinent of South Asia, we pledge continuing support for the great new countries of India and Pakistan in their efforts to create a better life for their people and build strong democratic governments to stand as bastions of liberty in Asia, secure against the threat of Communist subversion.

Collective Security in the Pacific

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

We welcome free Japan as a friendly neighbor and an ally in seeking security and progress for the whole Pacific area. America's security pacts with Japan and with the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand are indispensable steps toward comprehensive mutual security arrangements in that area. Our military and economic assistance to the Nationalist Government of China on Formosa has strengthened that vital outpost of the free world, and will be continued.

Strengthening the Americas

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.476

In the Western Hemisphere, we pledge ourselves to continue the policy of the good neighbor. We will strive constantly to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation with our Latin [p.477] American allies who are joined with us in the defense of the Americas.

Disarmament Remains the Goal

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

The free world is rearming to secure the peace. Under Democratic leadership, America always stands prepared to join in a workable system for foolproof inspection and limitation of all armaments, including atomic weapons. This Nation has taken the leadership in proposing concrete, practical plans for such a system. We are determined to carry on the effort for real, effective disarmament.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

We look forward to the day when a great share of the resources now devoted to the armaments program can be diverted into the channels of peaceful production to speed the progress of America and of the underdeveloped regions of the world.

Helping Other People to Help Themselves

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

Even though we cannot now disarm, we will go forward as rapidly as possible in developing the imaginative and farsighted concept of President Truman embodied in the Point IV program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

We will continue to encourage use of American skills and capital in helping the people of underdeveloped lands to combat disease, raise living standards, improve land tenure and develop industry and trade. The continuance of ever stronger and more vigorous Point IV programs—sponsored both by this country and by the United Nations—is an indispensable element in creating a peaceful world.

Upholding the Principle of Self-Determination

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

In an era when the "satellite state" symbolizes both the tyranny of the aggressor nations and the extinction of liberty in small nations, the Democratic Party reasserts and reaffirms the Wilsonian principle of the right of national self-determination. It is part of the policy of the Democratic Party, therefore, to encourage and assist small nations and all peoples in the peaceful and orderly achievement of their legitimate aspirations toward political, geographical and ethnic integrity so that they may dwell in the family of sovereign nations with freedom and dignity.

Expanding World Trade

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

The Democratic Party has always stood for expanding trade among free nations. We reassert that stand today. We vigorously oppose any restrictive policies which would weaken the highly successful reciprocal trade program fathered by Cordell Hull.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

Since 1934, the United States has taken the lead in fostering the expansion and liberalization of world trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

Our own economy requires expanded export markets for our manufactured and agricultural products and a greater supply of essential imported raw materials. At the same time, our friends throughout the world will have opportunity to earn their own way to higher living standards with lessened dependence on our aid.

Progressive Immigration Policies

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

Solution of the problem of refugees from communism and overpopulation has become a permanent part of the foreign policy program of the Democratic Party. We pledge continued cooperation with other free nations to solve it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

We pledge continued aid to refugees from communism and the enactment of President Truman's proposals for legislation in this field. In this way we can give hope and courage to the victims of Soviet brutality and can carry on the humanitarian tradition of the Displaced Persons Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

Subversive elements must be screened out and prevented from entering our land, but the gates must be left open for practical numbers of desirable persons from abroad whose immigration to this country provides an invigorating infusion into the stream of American life, as well as a significant contribution to the solution of the world refugee and overpopulation problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

We pledge continuing revision of our immigration and naturalization laws to do away with any unjust and unfair practices against national groups which have contributed some of our best citizens. We will eliminate distinctions between native-born and naturalized citizens. We want no "second-class" citizens in free America.

Our Domestic Policy

Economic Opportunity and Growth

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

The United States is today a land of boundless opportunity. Never before has it offered such a large measure of prosperity, security and hope for all its people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.477

Horizons of even greater abundance and opportunity lie before us under a Democratic Administration responsive to the will of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

[p.478] The Democratic Administration has had a guiding principle since taking office 20 years ago: that the prosperity and growth of this Nation are indivisible. Every step we have taken to help the farmers has also helped the workers and business. Every improvement in the status of the worker has helped both farmers and business. Every expansion of business has provided more jobs for workers and greater demand for farm products.

A Stabilized Economy

Combatting Inflation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

The Democratic Administration early recognized that defense production would limit the amount of goods in civilian markets, and subject our economy to heavy inflationary pressure. To prevent this from resulting in ruinous inflation, the Administration proposed pay-as-we-go taxation to keep the national debt as low as possible and ' to prevent excess money pressure on scarce goods and services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

Direct controls were also proposed to channel scarce materials into highly essential defense production, and to keep prices down.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

In 1951 and 1952 Republican Congressmen demonstrated their attitude toward these necessary measures when they sponsored amendments which would have destroyed all controls.

Prices

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

We shall strive to redress the injury done to the American people—especially to white collar workers and fixed-income families—by the weakening amendments which the Republicans in Congress have forced into our anti-inflation laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

We pledge continuance of workable controls so long as the emergency requires them. We pledge fair and impartial enforcement of controls and their removal as quickly as economic conditions allow.

Rents

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

We strongly urge continued federal rent control in critical defense areas and in the many other localities still suffering from a substantial shortage of adequate housing at reasonable prices.

Full Employment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

The Democratic Administration prudently passed the Employment Act of 1946 declaring it to be national policy never again to permit large-scale unemployment to stalk the land. We will assure the transition from defense production to peace-time production without the ravages of unemployment. We pledge ourselves at all times to the maintenance of maximum employment, production, and purchasing power in the American economy.

Integrity in Government Finances

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

We solemnly pledge the preservation of the financial strength of the Government. We have demonstrated our ability to maintain and enhance the nation's financial strength. In the six full fiscal years since V-J Day, our fiscal policy has produced a $4 billion budget surplus. We have reduced the public debt $17 billion from the postwar peak.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

We have demonstrated our ability to make fiscal policy contribute in a positive way to economic growth and the maintenance of high-level employment. The policies which have been followed have given us the greatest prosperity in our history. Sustained economic expansion has provided the funds necessary to finance our defense and has still left our people with record high consumer incomes and business with a record volume of investment. Employment and personal incomes are at record levels. Never have Americans enjoyed a higher standard of living and saved more for contingencies and old age.

Federal Taxes

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

We believe in fair and equitable taxation. We oppose a Federal general sales tax. We adhere to the principle of ability to pay. We have enacted an emergency excess profits tax to prevent profiteering from the defense program and have vigorously attacked special tax privileges.

Tax Reductions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.478

In the future, as in the past, we will hold firm to policies consistent with sound financing and continuing economic progress. As rapidly as defense requirements permit, we favor reducing taxes, especially for people with lower incomes. But we will not imperil our Nation's security by making reckless promises to reduce taxes. We deplore irresponsible assertions that national security can be achieved without paying for it.

Closing Tax Loopholes

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

Justice requires the elimination of tax loopholes [p.479] which favor special groups. We pledge continued efforts to the elimination of remaining loopholes.

Government Expenditures

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

We believe in keeping government expenditures to the lowest practicable level. The great bulk of our national budget consists of obligations incurred for defense purposes. We pledge ourselves to a vigilant review of our expenditures in order to reduce them as much as possible.

The American Farmer and Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

We know that national prosperity depends upon a vigorous, productive and expanding agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

We take great pride in our Party's record of performance and in the impressive gains made by American agriculture in the last two decades. Under programs of Democratic Administrations the net agricultural income has increased from less than two billion dollars to almost fifteen billion dollars. These programs must be continued and improved.

Resource Conservation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

The soil resources of our country have been conserved and strengthened through the Soil Conservation Service, the Agricultural Conservation Program, the Forestry and the Research programs, with their incentives to increased production through sound conservation farming. These programs have revolutionized American agriculture and must be continued and expanded. We will accelerate programs of upstream flood prevention, watershed protection, and soil, forest and water conservation in all parts of the country. These conservation measures are a national necessity; they are invaluable to our farmers, and add greatly to the welfare of all Americans and of generations yet unborn.

Grass Roots Administration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

We will continue the widest possible farmer participation through referenda, farmer-elected committees, local soil conservation districts, and self-governing agencies in the conduct and administration of these truly democratic programs, initiated and developed under Democratic administrations.

Price Supports

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

Under the present farm program, our farmers have performed magnificently and have achieved unprecedented production. We applaud the recent Congressional action in setting aside the "sliding scale" for price support through 1954, and we will continue to protect the producers of basic agricultural commodities under the terms of a mandatory price support program at not less than ninety percent of parity. We continue to advocate practical methods for extending price supports to other storables and to the producers of perishable commodities, which account for three-fourths of all farm income.

Abundant Production

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

We will continue to assist farmers in providing abundant and stable supplies of agricultural commodities for the consumers at reasonable prices, and in assuring the farmer the opportunity to earn a fair return commensurate with that enjoyed by other segments of the American economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

The agricultural adjustment programs encourage the production of abundant supplies while enabling producers to keep supply in line with consumer demand, preventing wide fluctuations and bringing stability to the agricultural income of the Nation. We pledge retention of such programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

We pledge continued efforts to provide adequate storage facilities for grain and other farm products with sufficient capacity for needed reserves for defense, and other emergency requirements, in order to protect the integrity of the farm price support programs.

Research

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

We are justly proud of the outstanding achievements of our agricultural research. We favor a greatly expanded research and education program for American agriculture in order that both production and distribution may more effectively serve consumers and producers alike, and thus meet the needs of the modern world. We favor especial emphasis on the development of new crops and varieties, on crop and livestock disease and pest control, and on agricultural statistics and marketing services.

Marketing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.479

We must find profitable markets for the products of our farms, and we should produce all that these markets will absorb. To this end we will [p.480] continue our efforts to reduce trade barriers, both at home and abroad, to provide better marketing and inspection facilities, and to find new uses and outlets for our foods and fibers both in domestic and foreign markets.

Farm Credit

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

We have provided credit facilities for all agriculture, including means by which young men, veterans of military service, and farm tenants have been encouraged to become farmers and farm home-owners, and through which low-income farmers have been assisted in establishing self-sustaining and fully productive farm units. We will not waver in our efforts to provide such incentives.

Crop Insurance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

Crop insurance to protect farmers against loss from destruction of their crops by natural causes has been created and developed under Democratic Administrations into a sound business operation. This program should be expanded as rapidly as experience justifies, in order that its benefits may be made available to every farmer.

Rural Electrification

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

Democratic Administrations have established the great Rural Electrification Program, which has brought light and power to the rural homes of our Nation. In 1935, only 10% of the farm homes of America had the benefits of electricity. Today 85% of our rural homes enjoy the benefits of electric light and power. We will continue to fight to make electricity available to all rural homes, with adequate facilities for the generation and transmission of power. Through the Rural Telephone Program, inaugurated by the Democratic 81st Congress, we will provide the opportunity for every farm home to have this modern essential service. We pledge support of these self-liquidating farm programs.

Cooperatives

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

We will continue to support the sound development and growth of bona fide farm cooperatives and to protect them from punitive taxation.

Defense Needs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

We will continue to recognize agriculture as an essential defense industry, and to assist in providing all the necessary tools, machinery, fertilizer, and manpower needed by farmers in meeting production goals.

Family Farming

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

The family farm is the keystone of American agriculture. We will strive unceasingly to make the farm homes of our country healthier and happier places in which to live. We must see that our youth continues to find attractive opportunity in the field of agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

The Republican Party platform is loud in its criticism of our great farm programs. We challenge Republicans and other enemies of farm progress to justify their opposition to the program now in operation, to oppose the improvements here proposed, or to advocate repeal of a single vital part of our program.

A Fair Deal for Workers

Good Incomes

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

There can be no national prosperity unless our working men and women continue to prosper and enjoy rising living standards. The rising productivity of American workers is a key to our unparalleled industrial progress. Good incomes for our workers are the secret of our great and growing consumer markets.

Labor-Management Relations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

Good labor-management relations are essential to good incomes for wage earners and rising output from our factories. We believe that to the widest possible extent consistent with the public interest, management and labor should determine wage rates and conditions of employment through free collective bargaining.

Taft-Hartley Act

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

We strongly advocate the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

The Taft-Hartley Act has been proved to be inadequate, unworkable, and unfair. It interferes in an arbitrary manner with collective bargaining, tipping the scales in favor of management against labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.480

The Taft-Hartley Act has revived the injunction as a weapon against labor in industrial relations. The Act has arbitrarily forbidden traditional hiring [p.481] practices which are desired by both management and labor in many industries. The Act has forced workers to act as strikebreakers against their fellow unionists. The Act has served to interfere with one of the most fundamental rights of American workers—the right to organize in unions of their own choosing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

We deplore the fact that the Taft-Hartley Act provides an inadequate and unfair means of meeting with national emergency situations. We advocate legislation that will enable the President to deal fairly and effectively with cases where a breakdown in collective bargaining seriously threatens the national safety or welfare.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

In keeping with the progress of the times, and based on past experiences, a new legislative approach toward the entire labor management problem should be explored.

Fair Labor Standards

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

We pledge to continue our efforts so that government programs designed to establish improved fair labor standards shall prove a means of assuring minimum wages, hours and protection to workers, consistent with present-day progress.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

We believe in equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, and we urge legislation to make that principle effective.

The Physically-Handicapped

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

We promise to further the program to afford employment opportunities both in government and in private industry for physically handicapped persons.

Migratory Workers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

We advocate prompt improvement of employment conditions of migratory workers and increased protection of their safety and health.

Strengthening Free Enterprise

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

The free enterprise system has flourished and prospered in America during these last twenty years as never before. This has been made possible by the purchasing power of all our people and we are determined that the broad base of our prosperity shall be maintained.

Small and Independent Business

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

Small and independent business is the backbone of American free enterprise. Upon its health depends the growth of the economic system whose competitive spirit has built this Nation's industrial strength and provided its workers and consumers with an incomparably high standard of living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

Independent business is the best offset to monopoly practice The Government's role is to insure that independent business receives equally fair treatment with its competitors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

Congress has established the permanent Small Business Committee of the Senate and the Special Small Business Committee of the House, which have continued to render great service to this important segment of our economy. We favor continuance of both these committees with all the powers to investigate and report conditions, correct discriminations, and propose needed legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

We pledge ourselves to increased efforts to assure that small business be given equal opportunity to participate in Government contracts, and that a suitable proportion of the dollar volume of defense contracts be channeled into independent small business. The Small Defense Plants Administration, which our Party caused to be established, should retain its independent status and be made a continuing agency, equipped with sufficient lending powers to assist qualified small business in securing defense contracts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

We urge the enactment of such laws as will provide favorable incentives to the establishment and survival of independent businesses, especially in the provision of tax incentives and access to equity or risk capital.

Enforcement of Anti-Trust Laws

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

Free competitive enterprise must remain free and competitive if the productive forces of this Nation are to remain strong. We are alarmed over the increasing concentration of economic power in the hands of a few.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.481

We reaffirm our belief in the necessity of vigorous enforcement of the laws against trusts, combinations, and restraints of trade, which laws are vital to the safeguarding of the public interest and of small competitive business men against predatory monopolies. We will seek adequate appropriations [p.482] for the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission for vigorous investigation and for enforcement of the anti-trust laws. We support the right of all persons to work together in cooperatives and other democratic associations for the purpose of carrying out any proper business operations free from any arbitrary and discriminatory restrictions.

Protection of Investors and Consumers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

We must avoid unnecessary business controls. But we cannot close our eyes to the special problems which require Government surveillance. The Government must continue its efforts to stop unfair selling practices which deceive investors, and unfair trade practices which deceive consumers.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

In the furtherance of national defense and commerce, we pledge continued Government support, on a sound financial basis, for further development of the Nation's transportation systems, land, sea and air. We endorse a policy of fostering the safest and most reliable air transportation system of the world. We favor fair, nondiscriminatory freight rates to encourage economic growth in all parts of the country.

Highways

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

In cooperation with State and local governmental units, we will continue to plan, coordinate, finance, and encourage the expansion of our road and highway network, including access roads, for the dual purposes of national defense and efficient motor transportation. We support expansion of farm-to-market roads.

Rivers and Harbors

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

We pledge continued development of our harbors and waterways.

Merchant Marine

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

We will continue to encourage and support an adequate Merchant Marine.

Our Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

The United States has been blessed with the richest natural resources of any nation on earth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

Yet, unless we redouble our conservation efforts we will become a "have-not" nation in some of the most important raw materials upon which depend our industries, agriculture, employment and high standard of living. This can be prevented by a well rounded and nation-wide conservation effort.

Land and Water Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

We favor sound, progressive development of the Nation's land and water resources for flood control, navigation, irrigation, power, drainage, soil conservation and creation of new, small family-sized farms, with immediate action in critical areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

We favor the acceleration of all such projects, including construction of transmission facilities to load centers for wider and more equitable distribution of electric energy at the lowest cost to the consumer with continuing preference to public agencies and REA Cooperatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

The Democratic Party denounces all obstructionist devices designed to prevent or retard utilization of the Nation's power and water resources for the benefit of the people, their enterprises and interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

The wise policy of the Democratic Party in encouraging multipurpose projects throughout the country is responsible for America's productive superiority over any nation in the world and is one of the greatest single factors leading toward the accomplishment of world peace. Without these projects our atomic weapons program could never have been achieved, and without additional such projects it cannot be expanded.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

The Democratic Party is dedicated to a continuation of the natural resources development policy inaugurated and carried out under the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and to the extension of that policy to all parts of the Nation—North, South, East, Midwest, West and the territories to the end that the Nation and its people receive maximum benefits from these resources to which they have an inherent right.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

The Democratic Party further pledges itself to protect these resources from destructive monopoly and exploitation.

River Basin Development

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.482

We pledge the continued full and unified regional development of the water, mineral and other natural resources of the nation, recognizing that the progress already achieved under the initiative of the Democratic Party in the arid and [p.483] semi-arid States of the West, as well as in the Tennessee Valley, is only an indication of still greater results which can be accomplished.

Fertilizer Development

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

Great farming areas, particularly of the Midwest and West, are in acute need of low-cost commercial fertilizers. To meet this demand, we favor the opening of the Nation's phosphate rock deposits in the West, through prompt provision of sufficient low-cost hydro-electric power to develop this great resource.

Forests and Public Lands

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

We seek to establish and demonstrate such successful policies of forest and land management on Federal property as will materially assist State and private owners in their conservation efforts. Conservation of forest and range lands is vital to the strength and welfare of the Nation. Our forest and range lands must be protected and used wisely in order to produce a continuing supply of basic raw materials for industry; to reduce damaging floods; and to preserve the sources of priceless water. With adequate appropriations to carry out feasible projects, we pledge a program of forest protection, reforestation projects and sound practices of production and harvesting which will promote sustained yields of forest crops.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

We propose to increase forest access roads in order to improve cutting practices on both public and private lands.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

On the public land ranges we pledge continuance of effective conservation and use programs, including the extension of water pond construction and restoration of forage cover.

Arid Areas

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

In many areas of the Nation assistance is needed to provide water for irrigation, domestic and industrial purposes. We pledge that in working out programs for rational distribution of water from Federal sources we will aid in delivering this essential of life cheaply and abundantly.

Minerals and Fuels

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

The Nation's minerals and fuels are essential to the national defense and development of our country. We pledge the adoption of policies which will further encourage the exploration and development of additional reserves of our mineral resources. We subscribe to the principles of the Stockpiling Act and will lend our efforts to strengthening and expanding its provisions and those of the Defense Production Act to meet our military and civilian needs. Additional access roads should be constructed with Government aid. Our synthetic fuels, including monetary metals, research program should go forward. Laws to aid and assist these objectives will be advocated.

Domestic Fisheries

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

We favor increased research and exploration for conserving and better utilizing fishery resources; expanded research and education to promote new fishery products and uses and new markets; promotion of world trade in fish products; a public works and water policy providing adequate protection for domestic fishery resources; and treaties with other nations for conservation and better utilization of international fisheries.

Wildlife Recreations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

In our highly complex civilization, outdoor recreation has become essential to the health and happiness of our people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

The Democratic Party has devoted its efforts to the preservation, restoration and increase of the bird, animal and fish life which abound in this Nation. State, local and private agencies have cooperated in this worthy endeavor. We have extended and vastly improved the parks, forests, beaches, streams, preserves and wilderness areas across the land.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

To the 28,000,000 of our citizens who annually purchase fishing and hunting licenses, we pledge continued efforts to improve all recreational areas.

Atomic Energy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

In the field of atomic energy, we pledge ourselves:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

(1) to maintain vigorous and non-partisan civilian administrations, with adequate security safeguards;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

(2) to promote the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in the interests of America and mankind;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.483

(3) to build all the atomic and hydrogen firepower needed to defend our country, deter aggression, and promote world peace;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

(4) To exert every effort to bring about bona fide [p.484] international control and inspection of all atomic weapons.

Social Security

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

Our national system of social security, conceived and developed by the Democratic Party, needs to be extended and improved.

Old Age and Survivors Insurance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We favor further strengthening of old age and survivors insurance, through such improvements as increasing benefits, extending them to more people and lowering the retirement age for women.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We favor the complete elimination of the work clause for the reason that those contributing to the Social Security program should be permitted to draw benefits, upon reaching the age of eligibility, and still continue to work.

Unemployment Insurance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We favor a stronger system of unemployment insurance, with broader coverage and substantially increased benefits, including an allowance for dependents.

Public Assistance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We favor further improvements in public assistance programs for the blind, the disabled, the aged and children in order to help our less fortunate citizens meet the needs of daily living.

Private Plans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We favor and encourage the private endeavors of social agencies, mutual associations, insurance companies, industry-labor groups, and cooperative societies to provide against the basic hazards of life through mutually agreed upon benefit plans designed to complement our present social security program.

Needs of Our Aging Citizens

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

Our older citizens constitute an immense reservoir of skilled, mature judgment and ripened experience. We pledge ourselves to give full recognition to the right of our older citizens to lead a proud, productive and independent life throughout their years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

In addition to the fundamental improvements in Old Age and Survivors Insurance, which are outlined above, we pledge ourselves, in cooperation with the States and private industry, to encourage the employment of older workers. We commend the 82nd Congress for eliminating the age restriction on employment in the Federal Government.

Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We will continue to work for better health for every American, especially our children. We pledge continued and wholehearted support for the campaign that modern medicine is waging against mental illness, cancer, heart disease and other diseases.

Research

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We favor continued and vigorous support, from private and public sources, of research into the causes, prevention and cure of disease.

Medical Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We advocate Federal aid for medical education to help overcome the growing shortage of doctors, nurses, and other trained health personnel.

Hospitals and Health Centers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We pledge continued support for Federal aid to hospital construction. We pledge increased Federal aid to promote public health through preventive programs and health services, especially in rural areas.

Cost of Medical Care

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We also advocate a resolute attack on the heavy financial hazard of serious illness. We recognize that the costs of modern medical care have grown to be prohibitive for many millions of people. We commend President Truman for establishing the non-partisan Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation to seek an acceptable solution of this urgent problem.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We pledge ourselves to the fulfillment of the programs of private housing, public low-rent housing, slum clearance, urban redevelopment, farm housing and housing research as authorized by the Housing Act of 1949.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.484

We deplore the efforts of special interests groups, which themselves have prospered through Government guarantees of housing mortgages, to [p.485] destroy those programs adopted to assist families of low-income.

Additional Legislation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

We pledge ourselves to enact additional legislation to promote housing required for defense workers, middle income families, aged persons and migratory farm laborers.

Veterans' Housing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

We pledge ourselves to provide special housing aids to veterans and their families.

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

Every American child, irrespective of color, national origin, economic status or place of residence should have every educational opportunity to develop his potentialities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

Local, State and Federal governments have shared responsibility to contribute appropriately to the pressing needs of our educational system. We urge that Federal contributions be made available to State and local units which adhere to basic minimum standards.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

The Federal Government should not dictate nor control educational policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

We pledge immediate consideration for those school systems which need further legislation to provide Federal aid for new school construction, teachers' salaries and school maintenance and repair.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

We urge the adoption by appropriate legislative action of the proposals advocated by the President's Commission on Higher Education, including Federal scholarships.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

We will continue to encourage the further development of vocational training which helps people acquire skills and technical knowledge so essential to production techniques.

Child Welfare

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

The future of America depends on adequate provision by Government for the needs of those of our children who cannot be cared for by their parents or private social agencies.

Maternity, Child Health and Welfare Services

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

The established national policy of aiding States and localities, through the Children's Bureau and other agencies, to insure needed maternity, child health and welfare services should be maintained and extended. Especially important are the detection and treatment of physical defects and diseases which, if untreated, are reflected in adult life in draft rejections and as handicapped workers. The Nation, as a whole, should provide maternity and health care for the wives, babies and pre-school children of those who serve in our armed forces.

School Lunches

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

We will enlarge the school lunch program which has done so much for millions of American school children and charitable institutions while at the same time benefiting producers.

Day Care Facilities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

Since several million mothers must now be away from their children during the day, because they are engaged in defense work, facilities for adequate day care of these children should be provided and adequately financed.

Children of Migratory Workers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

The Nation, as a whole, has a responsibility to support health, educational, and welfare services for the children of agricultural migratory workers who are now almost entirely without such services while their parents are engaged in producing essential crops.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

The Democratic Party is determined to advance the welfare of all the men and women who have seen service in the armed forces. We pledge ourselves to continue and improve our national program of benefits for veterans and their families, to provide the best possible medical care and hospitalization for the disabled veteran, and to help provide every veteran an opportunity to be a productive and responsible citizen with an assured place in the civilian community.

Strengthening Democratic Government

Streamlining the Federal Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.485

The public welfare demands that our government be efficiently and economically operated and that it be reorganized to meet changing needs. During the present Democratic Administration, more reorganization has been accomplished than by all its predecessors. We pledge our support to continuing reorganization wherever improvements [p.486] can be made. Only constant effort by the Executive, the Congress, and the public will enable our Government to render the splendid service to which our citizens are entitled.

Improving the Postal Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We pledge a continuing increase in the services of the United States Postal Service. Through efficient handling of mail, improved working conditions for postal employees, and more frequent services, the Democratic Party promises its efforts to provide the greatest communication system in the world for the American people.

Strengthening the Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

Good government requires a Civil Service high in quality and prestige. We deplore and condemn smear attacks upon the character and reputations of our Federal workers. We will continue our fight against partisan political efforts to discredit the Federal service and undermine American principles of justice and fair play.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

Under President Truman's leadership, the Federal Civil Service has been extended to include a greater proportion of positions than ever before. He has promoted a record number of career appointees to top level policy positions. We will continue to be guided by these enlightened policies, and we will continue our efforts to provide Federal service with adequate pay, sound retirement provisions, good working conditions, and an opportunity for advancement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We will use every proper means to eliminate pressure by private interests seeking undeserved favors from the Government. We advocate the strongest penalties against those who try to exert improper influence, and against any who may yield to it.

Democracy in Federal Elections

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We advocate new legislation to provide effective regulation and full disclosure of campaign expenditures in elections to Federal office, including political advertising from any source.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We recommend that Congress provide for a non-partisan study of possible improvements in the methods of nominating and electing Presidents and in the laws relating to Presidential succession. Special attention should be given to the problem of assuring the widest possible public participation in Presidential nominations.

Strengthening Basic Freedoms

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We will continue to press strongly for world-wide freedom in the gathering and dissemination of news and for support to the work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in furthering this and other freedoms.

Equal Rights Amendment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We recommend and endorse for submission to the Congress a constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

Under Democratic Party leadership, a new status has been developed for Puerto Rico. This new status is based on mutual consent and common devotion to the United States, formalized in a new Puerto Rican Constitution. We welcome the dignity of the new Puerto Rican Commonwealth and pledge our support of the Commonwealth, its continued development and growth.

Alaska and Hawaii

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

By virtue of their strategic geographical locations, Alaska and Hawaii are vital bastions in the Pacific. These two territories have contributed greatly to the welfare and economic development of our country and have become integrated into our economic and social life. We, therefore, urge immediate statehood for these two territories.

Other Territories and Possessions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We favor increased self-government for the Virgin Islands and other outlying territories and the trust territory of the Pacific.

District of Columbia

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We favor immediate home rule and ultimate national representation for the District of Columbia.

American Indians

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.486

We shall continue to use the powers of the Federal Government to advance the health, education and economic well-being of our American Indian citizens, without impairing their cultural traditions. We pledge our support to the cause of fair and equitable treatment in all matters essential to and desirable for their individual and tribal welfare.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

The American Indian should be completely integrated [p.487] into the social, economic and political life of the nation. To that end we shall move to secure the prompt final settlement of Indian claims and to remove restrictions on the rights of Indians individually and through their tribal councils to handle their own fiscal affairs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

We favor the repeal of all acts or regulations that deny to Indians rights or privileges held by citizens generally.

Constitutional Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

The Democratic Party has demonstrated its belief in the Constitution as a charter of individual freedom and an effective instrument for human progress. Democratic Administrations have placed upon the statute books during the last twenty years a multitude of measures which testify to our belief in the Jeffersonian principle of local control, even in general legislation involving nation-wide programs. Selective service, Social Security, Agricultural Adjustment, Low Rent Housing, Hospital, and many other legislative programs have placed major responsibilities in States and counties and provide fine examples of how benefits can be extended through Federal-State cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

In the present world crisis with new requirements of Federal action for national security, and accompanying provision for public services and individual rights related to defense, constitutional principles must and will be closely followed. Our record and our clear commitments, in this platform, measure our strong faith in the ability of constitutional government to meet the needs of our times.

Improving Congressional Procedures

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

In order that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action be taken at the beginning of the 83rd Congress to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either House.

Civil Rights

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

The Democratic Party is committed to support and advance the individual rights and liberties of all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

Our country is founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that all citizens are equal before the law and should enjoy equal political rights. They should have equal opportunities for education, for economic advancement, and for decent living conditions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

We know this task requires action, not just in one section of the Nation, but in all sections. It requires the cooperative efforts of individual citizens and action by State and local governments. It also requires Federal action. The Federal Government must live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and must exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

We are proud of the progress that has been made in securing equality of treatment and opportunity in the Nation's armed forces and the civil service and all areas under Federal jurisdiction. The Department of Justice has taken an important part in successfully arguing in the courts for the elimination of many illegal discriminations, including those involving rights to own and use real property, to engage in gainful occupations and to enroll in publicly supported higher educational institutions. We are determined that the Federal Government shall continue such policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

At the same time, we favor Federal legislation effectively to secure these rights to everyone: (1) the right to equal opportunity for employment; (2) the right to security of persons; (3) the right to full and equal participation in the Nation's political life, free from arbitrary restraints. We also favor legislation to perfect existing Federal civil rights statutes and to strengthen the administrative machinery for the protection of civil rights.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1952, p.487

Under the guidance, protection, and help of Almighty God we shall succeed in bringing to the people of this Nation a better and more rewarding life and to the peoples of the entire world, new hope and a lasting, honorable peace.[p.496]

Republican Platform of 1952

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.496

We maintain that man was not born to be ruled, but that he consented to be governed; and that the reasons that moved him thereto are few and simple. He has voluntarily submitted to government because, only by the establishment of just laws, and the power to enforce those laws, can an orderly life be maintained, full and equal opportunity for all be established, and the blessings of liberty be perpetuated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.496

We hold that government, and those entrusted with government, should set a high example of honesty, of justice, and unselfish devotion to the public good; that they should labor to maintain tranquillity at home and peace and friendship with all the nations of the earth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.496

We assert that during the last twenty years, leaders of the Government of the United States under successive Democrat Administrations, and especially under this present Administration, have failed to perform these several basic duties; but, on the contrary, that they have evaded them, [p.497] flouted them, and by a long succession of vicious acts, so undermined the foundations of our Republic as to threaten its existence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that they have arrogantly deprived our citizens of precious liberties by seizing powers never granted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that they work unceasingly to achieve their goal of national socialism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that they have disrupted internal tranquillity by fostering class strife for venal political purposes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that they have choked opportunity and hampered progress by unnecessary and crushing taxation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

They claim prosperity but the appearance of economic health is created by war expenditures, waste and extravagance, planned emergencies, and war crises. They have debauched our money by cutting in half the purchasing power of our dollar.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that they have weakened local self-government which is the cornerstone of the freedom of men.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that they have shielded traitors to the Nation in high places, and that they have created enemies abroad where we should have friends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that they have violated our liberties by turning loose upon the country a swarm of arrogant bureaucrats and their agents who meddle intolerably in the lives and occupations of our citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that there has been corruption in high places, and that examples of dishonesty and dishonor have shamed the moral standards of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that they have plunged us into war in Korea without the consent of our citizens through their authorized representatives in the Congress, and have carried on that war without will to victory.

Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

The present Administration, in seven years, has squandered the unprecedented power and prestige which were ours at the close of World War II.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

In that time, more than 500 million non-Russian people of fifteen different countries have been absorbed into the power sphere of Communist Russia, which proceeds confidently with its plan for world conquest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

We charge that the leaders of the Administration in power lost the peace so dearly earned by World War II.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

The moral incentives and hopes for a better world which sustained us through World War II were betrayed, and this has given Communist Russia a military and propaganda initiative which, if unstayed, will destroy us.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

They abandoned friendly nations such as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland and Czechoslovakia to fend for themselves against the Communist aggression which soon swallowed them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

They required the National Government of China to surrender Manchuria with its strategic ports and railroads to the control of Communist Russia. They urged that Communists be taken into the Chinese Government and its military forces. And finally they denied the military aid that had been authorized by Congress and which was crucially needed if China were to be saved. Thus they substituted on our Pacific flank a murderous enemy for an ally and friend.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

In all these respects they flouted our peace-assuring pledges such as the Atlantic Charter, and did so in favor of despots, who, it was well-known, consider that murder, terror, slavery, concentration camps and the ruthless and brutal denial of human rights are legitimate means to their desired ends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam were the scenes of those tragic blunders with others to follow. The leaders of the Administration in power acted without the knowledge or consent of Congress or of the American people. They traded our overwhelming victory for a new enemy and for new oppressions and new wars which were quick to come.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

In South Korea, they withdrew our occupation troops in the face of the aggressive, poised for action, Communist military strength on its northern border. They publicly announced that Korea was of no concern to us. Then when the Communist forces acted to take what seemed to have been invited, they committed this nation to fight back under the most unfavorable conditions. Already the tragic cost is over 110,000 American casualties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

With foresight, the Korean War would never have happened.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.497

In going back into Korea, they evoked the patriotic and sacrificial support of the American people. But by their hampering orders they produced [p.498] stalemates and ignominious bartering with our enemies, and they offer no hope of victory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

They have effectively ignored many vital areas in the face of a global threat requiring balanced handling.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

The people of the other American Republics are resentful of our neglect of their legitimate aspirations and cooperative friendship.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

The Middle East and much of Africa seethe with anti-American sentiment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

The peoples of the Far East who are not under Communist control find it difficult to sustain their morale as they contrast Russia's "Asia First" policy with the "Asia Last" policy of those in control of the Administration now in power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

Here at home they have exhibited corruption, incompetence, and disloyalty in public office to such an extent that the very concept of free representative government has been tarnished and has lost its idealistic appeal to those elsewhere who are confronted with the propaganda of Communism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

They profess to be following a defensive policy of "containment" of Russian Communism which has not contained it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

Those in control of the Party in power have, in reality, no foreign policy. They swing erratically from timid appeasement to reckless bluster.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

The good in our foreign policies has been accomplished with Republican cooperation, such as the organization of the United Nations, the establishment of the trusteeship principle for dependent peoples, the making of peace with Japan and Germany, and the building of more solid security in Europe. But in the main the Republican Party has been ignored and its participation has not been invited.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

The American people must now decide whether to continue in office the party which has presided over this disastrous reversal of our fortunes and the loss of our hopes for a peaceful world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

The Republican Party offers, in contrast to the performances of those now running our foreign affairs, policies and actions based on enlightened self-interest and animated by courage, self-respect, steadfastness, vision, purpose, competence and spiritual faith.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

The supreme goal of our foreign policy will be an honorable and just peace. We dedicate ourselves to wage peace and to win it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

We shall eliminate from the State Department and from every Federal office, all, wherever they may be found, who share responsibility for the needless predicaments and perils in which we find ourselves. We shall also sever from the public payroll the hordes of loafers, incompetents and unnecessary employees who clutter the administration of our foreign affairs. The confusions, overlappings, and extravagance of our agencies abroad hold us up to the ridicule of peoples whose friendship we seek.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

We shall substitute a compact and efficient organization where men of proven loyalty and ability shall have responsibility for reaching our objectives. They will reflect a dynamic initiative. Thus we can win the support and confidence which go only to those who demonstrate a capacity to define and get results.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

We shall have positive peace-building objectives wherever this will serve the enlightened self-interest of our Nation and help to frustrate the enemy's designs against us.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

In Western Europe we shall use our friendly influence, without meddling or imperialistic attitudes, for ending the political and economic divisions which alone prevent that vital area from being strong on its own right.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

We shall encourage and aid the development of collective security forces there, as elsewhere, so as to end the Soviet power to intimidate directly or by satellites, and so that the free governments will be sturdy to resist Communist inroads.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

In the balanced consideration of our problems, we shall end neglect of the Far East which Stalin has long identified as the road to victory over the West. We shall make it clear that we have no intention to sacrifice the East to gain time for the West.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

The Republican Party has consistently advocated a national home for the Jewish people since a Republican Congress declared its support of that objective thirty years ago.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

In providing a sanctuary for Jewish people rendered homeless by persecution, the State of Israel appeals to our deepest humanitarian instincts. We shall continue our friendly interest in this constructive and inspiring undertaking.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.498

We shall put our influence at the service of peace between Israel and the Arab States, and we shall cooperate to bring economic and social stability to that area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

[p.499] Our ties with the sister Republics of the Americas will be strengthened.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

The Government of the United States, under Republican leadership, will repudiate all commitments contained in secret understandings such as those of Yalta which aid Communist enslavements. It will be made clear, on the highest authority of the President and the Congress, that United States policy, as one of its peaceful purposes, looks happily forward to the genuine independence of those captive peoples.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

We shall again make liberty into a beacon light of hope that will penetrate the dark places. That program will give the Voice of America a real function. It will mark the end of the negative, futile and immoral policy of "containment" which abandons countless human beings to a despotism and godless terrorism, which in turn enables the rulers to forge the captives into a weapon for our destruction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

We shall support the United Nations and loyally help it to become what it was designed to be, a place where differences would be harmonized by honest discussion and a means for collective security under agreed concepts of justice. We shall seek real meaning and value for our regional security treaties, which implies that all parties shall contribute their loyal support and fair shares.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

We shall see to it that no treaty or agreement with other countries deprives our citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

We shall always measure our foreign commitments so that they can be borne without endangering the economic health or sound finances of the United States. Stalin said that "the moment for the decisive blow" would be when the free nations were isolated and were in a state of "practical bankruptcy." We shall not allow ourselves to be isolated and economically strangled, and we shall not let ourselves go bankrupt.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

Sums available by this test, if competently used, will be more effective than vastly larger sums incompetently spent for vague and endless purposes. We shall not try to buy good will. We shall earn it by sound, constructive, self-respecting policies and actions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

We favor international exchange of students and of agricultural and industrial techniques, and programs for improvement of public health.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

We favor the expansion of mutually-advantageous world trade. To further this objective we shall press for the elimination of discriminatory practices against our exports, such as preferential tariffs, monetary license restrictions, and other arbitrary devices. Our reciprocal trade agreements will be entered into and maintained on a basis of true reciprocity, and to safeguard our domestic enterprises and the payrolls of our workers against unfair import competition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

The policies we espouse will revive the contagious, liberating influences which are inherent in freedom. They will inevitably set up strains and stresses within the captive world which will make the rulers impotent to continue in their monstrous ways and mark the beginning of their end.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

Our nation will become again the dynanamic, moral and spiritual force which was the despair of despots and the hope of the oppressed. As we resume this historic role, we ourselves will come to enjoy again the reality of peace, security and solvency, not the shabby and fleeting counterfeit which is the gift of the Administration in power.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

On the prudent assumption that Communist Russia may not accommodate our own disgracefully-lagging program for preparedness, we should develop with utmost speed a force-in-being, as distinguished from paper plans, of such power as to deter sudden attack or promptly and decisively defeat it. This defense against sudden attack requires the quickest possible development of appropriate and completely-adequate air power and the simultaneous readiness of coordinated air, land, and sea forces, with all necessary installations, bases, supplies and munitions, including atomic energy weapons in abundance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

Generally, we shall see to it that our military services are adequately supported in all ways required, including manpower, to perform their appropriate tasks in relation to the defense of this country and to meet our treaty obligations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

We shall coordinate our military policy with our foreign policy, always seeking universal limitation and control of armaments on a dependable basis.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.499

We shall review our entire preparedness program and we shall strip it clean of waste, lack of coordination, inertia, and conflict between the services. We shall see that our fighting men in Korea, or wherever they may be, shall not lack [p.500] the best of weapons or other supplies or services needed for their welfare.

Communism

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

By the Administration's appeasement of Communism at home and abroad it has permitted Communists and their fellow travelers to serve in many key agencies and to infiltrate our American life. When such infiltrations became notorious through the revelations of Republicans in Congress, the Executive Department stubbornly refused to deal with it openly and vigorously. It raised the false cry of "red herring" and took other measures to block and discredit investigations. It denied files and information to Congress. It set up boards of its own to keep information secret and to deal lightly with security risks and persons of doubtful loyalty. It only undertook prosecution of the most notorious Communists after public opinion forced action.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

The result of these policies is the needless sacrifice of American lives, a crushing cost in dollars for defense, possession by Russia of the atomic bomb, the lowering of the Iron Curtain, and the present threats to world peace. Our people have been mired in fear and distrust and employees of integrity in the Government service have been cruelly maligned by the Administration's tolerance of people of doubtful loyalty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

There are no Communists in the Republican Party. We have always recognized Communism to be a world conspiracy against freedom and religion. We never compromised with Communism and we have fought to expose it and to eliminate it in government and American life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

A Republican President will appoint only persons of unquestioned loyalty. We will overhaul loyalty and security programs. In achieving these purposes a Republican President will cooperate with Congress. We pledge close coordination of our intelligence services for protecting our security. We pledge fair but vigorous enforcement of laws to safeguard our country from subversion and disloyalty. By such policies we will keep the country secure and restore the confidence of the American people in the integrity of our Government.

Small Business in a Free Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

For twenty years the Administration has praised free enterprise while actually wrecking it. Here a little, there a little, year by year, it has sought to curb, regulate, harass, restrain and punish. There is scarcely a phase of our economic and social life today in which Government does not attempt to interfere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

Such hostility deadens initiative, discourages invention and experiment, and weakens the self-reliance indispensable to the Nation's vitality. Merciless taxation, the senseless use of controls and ceaseless effort to enter business on its own account, have led the present Government to unrestrained waste and extravagance in spending, irresponsibility in decision and corruption in administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

The anti-monopoly laws have been employed, not to preserve and foster competition, but to further the political ambitions of the men in power. Wage and price controls have been utilized, not to maintain economic stability, but to reward the friends and punish the enemies of leaders of the Party in power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

Neither small nor large business can flourish in such an atmosphere. The Republican Party will end this hostility to initiative and enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

We will aid small business in every practicable way. We shall remove tax abuses and injurious price and wage controls. Efforts to plan and regulate every phase of small business activity will cease. We will maintain special committees in Congress whose chief function will be to study and review continuously the problems of small business and recommend legislation for their relief. We shall always be mindful of the importance of keeping open the channels of opportunity for young men and women.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

We will follow principles of equal enforcement of the anti-monopoly and unfair-competition statutes and will simplify their administration to assist the businessman who, in good faith, seeks to remain in compliance. At the same time, we shall relentlessly protect our free enterprise system against monopolistic and unfair trade practices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

We will oppose Federal rent control except in those areas where the expansion of defense production has been accompanied by critical housing shortages. With local cooperation we shall aid slum clearance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.500

Our goal is a balanced budget, a reduced national debt, an economical administration and a cut in taxes. We believe in combating inflation [p.501] by encouraging full production of goods and food, and not through a program of restrictions.

Taxation and Monetary Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

Only with a sound economy can we properly carry out both the domestic and foreign policies which we advocate. The wanton extravagance and inflationary policies of the Administration in power have cut the value of the dollar in half and imposed the most confiscatory taxes in our history. These policies have made the effective control of Government expenditures impossible. If this Administration is left in power, it will further cheapen the dollar, rob the wage earner, impoverish the farmer and reduce the true value of the savings, pensions, insurance and investments of millions of our people. Further inflation must be and can be prevented. Sound tax and monetary policies are essential to this end. We advocate the following tax policies:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

1. Reduction of expenditures by the elimination of waste and extravagance so that the budget will be balanced and a general tax reduction can be made.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

2. An immediate study directed toward reallocation of fields of taxation between the Federal, State, and municipal governments so as to allow greater fiscal freedom to the States and municipalities, thus minimizing double taxation and enabling the various divisions of government to meet their obligations more efficiently.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

3. A thorough revision and codification of the present hodge-podge of internal revenue laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

4. Administration of the tax laws free from politics, favoritism and corruption.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

We advocate the following monetary policies:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

1. A Federal Reserve System exercising its functions in the money and credit system without pressure for political purposes from the Treasury or the White House.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

2. To restore a domestic economy, and to use our influence for a world economy, of such stability as will permit the realization of our aim of a dollar on a fully-convertible gold basis.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

The good earth is the food storehouse for future generations. The tending of the soil is a sacred responsibility. Development of a sound farm program is a high national duty. Any program that will benefit farmers must serve the national welfare. A prosperous agriculture with free and independent farmers is fundamental to the national interest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

We charge the present Administration with seeking to destroy the farmers' freedom. We denounce the Administration's use of tax money and a multitude of Federal agencies to put agriculture under partisan political dictation and to make the farmer dependent upon government. We condemn the Brannan plan which aims to control the farmer and to socialize agriculture. We brand as unscrupulous the Administration's manipulation of grain markets during the 1948 election campaign to drive down farm prices, and its deliberate misrepresentation of laws passed by the Republican 80th Congress, which authorized a long-range farm price support program and provided for adequate grain storage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

We condemn as a fraud on both the farmer and the consumer the Brannan plan scheme to pay direct subsidies from the Federal Treasury in lieu of prices to producers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

We favor a farm program aimed at full parity prices for all farm products in the market place. Our program includes commodity loans on non-perishable products, "on-the-farm" storage, sufficient farm credit, and voluntary self-supporting crop insurance. Where government action on perishable commodities is desirable, we recommend locally-controlled marketing agreements and other voluntary methods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

Our program should include commodity loans on all non-perishable products supported at the level necessary to maintain a balanced production. We do not believe in restrictions on the American farmers' ability to produce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

We favor a bi-partisan Federal Agricultural Commission with power to review the policies and administration of our farm programs and to make recommendations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

We support a constructive and expanded soil conservation program administered through locally-controlled local districts, and which shall emphasize that payments shall be made for practices and improvements of a permanent nature.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.501

Flood control programs should include the application of sound land use, reforestation and water-management practices on each watershed. These, so far as feasible, should be decentralized [p.502] and locally-controlled to insure economy and effective soil conservation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We recommend expanded agricultural research and education to promote new crops and uses, new markets, both foreign and domestic, more trustworthy crop and market estimates, a realistic trade program for agriculture aimed at restoring foreign markets and developing new outlets at home. Promotion of world trade must be on a basis of fair competition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We support the principle of bona fide farmer-owned, farmer-operated co-operatives and urge the further development of rural electrification and communication, with federally-assisted production of power and facilities for distribution when these are not adequately available through private enterprise at fair rates.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We insist that an adequate supply of manpower on the farm is necessary to our national welfare and security and shall do those things required to assure this result.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The Republican Party will create conditions providing for farm prosperity and stability, safe-guarding the farmers' independence and opening opportunities for young people in rural communities. We will do those things necessary to simplify and make efficient the operation of the Department of Agriculture, prevent that Department from assuming powers neither intended nor delegated by Congress, and to place the administration of farm programs as closely as possible to State and local levels.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The Republican Party believes that regular and adequate income for the employee together with uninterrupted production of goods and services, through the medium of private enterprise, are essential to a sound national economy. This can only be obtained in an era of industrial peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

With the above in mind, we favor the retention of the Taft-Hartley Act, which guarantees:

To the Working Man:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to quit his job at any time.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to take part in legal union activities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to remain in his union so long as he pays his dues.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to protection against unfair practices by either employer or union officials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to political activity of his own choice and freedom to contribute thereto.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to a job without first joining a union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to a secret ballot in any election concerned with his livelihood.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to protection from personal financial responsibility in damage cases against his union.

To the Labor Unions:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to establish "union shop" contracts by agreement with management.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to strike.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to free collective bargaining.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to protection from rival unions during the life of union contracts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

The right to assurance from employers that they will bargain only with certified unions as a protection against unfair labor practices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We urge the adoption of such amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act as time and experience show to be desirable, and which further protect the rights of labor, management and the public.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We condemn the President's seizure of plants and industries to force the settlement of labor disputes by claims of inherent Constitutional powers.

Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We vigorously advocate a full and orderly program for the development and conservation of our natural resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We deplore the policies of the present Administration which allow special premiums to foreign producers of minerals available in the United States. We favor reasonable depletion allowances, defense procurement policies, synthetic fuels research, and public land policies, including good-faith administration of our mining laws, which will encourage exploration and development of our mineral resources consistent with our growing industrial and defense needs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We favor stockpiling of strategic and critical raw materials and special premium incentives for their domestic exploration and development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.502

We favor restoration to the States of their rights to all lands and resources beneath navigable inland and offshore waters within their historic boundaries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We favor protection of our fisheries by domestic [p.503] regulation and treaties, including safeguards against unfair foreign competition.

Public Works and Water Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

The Federal Government and State and local governments should continuously plan programs of economically justifiable public works.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We favor continuous and comprehensive investigations of our water resources and orderly execution of programs approved by the Congress. Authorized water projects should go forward progressively with immediate priority for those with defense significance, those in critical flood and water-shortage areas, and those substantially completed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We favor greater local participation in the operation and control, and eventual local ownership, of federally-sponsored, reimbursable water projects.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We vigorously oppose the efforts of this national Administration, in California and elsewhere, to undermine state control over water use, to acquire paramount water rights without just compensation, and to establish all-powerful federal socialistic valley authorities.

Public Lands

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We favor restoration of the traditional Republican public land policy, which provided opportunity for ownership by citizens to promote the highest land use. We favor an impartial study of tax-free Federal lands and their uses to determine their effects on the economic and fiscal structures of our States and local communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

In the management of public lands and forests we pledge the elimination of arbitrary bureaucratic practices. To this end we favor legislation to define the rights and privileges of grazers and other cooperators and users, to provide the protection of independent judicial review against administrative invasions of those rights and privileges, and to protect the public against corrupt or monopolistic exploitation and bureaucratic favoritism.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We believe that active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States of America during a state of war or National emergency constitutes a special service to our Nation, and entitles those who have so served to aid and compensation in return for this service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

Consequently we propose:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

That the aid and compensation given to veterans of previous wars be extended to veterans of the Korean conflict;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

That compensation be fairly and adequately adjusted to meet changes in the cost of living;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

That aid be given to veterans, particularly disabled veterans, to obtain suitable employment, by providing training and education, and through strict compliance with veterans' preference laws in Federal service;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

That the Veterans' Administration be maintained as a single, independent agency in full charge of all veterans' affairs, and that the Veterans' Administration manage veterans' affairs in an efficient, prompt and uniform manner;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

That the Veterans' Administration should be equipped to provide and maintain medical and hospital care of the highest possible standard for all eligible veterans.

Social Security

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

Inflation has already cut in half the purchasing power of the retirement and other benefits under the Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance system. Sixty million persons are covered under the system and four and one-half million are now receiving benefits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

The best assurance of preserving the benefits for which the worker has paid is to stop the inflation which causes the tragic loss of purchasing power, and that we propose to do.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We favor amendment of the Old Age and Survivors Insurance system to provide coverage for those justly entitled to it but who are now excluded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We shall work to achieve a simple, more effective and more economical method of administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We shall make a thorough study of universal pay-as-we-go pension plans.

Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.503

We recognize that the health of our people as well as their proper medical care cannot be maintained if subject to Federal bureaucratic dictation. There should be a division of responsibility between [p.504] government, the physician, the voluntary hospital, and voluntary health insurance. We are opposed to Federal compulsory health insurance with its crushing cost, wasteful inefficiency, bureaucratic dead weight, and debased standards of medical care. We shall support those health activities by government which stimulate the development of adequate hospital services without Federal interference in local administration. We favor support of scientific research. We pledge our continuous encouragement of improved methods of assuring health protection.

Education

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

The tradition of popular education, tax-supported and free to all, is strong with our people. The responsibility for sustaining this system of popular education has always rested upon the local communities and the States. We subscribe fully to this principle.

Civil Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We condemn bigots who inject class, racial and religious prejudice into public and political matters. Bigotry is un-American and a danger to the Republic.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We deplore the duplicity and insincerity of the Party in power in racial and religious matters. Although they have been in office as a Majority Party for many years, they have not kept nor do they intend to keep their promises.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

The Republican Party will not mislead, exploit or attempt to confuse minority groups for political purposes. All American citizens are entitled to full, impartial enforcement of Federal laws relating to their civil rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We believe that it is the primary responsibility of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, and this power, reserved to the states, is essential to the maintenance of our Federal Republic. However, we believe that the Federal Government should take supplemental action within its constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination against race, religion or national origin.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We will prove our good faith by:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

Appointing qualified persons, without distinction of race, religion or national origin, to responsible positions in the Government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

Federal action toward the elimination of lynching.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

Federal action toward the elimination of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

Appropriate action to end segregation in the District of Columbia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

Enacting Federal legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices. Federal action should not duplicate state efforts to end such practices; should not set up another huge bureaucracy.

Censorship

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We pledge not to infringe by censorship or gag-order the right of a free people to know what their Government is doing.

Equal Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We recommend to Congress the submission of a Constitutional Amendment providing equal rights for men and women.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We favor legislation assuring equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Statehood

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We favor immediate statehood for Hawaii.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We favor statehood for Alaska under an equitable enabling act.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We favor eventual statehood for Puerto Rico.

District of Columbia

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We favor self-government and national suffrage for the residents of the Nation's Capital.

Indian Affairs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

All Indians are citizens of the United States and no longer should be denied full enjoyment of their rights of citizenship.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We shall eliminate the existing shameful waste by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which has obstructed the accomplishment of our national responsibility for improving the condition of our Indian friends. We pledge to undertake programs to provide the Indians with equal opportunities for education, health protection and economic development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

The next Republican Administration will welcome the advice and counsel of Indian leaders in selecting the Indian Commissioner.

Civil Service

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.504

We condemn the flagrant violations of the Civil Service merit system by the Party in power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

[p.505] We favor a personnel program for the Federal career service comparable to the best practices of progressive private employers. Federal employees shall be selected under a strengthened and extended merit system. Civil servants of ability and integrity shall receive proper recognition, with merit the sole test for promotion.

Delivery of Mail

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

We pledge a more efficient and frequent mail delivery service.

Government Reorganization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

We pledge a thorough reorganization of the Federal Government in accordance with the principles set forth in the report of the Hoover Commission which was established by the Republican 80th Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

We denounce the duplicity in submitting to Congress for approval, reorganization plans which were represented as being in accordance with the principles of the Hoover Commission recommendations, but which in fact were actually intended to further partisan political purposes of the Administration in power.

Corruption

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

The present Administration's sordid record of corruption has shocked and sickened the American people. Its leaders have forfeited any right to public faith by the way they transact the Federal Government's business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

Fraud, bribery, graft, favoritism and influence-peddling have come to light. Immorality and unethical behavior have been found to exist among some who were entrusted with high policy-making positions, and there have been disclosures of close alliances between the present Government and underworld characters.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

Republicans exposed eases of questionable and criminal conduct and relentlessly pressed for full investigations into the cancer-like spread of corruption in the Administration. These investigations uncovered a double standard in Federal tax law enforcement—lenient treatment to political favorites including even some gangsters and crooks, but harassment and threats of prosecution for many honest taxpayers over minor discrepancies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

Besides tax fixes and scandals in the Internal Revenue Bureau, investigations have disclosed links between high officials and crime, favoritism and influence in the RFC, profiteering in grain, sale of postmasterships, tanker-ship deals in the Maritime Commission, ballot-box stuffing and thievery, and bribes and pay-offs in contract awards by officials in agencies exercising extraordinary powers and disbursing billions of dollars.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

Under public pressure, the Administration took reluctant steps to clean house. But it was so eager to cover up and block more revelations that its clean-up drive launched with much fanfare ended in a farce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

The Republican Party pledges to put an end to corruption, to oust the crooks and grafters, to administer tax laws fairly and impartially, and to restore honest government to the people.

Republican 80th Congress

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

The Republican Party does not rest its case upon promises alone. We have a record of performance which was grossly defamed by the Party in power. The Republican 80th Congress launched the program to stop Communism; unified the armed services; authorized a 70-group Air Force which the President blocked; enacted a national service law; balanced the budget; accumulated an eight-billion-dollar surplus; reduced taxes, with 70 per cent of the tax savings to those with incomes under $5,000; freed 7,400,000 wage earners in the lower brackets from having to pay any further income tax at all, allowed married couples to divide their incomes for tax purposes, and granted an additional $600 exemption to those over 65 years of age and to the blind; enacted the Taft-Hartley law for equitable labor-management relations; passed the first long-range agriculture program; increased social security benefits; and carried out every single pledge they made to the voters in the 1946 election.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1952, p.505

Upon this statement of truths and this pledge of performance, the Republican Party stands confident that it expresses the hopes of the citizens of America and certain that it points out with integrity a road upon which free men may march into a new day—a new and better day—in which shall be fulfilled the decent aspirations of our people for peace, for solvency and for the fulfillment of our best welfare, under the guidance of Divine Providence.[p.523]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1956

Democratic Platform of 1956

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.523

In the brief space of three and one-haft years, the people of the United States have come to realize, with tragic consequences, that our National Government cannot be trusted to the hands of political amateurs, dominated by representatives of special privilege.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.523

Four years ago they were beguiled, by empty promises and pledges, to elect as President a recent convert to Republicanism. Our people have now learned that the party of Lincoln has been made captive to big businessmen with small minds. They have found that they are now ruled by a Government which they did not elect, and to which they have not given their consent. Their awareness of this fact was demonstrated in 1954 when they returned control of the legislative machinery of the Federal Government to the 84th Democratic Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.523

From the wreckage of American world leadership under a Republican Administration, this great Democratic Congress has salvaged a portion of the world prestige our Nation enjoyed under the brilliant Administrations of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.523

Our Democratic 84th Congress made one of the greatest legislative records in the history of our country. It enacted an active program of progressive, humane legislation, which has repudiated the efforts of reactionary Republicanism to stall America's progress. When we return to the halls of Congress next January, and with a Democratic President in the White House, it will be the plan and purpose of our Party to complete restoration and rehabilitation of American leadership in world affairs. We pledge return of our National Government to its rightful owners, the people of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.523

On the threshold of an atomic age, in mid-Twentieth Century, our beloved Nation needs the vision, vigor and vitality which can be infused into it only by a government under the Democratic Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

We approach the forthcoming election with [p.524] a firm purpose of effecting such infusion; and with the help and assistance of Divine Providence we shall endeavor to accomplish it. To the end that the people it has served so well may know our program for the return of America to the highway of progress, the Democratic Party herewith submits its platform for 1956.

I. Foreign Policy and National Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

The Democratic Party affirms that world peace is a primary objective of human society. Peace is more than a suspension of shooting while frenzied and fearful nations stockpile armaments of annihilation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

Achievement of world peace requires political statesmanship and economic wisdom, international understanding and dynamic leadership. True peace is the tranquillity of ordered justice on a global scale. It may be destroyed without a shot being fired. It can be fostered and preserved only by the solid unity and common brotherhood of the peoples of the world in the cause of freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

The hopes and aspirations of the peoples of all nations for justice and peace depend largely upon the courageous and enlightened administration of the foreign and defense policies of the United States. We deplore the fact that the administration of both policies since 1953 has confused timidity with courage, and blindness with enlightenment.

The Republican Record of Confusion and Complacency Is the President's Responsibility.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

The world's hopes for lasting peace depend upon the conduct of our foreign policy, a function which the Constitution vests in the President of the United States and one which has not been effectively exercised by President Eisenhower. Since 1953, responsibility for foreign affairs has been President Eisenhower's, his alone, and his in full.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

In the past three years, his conduct of our policies has moved us into realms where we risk grave danger. He has failed to seek peace with determination, for his disarmament policy has failed to strike hard at the institution of war. His handling of the day-by-day problems of international affairs has unnecessarily and dangerously subjected the American people to the risk of atomic world war.

Our Government Lacks Leadership.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

We need bold leadership, yet in the three years since Stalin's death, in the full year since President

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

Eisenhower's meeting at the "summit," the Republican Administration has not offered a single concrete new idea to meet the new-style political and economic offensive of the Soviets, which represents, potentially, an even graver challenge than Stalin's use of force. President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State talk at cross-purposes, praising neutralism one day, condemning it the next. The Republicans seem unable either to make up their minds or to give us leadership, while the unity of the free world rapidly disintegrates.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

We in America need to make our peaceful purpose clear beyond dispute in every corner of the world—yet Secretary Dulles brags of "brinks of war." We need a foreign policy which rises above jockeying for partisan position or advantage—yet, not in memory has there been so little bipartisanship in the administration of our policies, so little candor in their Presentation to our people, so much pretending that things are better than they are.

The Republican Bluster and Bluff.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

Four years ago the Republican Party boasted of being able to produce a foreign policy which was to free the Communist satellites, unleash Chiang Kai-shek, repudiate the wartime agreements, and reverse the policy of containing Communist expansion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

Since 1953 they have done just the opposite, standing silent when the peoples rise in East Germany and Poland, and thereby weakening the positive Democratic policy of halting Communist expansion.

Our Friends Lose Faith In Us.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

Our friends abroad now doubt our sincerity. They have seen the solid assurance of collective security under a Democratic Administration give place to the uncertainties of personal diplomacy. They have seen the ties of our international alliances and friendship weakened by inept Republican maneuvering.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

They have seen traditional action and boldness in foreign affairs evaporate into Republican complacency, retrenchment and empty posturing.

The Failure Abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.524

Blustering without dynamic action will not alter the fact that the unity and strength of the free world have been drastically impaired. Witness the decline of NATO, the bitter tragedy of Cyprus, the withdrawal of French forces to North Africa, the uncertainty and dangers in the Middle East, an uncertain and insecure Germany, and resentment rising against United States leadership everywhere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

[p.525] In Asia—in Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, India—anti-Americanism grows apace, aggravated by the clumsy actions of our Government, and fanned by the inept utterances of our "statesmen."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

In the Middle East, the Eisenhower Administration has dawdled and drifted. The results have been disastrous, and worse threatens. Only the good offices of the United Nations in maintaining peace between Israel and her neighbors conceal the diplomatic incapacities of the Republican Administration. The current crisis over Suez is a consequence of inept and vacillating Republican policy. Our Government's mistakes have placed us in a position in the Middle East which threatens the free world with a loss of power and prestige, potentially more dangerous than any we have suffered in the past decade.

The Failure at Home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

Political considerations of budget balancing and tax reduction now come before the wants of our national security and the needs of our Allies. The Republicans have slashed our own armed strength, weakened our capacity to deal with military threats, stifled our air force, starved our army and weakened our capacity to deal with aggression of any sort save by retreat or by the alternatives, "massive retaliation" and global atomic war. Yet, while our troubles mount, they tell us our prestige was never higher, they tell us we were never more secure.

The Challenge Is For Democracy to Meet.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

The Democratic Party believes that "waging peace" is a monumental task to be performed honestly, forthrightly, with dedication and consistent effort.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

The way to lasting peace is to forego bluster and bluff, to regain steadiness of purpose, to join again in faithful concert with the community of free nations, to look realistically at the challenging circumstances which confront us, to face them candidly and imaginatively, and to return to the Democratic policy of peace through strength.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

This is a task for Democrats. This facing of new problems, this rising to new challenges, has been our Party's mission and its glory for three generations past. President Truman met and mastered Stalin's challenge a decade ago, with boldness, courage and imagination, and so will we turn to the challenge before us now, pressing the search for real and lasting peace. TO THIS WE PLEDGE:

Support for the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

The United Nations is indispensable for the maintenance of world peace and for the settlement of controversies between nations small and large. We pledge our every effort to strengthen its usefulness and expand its role as guide and guardian of international security and peace. We deplore the Republicans' tendency to use the United Nations only when it suits them, ignoring or by passing it whenever they please.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

We pledge determined opposition to the admission of the Communist Chinese into the United Nations. They have proven their complete hostility to the purposes of this organization. We pledge continued support to Nationalist China.

Release of American Prisoners.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

We urge a continuing effort to effect the release of all Americans detained by Communist China.

Support for Effective Disarmament.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

In this atomic age, war threatens the very survival of civilization. To eliminate the danger of atomic war, a universal, effective and enforced disarmament system must be the goal of responsible men and women everywhere. So long as we lack enforceable international control of weapons, we must maintain armed strength to avoid war. But technological advances in the field of nuclear weapons make disarmament an ever more urgent problem. Time and distance can never again protect any nation of the world. The Eisenhower Administration, despite its highly publicized proposals for aerial inspection, has made no progress toward this great objective. We pledge the Democratic Party to pursue vigorously this great goal of enforced disarmament in full awareness that irreparable injury, even total destruction, now threatens the human race.

Adequate Defense Forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

We reject the false Republican notion that this country can afford only a second-best defense. We stand for strong defense forces so clearly superior in modern weapons to those of any possible enemy that our armed strength will make an attack upon the free world unthinkable, and thus be a major force for world peace. The Republican Administration stands indicted for failing to recognize the necessity of proper living standards for the men and women of our armed forces and their families. We pledge ourselves to the betterment of the living conditions of the members of our armed services, and to a needed increase in the so-called "fringe benefits."

Training for Defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.525

The Democratic Party pledges itself to a bold and imaginative program [p.526] devised to utilize fully the brain power of America's youth, including its talent in the scientific and technical fields.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

Scholarships and loan assistance and such other steps as may be determined desirable must be employed to secure this objective. This is solely in the interest of necessary and adequate national defense.

Strengthening Civil Defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

We believe that a strong, effective civil defense is a necessary part of national defense. Advances in nuclear weapons have made existing civil defense legislation and practices obsolete.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

We pledge ourselves to establish a real program for protecting the civilian population and industry of our Nation in place of the present weak and ineffective program. We believe that this is essentially a Federal responsibility.

Collective Security Arrangements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

The Democratic Party inaugurated and we strongly favor collective defense arrangements, such as NATO and the Organization of American States, within the framework of the United Nations. We realize, as the Republicans have not, that mutually recognized common interests can be flexibly adapted to the varied needs and aspirations of all countries concerned.

Winning the Productivity Race.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

The Republican Party has not grasped one of the dominant facts of mid-century—that the growth of productive power of the Communist states presents a challenge which cannot be evaded. The Democratic Party is confident that, through the freedom we enjoy, a vast increase in productive power of our Nation and our Allies will be achieved, and by their combined capacity they will surmount any challenge.

Economic Development Abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

We believe that, in the cause of peace, America must support the efforts of underdeveloped countries on a cooperative basis to organize their own resources and to increase their own economic productivity, so that they may enjoy the higher living standards which science and modern industry make possible. We will give renewed strength to programs of economic and technical assistance. We support a multilateral approach to these programs, where-ever possible, so that burdens are shared and resources pooled among all the economically developed countries with the capital and skills to help in this great task.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

Further, while recognizing the relation of our national security to the role of the United States in international affairs, the Democratic Party believes the time has come for a realistic reappraisal of the American foreign aid program, particularly as to its extent and the conditions under which it should be continued. This reappraisal will determine the standards by which further aid shall be granted, keeping in mind America's prime objective of securing world peace.

Bringing the Truth to the World.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

The tools of truth and candor are even more important than economic tools. The Democratic Party believes that once our Government is purged of the confusion and complacency fostered by the Republican Administration a new image of America will emerge in the world: the image of a confident America dedicated to its traditional principles, eager to work with other peoples, honest in its pronouncements, and consistent in its policies.

Freedom for Captive Nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

We condemn the Republican Administration for its heartless record of broken promises to the unfortunate victims of Communism. Candidate Eisenhower's 1952 pledges to "liberate" the captive peoples have been disavowed and dishonored.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

We declare our deepest concern for the plight of the freedom-loving peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and of Asia, now under the yoke of Soviet dictatorship. The United States, under Democratic leaders, has never recognized the forcible annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, or condoned the extension of the Kremlin's tyranny over Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania and other countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

We look forward to the day when the liberties of all captive nations will be restored to them and they can again take their rightful place in the community of free nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

We shall press before the United Nations the principle that Soviet Russia withdraw its troops from the captive countries, so as to permit free, fair and unfettered elections in the subjugated areas, in compliance with the Atlantic Charter and other binding commitments.

Upholding the Principle of Self-Determination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

We rededicate ourselves to the high principle of national self-determination, as enunciated by Woodrow Wilson, whose leadership brought freedom and independence to uncounted millions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.526

It is the policy of the Democratic Party, therefore, to encourage and assist small nations and all [p.527] peoples, behind the Iron Curtain and outside, in the peaceful and orderly achievement of their legitimate aspirations toward political, geographical, and ethnic integrity, so that they may dwell in the family of sovereign nations with freedom and dignity. We are opposed to colonialism and Communist imperialism.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

We shall endeavor to apply this principle to the desires of all peoples for self-determination.

Reciprocal Trade Among the Nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

The Democratic Party has always worked for expanding trade among free nations. Expanding world trade is necessary not only for our friends, but for ourselves; it is the way to meet America's growing need for industrial raw materials. We shall continue to support vigorously the Hull Reciprocal Trade Program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

Under Democratic Administrations, the operation of this Act was conducted in a manner that recognized equities for agriculture, industry and labor. Under the present Republican Administration, there has been a most flagrant disregard of these important segments of our economy resulting in serious economic injury to hundreds of thousands of Americans engaged in these pursuits. We pledge correction of these conditions.

Encouraging European Unity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

Through the Marshall Plan, the European Economic Organization and NATO, the Democratic Party encouraged and supported efforts to achieve greater economic and political unity among the free nations of Europe, and to increase the solidarity of the nations of the North Atlantic community. We will continue those efforts, taking into account the viewpoints and aspirations of different sectors of the European community, particularly in regard to practical proposals for the unification of Germany.

Peace and Justice in the Middle East.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

The Democratic Party stands for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East, which is essential to the well-being and progress of all its peoples.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

We will urge Israel and the Arab States to settle their differences by peaceful means, and to maintain the sanctity of the Holy Places in the Holy Land and permit free access to them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

We will assist Israel to build a sound and viable economy for her people, so that she may fulfill her humanitarian mission of providing shelter and sanctuary for her homeless Jewish refugees while strengthening her national development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

We will assist the Arab States to develop their economic resources and raise the living standards of their people. The plight of the Arab refugees commands our continuing sympathy and concern. We will assist in carrying out large-scale projects for their resettlement in countries where there is room and opportunity for them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

We support the principle of free access to the Suez Canal under suitable international auspices. The present policies of the Eisenhower Administration in the Middle East are unnecessarily increasing the risk that war will break out in this area. To prevent war, to assure peace, we will faithfully carry out our country's pledge under the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 to oppose the use or threat of force and to take such action as may be necessary in the interest of peace, both within and outside the United Nations, to prevent any violation of the frontiers of any armistice lines.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

The Democratic Party will act to redress the dangerous imbalance of arms in the area resulting from the shipment of Communist arms to Egypt, by selling or supplying defensive weapons to Israel, and will take such steps, including security guarantees, as may be required to deter aggression and war in the area.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

We oppose, as contrary to American principles, the practice of any government which discriminates against American citizens on grounds of race or religion. We will not countenance any arrangement or treaty with any government which by its terms or in its practical application would sanction such practices.

Support for Free Asia.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

The people of Asia seek a new and freer life and they are in a commendable hurry to get it. They struggle against poverty, ill health and illiteracy. In the aftermath of war, China became a victim of Communist tyranny. But many new free nations have arisen in South and Southeast Asia. South Korea remains free, and the new Japan has abandoned her former imperial and aggressive ways. America's task and interest in Asia is to help the governments of free peoples demonstrate that they have improved living standards without yielding to Communist tyranny or domination by anyone. That task will be carried out under Democratic leadership.

Support of Our Good Neighbors to the South.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.527

In the Western Hemisphere the Democratic Party will restore the policy of the "good neighbor" [p.528] which has been alternately neglected and abused by the Republican Administration. We pledge ourselves to fortify the defenses of the Americas. In this respect, we will intensify our cooperation with our neighboring republics to help them strengthen their economies, improve educational opportunities, and combat disease. We will strive to make the Western Hemisphere an inspiring example of what free peoples working together can accomplish.

Progressive Immigration Policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

America's long tradition of hospitality and asylum for those seeking freedom, opportunity, and escape from oppression, has been besmirched by the delays, failures and broken promises of the Republican Administration. The Democratic Party favors prompt revision of the immigration and nationality laws to eliminate unfair provisions under which admissions to this country depend upon quotas based upon the accident of national origin. Proper safeguards against subversive elements should be provided. Our immigration procedures must reflect the principles of our Bill of Rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

We favor eliminating the provisions of law which charge displaced persons admitted to our shores against quotas for future years. Through such "mortgages" of future quotas, thousands of qualified persons are being forced to wait long years before they can hope for admission.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

We also favor more liberal admission of relatives to eliminate the unnecessary tragedies of broken families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

We favor elimination of unnecessary distinctions between native-born and naturalized citizens. There should be no "second class" citizenship in the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

The administration of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 has been a disgrace to our country. Rescue has been denied to innocent, defenseless and suffering people, the victims of war and the aftermath of wars. The purpose of the Act has been defeated by Republican mismanagement.

Victims of Communist Oppression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

We will continue to support programs providing succor for escapees from behind the Iron Curtain, and bringing help to the victims of war and Communist oppression.

The Challenge of the Next Four Years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

Today new challenges call for new ideas and new methods.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

In the coming years, our great necessity will be to pull together as a people, with true non-partisanship in foreign affairs under leaders informed, courageous and responsible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

We shall need to work closely with each other as Americans. If we here indict the Republican record, we acknowledge gratefully the efforts of individual Republicans to achieve true bipartisan-ship. In this spirit an affirmative, cooperative policy can be developed. We shall need to work closely, also, with others all around the world. For there is much to do—to create once more the will and the power to transform the principles of the United Nations into a living reality; to awaken ourselves and others to the effort and sacrifice which alone can win justice and peace.

II. the Domestic Policy—the Republican Reaction to 20 Years of Progress

The Democratic Bequest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

Twenty years of vivid Democratic accomplishments revived and reinforced our economic system, and wrote humanity upon the statute books. All this, the current Republican Administration inherited.

The Republican Brand of Prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

Substituting deceptive slogans and dismal deeds for the Democratic program, the Republicans have been telling the American people that "we are now more prosperous than ever before in peacetime." For the American farmer, the small businessman and the low-income worker, the old people living on a pittance, the young people seeking an American standard of education, and the minority groups seeking full employment opportunity at adequate wages, this tall tale of Republican prosperity has been an illusion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

The evil is slowly but surely infiltrating the entire economic system. Its fever signs are evidenced by soaring monopoly profits, while wages lag, farm income collapses, and small-business failures multiply at an alarming rate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

The first time-bomb of the Republican crusade against full prosperity for all was the hard-money policy. This has increased the debt burden on depressed farms, saddled heavier costs on small business, foisted higher interest charges on millions of homeowners (including veterans), pushed up unnecessarily the cost of consumer credit, and swelled the inordinate profits of a few lenders of money. It has wrought havoc with the bond market, with resulting financial loss to the ordinary owners of Government bonds.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.528

The Republican tax policy has joined hands in an unholy alliance with the hard-money policy. [p.529] Fantastic misrepresentation of the Government's budgetary position has been used to deny tax relief to low- and middle-income families, while tax concessions and handouts have been generously sprinkled among potential campaign contributors to Republican coffers. The disastrously reactionary farm program, the hardhearted resistance to adequate expansion of Social Security and other programs for human well-being, and favoritism in the award of Government contracts, all have watered the economic tree at the top and neglected its roots.

The Stunting of Our Economic Progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

The Republicans say that employment and production are "higher" than ever before. The fact is that our over-all rate of growth has been crippled and stunted in contrast to its faster increase during the Democratic years from 1947 to 1953, after World War II.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

With production lagging behind full capacity, unemployment has grown.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

The Republican claim that this stunted prosperity is the price of peace is a distortion. National-security outlays have averaged a higher part of our total production during these Republican years than during 1947-53, and yet the annual growth in total production during these Republican years has been only about 60 percent as fast as in the preceding Democratic years. The progress of low-income families toward an American standard of living, rapid during the Democratic years, has ground to a stop under the Republicans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

Federal budgetary outlays for education and health, old-age assistance and child care, slum clearance and resource development, and all the other great needs of our people have been mercilessly slashed from an annual rate of more than $57 per capita under the Democrats to $33 per capita under the Republicans, a cut of 42 percent.

The Failure of the Republican Budget-Balancers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

During the Republican fiscal years 1954-1957 as a whole, the deficits have averaged larger, and the surpluses smaller, than during the Democratic fiscal years 1947-1953, financial manipulation to the contrary notwithstanding.

Democratic Principles for Full Prosperity for All:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(1) We repudiate the Republican stunting of our economic growth, and we reassert the principles of the Full Employment Act of 1946;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(2) We pledge ourselves to achieve an honest and realistic balance of the Federal Budget in a just and fully prosperous American economy;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(3) We pledge ourselves to equitable tax revisions and monetary policies designed to combine economic progress with economic justice. We condemn the Republican use of our revenue and money systems to benefit the few at the expense of the vast majority of our people;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(4) We pledge ourselves to work toward the reduction and elimination of poverty in America;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(5) We pledge ourselves to full parity of income and living standards for agriculture; to strike off the shackles which the Taft-Hartley law has unjustly imposed on labor; and to foster the more rapid growth of legitimate business enterprise by rounding this growth upon the expanding consuming power of the people; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(6) We pledge ourselves to expand world trade and to enlarge international economic cooperation, all toward the end of a more prosperous and more peaceful world.

Democratic Goals To Be Achieved During Four Years of Progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

By adhering to these principles, we shall strive to attain by 1960 the following full prosperity objectives for all American families:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(1) A 500 billion dollar national economy in real terms;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(2) An increase of 20 percent or better in the average standard of living;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(3) An increase in the annual income of American families, with special emphasis on those whose incomes are below $2000;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(4) A determined drive toward parity of incomes and living standards for those engaged in the vital pursuit of agriculture;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(5) The addition of all necessary classrooms for our primary and secondary schools; the construction of needed new homes, with a proper proportion devoted to the rehousing of low- and middle-income families in urban and rural areas; the increase of benefits under the Old Age Assistance and Old Age Survivors Insurance Programs; a substantial expansion in hospital facilities and medical research; and a doubling of our programs for resource development and conservation; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.529

(6) National defense outlays based upon our national needs, not permitting false economy to jeopardize our very survival.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

This country of ours, in the factory, in business [p.530] and on the farm, is blessed with ever-increasing productive power. The Republicans have not permitted this potential abundance to be released for the mutual benefit of all. We reject this stunted Republican concept of America. We pledge ourselves to release the springs of abundance, to bring this abundance to all, and thus to fulfill the full promise of America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

These are our Democratic goals for the next four years. We set them forth in vivid contrast to Republican lip-service protestations that they, too, are for these goals. Their little deeds belie their large and hollow slogans. Our performance in the past gives validity to our goals for the future.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

Our victory in 1956 will make way for the commencement of these four years of progress.

III. Free Enterprise

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

"Equal rights for all and special privileges for none," the tested Jeffersonian principle, remains today the only philosophy by which human rights can be preserved by government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

It is a sad fact in the history of the Republican Party that, under its control, our Government has always become an instrument of special privilege; not a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. We have had, instead, under Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, and now under Eisenhower, government of the many, by the few, and for the few.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

We recognize monopolies and monopolistic practices as the real barriers between the people and their economic and political freedom. Monopolies act to stifle equality of opportunity and prevent the infusion of fresh blood into the life-stream of our economy. The Republican Administration has allowed giant corporate entities to dominate our economy. For example, forty thousand automobile dealers now know they were incapable of coping with these giants. They were, as the Democratic 84th Congress found, subjected to abuse and threatened with extinction. The result was passage of the O'Mahoney-Celler bill giving the automobile dealers of America economic freedom. We enacted this law, and we pledge that it shall be retained upon the statute books as a monument to the Democratic Party's concern for small business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

We pledge ourselves to the restoration of truly competitive conditions in American industry. Affirmative action within the framework of

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

American tradition will be taken to curb corporate mergers that would contribute to the growth of economic concentration.

Small and Independent Business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

In contrast to the maladministration by the Republican Party of the Federal program to assist small and independent business, we pledge ourselves—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

(1) To the strict and impartial enforcement of the laws originally fostered and strengthened by the Democratic Party and designed to prevent monopolies and other concentrations of economic and financial power; and to enact legislation to close loopholes in the laws prohibiting price discrimination;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

(2) To tax relief for all small and independent businesses by fair and equitable adjustments in Federal taxation which will encourage business expansion, and to the realistic application of the principle of graduated taxation to such corporate income. An option should be provided to spread Federal estate taxes over a period of years when an estate consists principally of the equity capital of a closely held small business;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

(3) To adoption of all practical means of making long- and short-term credit available to small and independent businessmen at reasonable rates;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

(4) To the award of a substantially higher proportion of Government contracts to independent small businesses, and to the award of a far larger percentage of military procurement, by value, after competitive bids rather than by negotiation behind closed doors. We severely condemn Republican discrimination against small and independent business;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

(5) To replacement of the weak and ineffective Republican conduct of the Small Business Administration, and its reconstitution as a vigorous, independent agency which will advocate the cause of small and independent businessmen, and render genuine assistance in fulfilling their needs and solving their problems. We condemn the Republican Administration for its failure to serve this important segment of our economy.

Law Enforcement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.530

We pledge ourselves to the fair and impartial administration of justice. The Republican Administration has degraded the great powers of law enforcement. It has not used them in the service of equal justice under law, but for concealment, coercion, persecution, political advantage and special interests.

Merchant Marine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

In the interest of our national [p.531] security, and of the maintenance of American standards of wages and living, and in order that our waterborne overseas commerce shall not be unfairly discriminated against by low-cost foreign competition, we pledge our continued encouragement and support of a strong and adequate American Merchant Marine.

Transportation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

The public and national defense interests require the development and maintenance, under the competitive free enterprise system, of a strong, efficient and financially sound system of common-carrier transportation by water, highway, rail, and air, with each mode enabled, through sound and intelligent exercise of regulatory powers, to realize its inherent economic advantages and to reflect its full competitive capabilities. Public interest also requires, under reasonable standards, the admission of new licensees, where public convenience may be served, into the transport fields. We deplore the lack of enforcement of safety regulations for protection of life and property under the present Republican Administration, and pledge strict enforcement of such regulations.

Highways.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

We commend the foresight of the Democratic 84th Congress for its enactment of the greatest program in history for expansion of our highway network, and we congratulate it upon its rejection of the unsound, unworkable, inadequate and unfair roads bill proposed by the present Republican Administration. In cooperation with state and local governments, we will continue the programs developed and fostered under prior Democratic Administrations for planning, coordinating, financing and encouraging the expansion of our national road and highway network so vital to defense and transportation in the motor age. We support expansion of farm-to-market roads.

Rivers and Harbors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

We pledge continued development of harbors and waterways as a vital segment of our transportation system. We denounce as capricious and arbitrary the Eisenhower pocket veto of the 1956 Rivers and Harbors bill, which heartlessly deprived the people in many sections of our country of vitally needed public works projects.

IV. A Magna Charta for Labor

Labor-Management Relations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

Harmonious labor-management relations are productive of good incomes for wage earners and conducive to rising output from our factories. We believe that, to the widest possible extent consistent with the public interest, management and labor should determine wage rates and conditions of employment through free collective bargaining.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

The Taft-Hartley Act passed by the Republican-dominated 80th Congress seriously impaired this relationship as established in the Wagner National Labor Relations Act, enacted under the Roosevelt Administration. The Wagner Act protected, encouraged and guaranteed the rights of workers to organize, to join unions of their own choice, and to bargain collectively through these unions without coercion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

The vicious anti-union character of the Taft-Hartley Act was expressly recognized by Candidate Eisenhower during the 1952 election campaign.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

At that time, he made a solemn promise to eliminate its unjust provisions and to enact a fair law. President Eisenhower and his Administration have failed utterly, however, to display any executive initiative or forcefulness toward keeping this pledge to the workers. He was further responsible for administratively amending Taft-Hartley into a more intensely anti-labor weapon by stacking the National Labor Relations Board with biased pro-management personnel who, by administrative decision, transformed the Act into a management weapon. One such decision removed millions of workers from the jurisdiction of the NLRB, which in many cases left them without protection of either State or Federal legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

We unequivocally advocate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Act must be repealed because State "right-to-work" laws have their genesis in its discriminatory anti-labor provisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

It must be repealed because its restrictive provisions deny the principle that national legislation based on the commerce clause of the Constitution normally overrides conflicting State laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

The Taft-Hartley Act has been proven to be inadequate, unworkable and unfair. It interferes in an arbitrary manner with collective bargaining, causing imbalance in the relationship between management and labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.531

Upon return of our National Government to the Democratic Party, a new legislative approach toward the entire labor-management problem will be adopted, based on past experience and the principles of the Wagner National Labor Relations [p.532] Act and the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Law.

Fair Labor Standards.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

We commend the action of the Democratic 84th Congress which raised the minimum wage from 75 cents to $1.00 an hour despite the strenuous objection of President Eisenhower and the Republicans in Congress. However, the inadequacies of the minimum wage become apparent as the cost of living increases, and we feel it imperative to raise the minimum wage to at least $1.25 an hour, in order to approximate present-day needs more closely.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

We further pledge as a matter of priority to extend full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in industry engaged in, or affecting, interstate commerce.

Walsh-Healey Contracts Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

We pledge revision and honest administration of the Walsh-Healey Act, to restore its effectiveness and usefulness as an instrument for maintaining fair standards of wages and hours for American workers.

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

We advocate legislation to provide equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

The Physically Handicapped.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

The Democratic Party has always supported legislation to benefit the disabled worker. The physically handicapped have proved their value to Government and industry. We pledge our continued support of legislation to improve employment opportunities of physically handicapped persons.

Migratory Workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

We shall support legislation providing for the protection and improvement of the general welfare of migratory workers.

Jobs for Depressed Areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

We pledge our Party to support legislation providing for an effective program to promote industry and create jobs in depressed industrial and rural areas so that such areas may be restored to economic stability.

V. Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

Sustained national prosperity is dependent upon a vigorous agricultural economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

We condemn the defeatist attitude of the Eisenhower Administration in refusing to take effective action to assure the well-being of farm families. We condemn its fear of abundance, its lack of initiative in developing domestic markets, and its dismal failure to obtain for the American farmer his traditional and deserved share of the world market. Its extravagant expenditure of money intended for agricultural benefit, without either direction or results, is a national calamity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

The Eisenhower Administration has failed utterly to develop any programs to meet the desperate needs of farmers in the face of fantastic promises, and it has sabotaged the progressive programs inherited from prior Democratic Administrations by failing to administer them properly in the interest either of farmers or of the Nation as a whole.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

Specifically, we denounce President Eisenhower's veto of the constructive legislation proposed and passed by the Democratic 84th Congress to reverse the alarming fall of farm prices and restore farmers to a position of first-class economic citizenship in the sharing of benefits from American productive ability.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

We also condemn the Republican Administration for its abandonment of the true principles of soil conservation and for its destruction of the Soil Conservation Service. We pledge to support continued improvements in the soil bank program passed by the Democratic 84th Congress and originally opposed by President Eisenhower and Secretary Ezra Taft Benson. We deplore the diversion of this conservation program into a direct vote-buying scheme.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

Farmers have had to struggle for three and one-half years while their net farm income has fallen more than one billion dollars a year. Their parity ratio, which under Democratic Administrations had been 100 percent or more during the eleven years prior to 1953, dropped to as low as 80 percent during the Eisenhower Administration, and the farmers' share of the consumers' food dollar shrank from 47 cents in 1952 to as low as only 38 cents. One stark fact stands out clearly for all to see—disastrously low farm prices and record high consumer prices vie with each other for the attention of responsible government. In a reduction of this incongruous spread lies the answer to some of the most vexing problems of agricultural economics.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

In their courageous fight to save their homes and land, American farmers have gone deeper and deeper into debt. Last year farmers' mortgage indebtedness increased more than in any year in history with the exception of the year 1923.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.532

The Democratic Party met similar situations forthrightly in the past with concrete remedial [p.533] action. It takes legitimate pride in its consistent record of initiating and developing every constructive program designed to protect and conserve the human and natural resources so vital to our rural economy. These programs enabled consumers to obtain more abundant supplies of high-quality food and fiber at reasonable prices while maintaining adequate income for farmers and improving the level of family living in rural areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

In order to regain the ground lost during the Eisenhower Administration, and in order better to serve both consumers and producers, the Democratic Party pledges continuous and vigorous support to the following policies:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Sponsor a positive and comprehensive program to conserve our soil, water and forest resources for future generations;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Promote programs which will protect and preserve the family-type farm as a bulwark of American life, and encourage farm-home ownership, including additional assistance to family farmers and young farmers in the form of specially designed credit and price-support programs, technical aid, and enlarged soil conservation allowances.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Maintain adequate reserves of agricultural commodities strategically situated, for national security purposes. Such stockpiles should be handled as necessary strategic reserves, so that farmers will not be penalized by depressed prices for their efficiency and diligence in producing abundance;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Promote international exchange of commodities by creating an International Food Reserve, fostering commodity agreements, and vigorously administering the Foreign Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Undertake immediately by appropriate action to endeavor to regain the full 100 percent of parity the farmers received under the Democratic Administrations. We will achieve this by means of supports on basic commodities at 90 percent of parity and by means of commodity loans, direct purchases, direct payments to producers, marketing agreements and orders, production adjustments, or a combination of these, including legislation, to bring order and stability into the relationship between the producer, the processor and the consumer;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Develop practical measures for extending price supports to feed grains and other nonbasic storables and to the producers of perishable commodities such as meat, poultry, dairy products and the like;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Inaugurate a food-stamp or other supplemental food program administered by appropriate State or local agencies to insure that no needy family shall be denied an adequate and wholesome diet because of low income;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Continue and expand school lunch and special milk programs to meet the dietary needs of all school children;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Increase the distribution of food to public institutions and organizations and qualified private charitable agencies, and increase the distribution of food and fiber to needy people in other nations through recognized charitable and religious channels;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Devise and employ effective means to reduce the spread between producers' prices and consumers' costs, and improve market facilities and marketing practices;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Expand the program of agricultural research and education for better distribution, preservation and marketing of farm products to serve both producers and consumers, and promote increased industrial use of farm surpluses;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Provide for an increased reservoir of farm credit at lower rates, designed particularly to accommodate operators of small family-type farms, and extend crop insurance to maximum coverage and protection;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Return the administration of farm programs to farmer-elected committeemen, eliminate the deplorable political abuses in Federal employment in many agricultural counties as practiced by the Eisenhower Administration, and restore leadership to the administration of soil conservation districts;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Insure reliable and low-cost rural electric and telephone service;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Exercise authority in existing law relating to imports of price-supported agricultural commodities in raw, manufactured or processed form as part of our national policy to minimize damage to our domestic economy;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Encourage bona fide farm cooperatives which help farmers reduce the cost-price squeeze, and protect such cooperatives against punitive taxation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.533

Expand farm forestry marketing research and price reporting on timber products, and provide [p.534] adequate credit designed to meet the needs of timber farmers; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

Enact a comprehensive farm program which, under intelligent and sympathetic Democratic administration, will make the rural homes of America better and healthier places in which to live.

VI. General Welfare

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

The Democratic Party believes that America can and must adopt measures to assure every citizen an opportunity for a full, healthy and happy life. To this end, we pledge ourselves to the expansion and improvement of the great social welfare programs inaugurated under Democratic Administrations.

Social Security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

By lowering the retirement age for women and for disabled persons, the Democratic 84th Congress pioneered two great advances in Social Security, over the bitter opposition of the Eisenhower Administration. We shall continue our efforts to broaden and strengthen this program by increasing benefits to keep pace with improving standards of living; by raising the wage base upon which benefits depend; and by increasing benefits for each year of covered employment.

Unemployment Insurance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

We shall continue to work for a stronger unemployment insurance system, with broader coverage and increased benefits consistent with rising earnings. We shall also work for the establishment of a floor to assure minimum level and duration of benefits, and fair eligibility rules.

Wage Losses Due to Illness.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

In 1946, a Democratic Congress enacted an insurance program to protect railroad workers against temporary wage losses due to short-term illnesses. Because this program has worked so effectively, we favor extending similar protection to other workers.

Public Assistance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

We pledge improvements in the public assistance program even beyond those enacted by the Democratic 84th Congress, through increased aid for the aged, the blind, dependent children, the disabled and other needy persons who are not adequately protected by our contributory insurance programs.

Additional Needs of Our Senior Citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

To meet the needs of the 14 million Americans aged 65 or over, we pledge ourselves to seek means of assuring these citizens greater income through expanded opportunities for employment, vocational retraining and adult education; better housing and health services for the aged; rehabilitation of the physically and mentally disabled to restore them to independent, productive lives; and intensified medical and other research aimed both at lengthening life and making the longer life more truly livable.

Health and Medical Care.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

The strength of our Nation depends on the health of our people. The shortage of trained medical and health personnel and facilities has impaired American health standards and has increased the cost of hospital care beyond the financial capacities of most American families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

We pledge ourselves to initiate programs of Federal financial aid, without Federal controls, for medical education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

We pledge continuing and increased support for hospital construction programs, as well as increased Federal aid to public health services, particularly in rural areas.

Medical research.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

Mindful of the dramatic progress made by medical research in recent years, we shall continue to support vigorously all efforts, both public and private, to wage relentless war on diseases which afflict the bodies and minds of men. We commend the Democratic Party for its leadership in obtaining greater Congressional authorizations in this field.

Housing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

We pledge our Party to immediate revival of the basic housing program enacted by the Democratic Congress in 1949, to expansion of this program as our population and resources grow, and to additional legislation to provide housing for middle-income families and aged persons. Aware of the financial burdens which press upon most American communities and prevent them from taking full advantage of Federal urban redevelopment and renewal programs, we favor increasing the Federal share of the cost of these programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

We reaffirm the goal expressed by a Democratic Congress in 1949 that every American family is entitled to a "decent home and a suitable living environment." The Republican Administration has sabotaged that goal by reducing the public housing program to a fraction of the Nation's need.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.534

We pledge that the housing insurance and mortgage guarantee programs will be redirected [p.535] in the interest of the home owner, and that the availability of low-interest housing credit will be kept consistent with the expanding housing needs of the Nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

We favor providing aid to urban and suburban communities in better planning for their future development and redevelopment.

Education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

Every American child, irrespective of race or national origin, economic status or place of residence, has full right under the law and the Constitution, without discrimination, to every educational opportunity for developing his potentialities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

We are now faced with shortages of educational facilities that threaten national security, economic prosperity and human well-being. The resources of our States and localities are already strained to the limit. Federal aid and action should be provided, within the traditional framework of State and local control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

We pledge the Democratic Party to the following:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

(1) Legislation providing Federal financing to assist States and local communities to build schools, and to provide essential health and safety services for all school children;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

(2) Better educational, health and welfare opportunities for children of migratory workers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

(3) Assistance to programs for training teachers of exceptional children;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

(4) Programs providing for the training of teachers to meet the critical shortage in technical and scientific fields; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

(5) Expansion of the program of student, teacher and cultural exchange with other nations.

Vocational Education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

We commend the 84th Congress for voting the maximum authorized funds for vocational education under the Smith-Hughes Act for the first time in the history of the Act. We pledge continuing and increased support of vocational training for youth and adults, including aid to the States and localities for area technical-vocational schools.

Child Welfare.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

To keep pace with the growing need for child care and welfare, we pledge an expanded program of grants to the States. We pledge continued support of adequate day care centers to care for the children of the millions of American mothers who work to help support their families.

Aid to the Physically Handicapped.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

There are today several million physically handicapped citizens, many of whom could become self-supporting if given the opportunity and training for rehabilitation. We pledge support to a vastly expanded rehabilitation program for these physically handicapped, including increased aid to the States, in contrast to the grossly inadequate action of the Republican Administration.

VII. Financial Policy

Tax Adjustment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

A fully expanding economy can yield enough tax revenues to meet the inescapable obligations of government, balance the Federal Budget, and lighten the tax burden. The immediate need is to correct the inequities in the tax structure which reflect the Republican determination to favor the few at the expense of the many. We favor realistic tax adjustments, giving first consideration to small independent business and the small individual taxpayer. Lower-income families need tax relief; only a Democratic victory will assure this. We favor an increase in the present personal tax exemption of $600 to a minimum of at least $800.

Debt Management.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

The Republican debt management policy of higher interest rates serves only to benefit a few to the detriment of the general taxpayer, the small borrower, and the small and middle-class investor in Government bonds. We pledge ourselves to a vigilant review of our debt management policy in order to reduce interest rates in the service of our common welfare.

Protection of Investors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

Effective administration of the Federal securities laws has been undermined by Republican appointees with conflicting interests. Millions of investors who have bought securities with their savings are today without adequate protection. We favor vigorous administration and revision of the laws to provide investor safeguards for securities extensively traded in the over-the-counter market, for foreign securities distributed in the United States, and against proxy contest abuses.

VIII. Government Operations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

The Democratic Party pledges that it will return the administration of our National Government to a sound, efficient, and honest basis.

Civil Service and Federal Employee Relations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.535

The Eisenhower Administration has failed either [p.536] to understand or trust the Federal employee. Its record in personnel management constitutes a grave indictment of policies reflecting prejudices and excessive partisanship to the detriment of employee morale.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

Intelligent and sympathetic programs must be immediately undertaken to insure the re-establishment of the high morale and efficiency which were characteristic of the Federal worker during 20 years of Democratic Administrations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

To accomplish these objectives, we propose:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(1) Protection and extension of the merit system through the enactment of laws to specify the rights and responsibilities of workers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(2) A more independent Civil Service Commission in order that it may provide the intelligent leadership essential in perfecting a proper Civil Service System;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(3) Promotion within the Federal Service under laws assuring advancement on merit and proven ability;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(4) Salary increases of a nature that will insure a truly competitive scale at all levels of employment;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(5) Recognition by law of the right of employee organizations to represent their members and to participate in the formulation and improvement of personnel policies and practices; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(6) A fair and non-political loyalty program, by law, which will protect the Nation against subversion and the employee against unjust and un-American treatment.

Restoring the Efficiency of the Postal Service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

The bungling policies of the Republican Administration have crippled and impaired the morale, efficiency and reputation of the U. S. Postal Service. Mail carriers and clerks and other Postal employees are compelled to work under intolerable conditions. Communication by mail and service by parcel post have been delayed and retarded with resulting hardships, business losses and inconveniences. A false concept of economy has impaired seriously the efficiency of the best communication system in the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

We pledge ourselves to programs which will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(1) Restore the principle that the Postal Service is a public service to be operated in the interest of improved business economy and better communication, as well as an aid to the dissemination of information and intelligence;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(2) Restore Postal employee morale through the strengthening of the merit system, with promotions by law rather than caprice or partisan politics, and payment of realistic salaries reflecting the benefits of an expanded economy;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(3) Establish a program of research and development on a scale adequate to insure the most modern and efficient handling of the mails; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

(4) Undertake modernization and construction of desperately needed Postal facilities designed to insure the finest Postal system in the world.

Conflict of Interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

Maladministration and selfish manipulation have characterized Federal Administration during the Eisenhower years, Taxpayers, paying billions of dollars each year to their Government, demand and must have the highest standards of honesty, integrity and efficiency as a minimum requirement of Federal Executive conduct. We pledge a strong merit system as a substitute for cynical policies of spoils and special favor which are now the rule of the day. We seek the constant improvement of the Federal Government apparatus to accomplish these ends.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

Under certain conditions, we recognize the need for the employment of personnel without compensation in the Executive Branch of the Government. But the privileges extended these dollar-a-year men have resulted in grave abuses of power. Some of these representatives of large corporations have assumed a dual loyalty to the Government and to the corporations that pay them. These abuses under the Republican Administration have been scandalous. The Democratic Party proposes that any necessary use of non-compensated employees shall be made only after the most careful scrutiny and under the most rigidly prescribed safeguards to prevent any conflict of interests.

Freedom of Information.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.536

During recent years there has developed a practice on the part of Federal agencies to delay and withhold information which is needed by Congress and the general public to make important decisions affecting their lives and destinies. We believe that this trend toward secrecy in Government should be reversed and that the Federal Government should return to its basic tradition of exchanging and promoting the freest flow of information possible in those unclassified areas where secrets involving weapons development and bona fide national [p.537] security are not involved. We condemn the Eisenhower Administration for the excesses practiced in this vital area, and pledge the Democratic Party to reverse this tendency, substituting a rule of law for that of broad claims of executive privilege.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

We reaffirm our position of 1952 "to press strongly for world-wide freedom in the gathering and dissemination of news." We shall press for free access to information throughout the world for our journalists and scholars.

Clean Elections.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

The shocking disclosures in the last Congress of attempts by selfish interests to exert improper influence on members of Congress have resulted in a Congressional investigation now under way. The Democratic Party pledges itself to provide effective regulation and full disclosure of campaign expenditures and contributions in elections to Federal offices.

Equal Rights Amendment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

We of the Democratic Party recommend and indorse for submission to the Congress a Constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women.

Veterans Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

We are spending approximately 4 3/4 billion dollars per year on veterans' benefits. There are more than 22 million veterans in civil life today and approximately 4 million veterans or dependents of deceased veterans drawing direct cash benefits from the Veterans Administration. It is clear that a matter of such magnitude demands more prominence in the affairs of Government. We pledge that we will elevate the Veterans Administration to a place of dignity commensurate with its importance in national affairs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

We charge the present Administration with open hostility toward the veterans' hospital program as disclosed by its efforts to restrict severely that program in fiscal year 1954. We further charge the Administration with incompetence and gross neglect in the handling of veterans' benefits in the following particulars:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

( 1 ) The refusal to allow service connection for disabilities incurred in or aggravated by military service, and the unwarranted reduction of disability evaluations in cases where service connection has been allowed; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

(2) The failure to give proper protection to veterans purchasing homes under the VA home loan program both by inadequate supervision of the program and, in some instances, by active cooperation with unscrupulous builders, lenders and real estate brokers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

In recognition of the valiant efforts of those who served their Nation in its gravest hours, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

(1) Continuance of the Veterans Administration as an independent Federal agency handling veterans programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

(2) Continued recognition of war veterans, with adequate compensation for the service-connected disabled and for the survivors of those who have passed away in service or from service-incurred disabilities; and with pensions for disabled and distressed veterans, and for the dependents of those who have passed on, where they are in need or unable to provide for themselves;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

(3) Maintenance of the Veterans Administration hospital system, with no impairment in the high quality of medical and hospital service;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

(4) Priority of hospitalization for the service-connected disabled, and the privilege of hospital care when beds are available for the non-service-connected illness of veterans who are sick and without funds or unable to procure private hospitalization;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

(5) Fair administration of veterans preference laws, and employment opportunities for handicapped and disabled veterans;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

(6) Full hearings for war veterans filing valid applications with the review, corrective and settlement boards of the Federal Government; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

(7) Support for legislation to obtain an extension of the current law to enable veterans to obtain homes and farms through the continuance of the GI Loan Program.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

We condemn the Republican Administration for its utter disregard of the rights to statehood of both Alaska and Hawaii. These territories have contributed greatly to our national economic and cultural life and are vital to our defense. They are part of America and should be recognized as such. We of the Democratic Party, therefore, pledge immediate Statehood for these two territories. We commend these territories for the action their people have taken in the adoption of constitutions which will become effective forthwith when they are admitted into the Union.

Puerto Rico.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.537

The Democratic Party views with satisfaction the progress and growth achieved by [p.538] Puerto Rico since its political organization as a Commonwealth under Democratic Party leadership. We pledge, once again, our continued support of the Commonwealth and its development and growth along lines of increasing responsibility and authority, keeping as functions of the Federal Government only such as are essential to the existence of the compact of association adopted by the Congress of the United States and the people of Puerto Rico.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

The progress of Puerto Rico under Commonwealth status has been notable proof of the great benefits which flow from self-government and the good neighbor policy which under Democratic leadership this country has always followed.

Virgin Islands.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

We favor increased self-government for the Virgin Islands to provide for an elected Governor and a Resident Commissioner in the Congress of the United States. We denounce the scandalous administration of the first Eisenhower-appointed Governor of the Virgin Islands.

Other Territories and Possessions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

We favor increased self-government for Guam, other outlying territories and the Trust Territory of the Pacific.

District of Columbia.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

We favor immediate home rule and ultimate national representation for the District of Columbia.

American Indians.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

Recognizing that all American Indians are citizens of the United States and of the States in which they reside, and acknowledging that the Federal Government has a unique legal and moral responsibility for Indians which is imposed by the Constitution and spelled out in treaties, statutes and court decisions, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

Prompt adoption of a Federal program to assist Indian tribes in the full development of their human and natural resources, and to advance the health, education and economic well-being of Indian citizens, preserving their traditions without impairing their cultural heritage;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

No alteration of any treaty or other Federal-Indian contractual relationships without the free consent of the Indian tribes concerned; reversal of the present policies which are tending toward erosion of Indian rights, reduction of their economic base through alienation of their lands, and repudiation of Federal responsibility;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

Prompt and expeditious settlement of Indian claims against the United States, with full recognition of the rights of both parties; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

Elimination of all impediments to full citizenship for American Indians.

Governmental Balance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

The Democratic Party has upheld its belief in the Constitution as a charter of individual rights, an effective instrument for human progress. Democratic Administrations placed upon the statute books during their last 20 years a multitude of measures which testify to our belief in the Jeffersonian principle of local control even in general legislation involving Nation-wide programs. Selective Service, Social Security, agricultural adjustment, low-rent housing, hospital, and many other legislative programs have placed major responsibilities in States and counties, and provide fine examples of how benefits can be extended through Federal-State cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

While we recognize the existence of honest differences of opinion as to the true location of the Constitutional line of demarcation between the Federal Government and the States, the Democratic Party expressly recognizes the vital importance of the respective States in our Federal Union. The Party of Jefferson and Jackson pledges itself to continued support of those sound principles of local government which will best serve the welfare of our people and the safety of our democratic rights.

Improving Congressional Procedures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

In order that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action he taken at the beginning of the 85th Congress to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either House.

IX. Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

Our national economic strength and welfare depend primarily upon the development of our land, water, mineral and energy resources, with which this Nation has been abundantly blessed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

We pledge unstinting support to a full and integrated program of development, protection, management and conservation of all of our natural resources for all of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.538

The framework of time-tested conservation and mining policy is fixed in laws under which America [p.539] has developed its natural resources for the general welfare.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

The Democratic 84th Congress has remained steadfast to this traditional policy. It has built upon the tremendous conservation and development achievements of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations by undertaking the greatest program of natural resources development ever assumed by any Congress in our Nation's history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

This constructive Democratic record, embracing all resources of land, water, energy and minerals, is in sharp contrast to the faithless performance of the Eisenhower Administration which has despoiled future generations of their heritage by utter failure to safeguard natural resources. Our people will long remember this betrayal of their heritage as symbolized by the infamous Dixon-Yates contract; the A1 Sarena timber scheme; the low-level Hells Canyon Dams; and for its unreasonable resistance to authorizing the Niagara Project which would benefit so many millions in the State of New York and adjacent areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

We condemn, and will continue to decry, this pillaging of our dwindling natural resource wealth through political manipulation and administrative subversion by the Eisenhower Administration. We pledge ourselves to halt this betrayal of the people's trust.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

We shall devise for the American people a dynamic, far-reaching and progressive conservation program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

The Democratic Party proposes, and will strive to secure, this comprehensive resources program for America's future.

Land.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

Our land will be preserved and improved for the present and future needs of our people, and not wastefully exploited to benefit special-interest groups.

Soil Conservation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

In contrast to the wasteful neglect of the present Administration, soil conservation practices will be stimulated and intensified to reduce land deterioration under the vital Soil Conservation Service assistance program conceived and fostered by the Democratic Party.

National Parks, Recreation and Wildlife.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

We pledge adoption of an immediate and broad policy to mobilize the efforts of private and public agencies for protection of existing recreational areas, provision of new ones, and improvement of inadequate facilities. Slum conditions fostered by Republican neglect are intolerable to the tens of millions of Americans using our national parks and forests. Democratic Administration will end this shocking situation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

Fish and game habitats will be guarded against encroachment for commercial purposes. All river basin development plans will take into full consideration their effect upon fish, wildlife, national park and wilderness areas. The Fish and Wildlife Service must and will be returned to the career status from which it was removed by the political patronage policy of the present Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

Recreational facilities for the millions of field and stream sportsmen of America will be conserved and expanded.

Forest and Grazing Lands.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

Timber on Federal commercial forest lands will be harvested and managed on a sustained-yield basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

We propose to increase forest access roads in order to improve cutting practices on both public and private lands.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

Private owners of farm, forest and range lands need and must have financial and technical assistance so that all lands will be utilized to contribute more fully to the national welfare by production of food and fiber and protection of our watersheds. Any effort to transform grazing permits from a revocable license to a vested right will be rejected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

We will vigorously advocate Federally-financed forestation, upstream erosion control and flood control programs on our public range, timber lands and small drainage basins to protect our watersheds and double the rate of forage and commercial timber growth. We will promote cooperative programs with Government assistance to reduce timber losses from fire, insects, and disease.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

Prospecting and mining on unreserved Federal lands will be encouraged, but surface areas not needed in mining will be safeguarded by appropriate legislation.

Water.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.539

We pledge the resumption of rapid and orderly multiple-purpose river basin development throughout the country. This program will bring into reality the full potential benefits of flood control, irrigation and our domestic and municipal water supply from surface and underground waters. It will also materially aid low-cost power, navigation, recreation, fish and wild-life propagation and mineral development. We [p.540] pledge our aid to the growing requirements of the semiarid Western States for an adequate water supply to meet the vital domestic, irrigation and industrial needs of the rapidly growing urban centers. Enhanced regional economies will strengthen the economy of the Nation as a whole.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

We will take appropriate and vigorous steps to prevent comprehensive drainage basin development plans from being fragmented by single-purpose projects. The conservation of water is essential to the life of the Nation. The Democratic Party pledges itself to conservation of water in the public interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

The Democratic 84th Congress has taken a long step toward reducing the pollution of our rivers and streams. We pledge continuation and expansion of this program, vital to every citizen.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

The program of obtaining a large new source of fresh water supply from salt water was begun by the Democratic Party, but has been allowed to lapse by the Eisenhower Republican Administration. It will be resumed and accelerated.

Energy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

We pledge ourselves to carry forward, under national policy, aggressive programs to provide abundant supplies of low-cost energy, including continued research for the development of synthetic liquid fuel from coal, shale and agricultural products. These we must have to feed our insatiable industrial economy, to enable our workers to develop their skills and increase their productivity, to provide more jobs at higher wages, to meet the ever-mounting demands for domestic and farm uses, including the production of lower-cost farm fertilizers and lower-cost power to consumers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

We will carry forward increased and full production of hydroelectric power on our rivers and of steam generation for the Tennessee Valley Authority to meet its peacetime and defense requirements. Such self-liquidating projects must go forward in a rapid and orderly manner, with appropriate financing plans. Integrated regional transmission systems will enhance exchange of power and encourage diversified industrial development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

We shall once more rigorously enforce the anti-monopoly and public body preference clauses, including the Holding Company Act, administratively circumvented by the Eisenhower Republican Administration. We shall preserve and strengthen the public power competitive yardstick in power developments under TVA, REA, Bureau of Reclamation, Bonneville, Southeast and Southwest Power Administrations and other future projects, including atomic power plants, under a policy of the widest possible use of electric energy at the lowest possible cost.

Minerals.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

The Republican Administration has seriously neglected and ignored one of the Nation's basic industries, metal mining. We recognize that a healthy mining industry is essential to the economy of the Nation, and therefore pledge immediate efforts toward the establishment of a realistic, long-range minerals policy. The Nation's minerals and fuels are essential to the safety, security and development of our country. We pledge the adoption of policies which will further encourage the exploration and development of additional reserves of our mineral resources.

Domestic Fisheries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

We will undertake comprehensive scientific and economic research programs for the conservation and better utilization of, and new markets for, fishery products. We favor and will encourage reciprocal world trade in fish products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

We pledge ourselves to a public works and water policy providing adequate protection for domestic fishery resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

We favor treaties with other nations for conservation and better utilization of international fisheries.

Scenic Resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

To the end that the scenic beauty of our land may be preserved and maintained for this and future generations to enjoy, we pledge accelerated support of educational programs to stimulate individual responsibility and pride in clean, attractive surroundings—from big cities to rural areas.

X. Atomic Energy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

The atomic era came into being and was developed under Democratic Administrations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

The genius of American scientists, engineers and workmen, supported by the vision and courage of Franklin D. Roosevelt, made possible the splitting of the atom and the development of the first atomic bomb in time to end World War II.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.540

With the ending of the war, the supremacy of America in atomic weapons was maintained under the leadership of President Truman, and the United States pushed ahead vigorously toward [p.541] utilizing this new form of energy in peaceful pursuits, particularly in the fields of medicine, agriculture and industry. By the end of the Truman Administration, the pre-eminence of the United States in the nuclear field was clearly established, and we were on the threshold of large-scale development of industrial nuclear energy at home and as an instrument of world peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

The Eisenhower Administration promptly reversed the field and plunged the previously independent and nonpartisan Atomic Energy Commission into partisan politics. For example, President Eisenhower ordered the Commission to sign the scandalous Dixon-Yates contract. He was later forced to repudiate the same contract, after the exposure of the illegal activities of one of his own consultants with a secret office in the Bureau of the Budget.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

The Republican Administration has followed the same pattern in the field of atomic energy that it has pursued in its treatment of other natural resources—lofty words, little action, but steady service to selfish interests. While the AEC and the special private interests consult and confer, the United States is lagging instead of leading in the world race for nuclear power, international prestige and world markets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

The Democrats in Congress believed that the national interest thus became imperiled, and they moved to meet the challenge both at home and abroad. They established a nonpartisan panel of eminent Americans to study the impact of the peaceful atom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

Following the comprehensive report of this panel, the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy held extensive hearings on bills to accelerate the atomic reactor demonstration program. Though the bills were reported unanimously from committee, the Republican members of Congress, under heavy pressure from the White House, insured the final defeat of this legislation in the Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

But the fight to bring nuclear power to the people has only begun. As the United States was first in the development of the atom as a weapon, so the United States must lead in bringing the blessings of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy to mankind.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

Hence, the Democratic Party pledges itself:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

(1) To restore nonpartisan administration of the vital atomic energy program and to expand and accelerate nuclear development by vigorous action:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

(2) To accelerate the domestic civilian atomic power program by the construction of a variety of demonstration prototype reactors;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

(3) To give reality—life and meaning—to the "Atoms for Peace" program. We will substitute deeds for words;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

(4) To increase the production of fissionable material for use in a stockpile for peacetime commitments at home and abroad, and for an ever-present reserve for weapons to guarantee freedom in the world;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

(5) To conduct a comprehensive survey of radiation hazards from bomb tests and reactor operations, in order to determine what additional measures are required to protect existing and future generations from these invisible dangers; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

(6) To make the maximum contribution to the defense of our Nation and the free world through the development of a balanced and flexible stockpile of nuclear weapons, containing a sufficient number and variety to support our armed services in any contingency.

XI. Civil Rights

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

The Democratic Party is committed to support and advance the individual rights and liberties of all Americans. Our country is founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that all citizens are equal before the law and should enjoy all political rights. They should have equal opportunities for education, for economic advancement, and for decent living conditions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. We know this task requires action, not just in one section of the Nation, but in all sections. It requires the cooperative efforts of individual citizens, and action by State and local governments. It also requires Federal action. The Federal Government must live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and must exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.541

We are proud of the record of the Democratic Party in securing equality of treatment and opportunity in the nation's armed forces, the Civil [p.542] Service, and in all areas under Federal jurisdiction. The Democratic Party pledges itself to continue its efforts to eliminate illegal discriminations of all kinds, in relation to (1) full rights to vote, (2) full rights to engage in gainful occupations, (3) full rights to enjoy security of the person, and (4) full fights to education in all publicly supported institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.542

Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to segregation in publicly supported schools and elsewhere have brought consequences of vast importance to our Nation as a whole and especially to communities directly affected. We reject all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.542

The Democratic Party emphatically reaffirms its support of the historic principle that ours is a government of laws and not of men; it recognizes the Supreme Court of the United States as one of the three Constitutional and coordinate branches of the Federal Government, superior to and separate from any political party, the decisions of which are part of the law of the land. We condemn the efforts of the Republican Party to make it appear that this tribunal is a part of the Republican Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1956, p.542

We condemn the Republican Administration's violation of the rights of Government employees by a heartless and unjustified confusing of "security" and "loyalty" for the sole purpose of political gain and regardless of consequences to individual victims and to the good name of the United States. We condemn the Republican Administration's misrepresentation of facts and violation of individual rights in a wicked and unprincipled attempt to degrade and destroy the Democratic Party, and to make political capital for the Republican Party.[p.545]

Republican Platform of 1956

Declaration of Faith

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

America's trust is in the merciful providence of God, in whose image every man is created . . . the source of every man's dignity and freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

In this trust our Republic was founded. We give devoted homage to the Founding Fathers. They not only proclaimed that the freedom and rights of men came from the Creator and not from the State, but they provided safeguards to those freedoms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

Our Government was created by the people for all the people, and it must serve no less a purpose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

The Republican Party was formed 100 years ago to preserve the Nation's devotion to these ideals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

On its Centennial, the Republican Party again calls to the minds of all Americans the great truth first spoken by Abraham Lincoln: "The legitimate object of Government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. But in all that people can individually do as well for themselves, Government ought not to interfere."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

Our great President Dwight D. Eisenhower has counseled us further: "In all those things which deal with people, be liberal, be human. In all those things which deal with people's money, or their economy, or their form of government, be conservative."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

While jealously guarding the free institutions and preserving the principles upon which our Republic was founded and has flourished, the purpose of the Republican Party is to establish and maintain a peaceful world and build at home a dynamic prosperity in which every citizen fairly shares.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

We shall ever build anew, that our children and their children, without distinction because of race, creed or color, may know the blessings of our free land.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

We believe that basic to governmental integrity are unimpeachable ethical standards and irreproachable personal conduct by all people in government. We shall continue our insistence on honesty as an indispensable requirement of public service. We shall continue to root out corruption whenever and wherever it appears.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

We are proud of and shall continue our far-reaching and sound advances in matters of basic human needs—expansion of social security—broadened coverage in unemployment insurance —improved housing—and better health protection for all our people. We are determined that our government remain warmly responsive to the urgent social and economic problems of our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

To these beliefs we commit ourselves as we present this record and declare our goals for the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

Nearly four years ago when the people of this Nation entrusted their Government to President Eisenhower and the Republican Party, we were locked in a costly and stalemated war. Now we have an honorable peace, which has stopped the bitter toll in casualties and resources, ended depressing wartime restraints, curbed the runaway inflation and unleashed the boundless energy of our people to forge forward on the road to progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

In four years we have achieved the highest economic level with the most widely shared benefits that the world has ever seen. We of the Republican Party have fostered this prosperity and are dedicated to its expansion and to the preservation of the climate in which it has thrived.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.545

We are proud of our part in bringing into a position of unique authority in the world one who symbolizes, as can no other man, the hopes of all [p.546] peoples for peace, liberty and justice. One leader in the world today towers above all others and inspires the trust, admiration, confidence and good will of all the peoples of every nation—Dwight D. Eisenhower. Under his leadership, the Republican Administration has carried out foreign policies which have enabled our people to enjoy in peace the blessings of liberty. We shall continue to work unceasingly for a just and enduring peace in a world freed of tyranny.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

Every honorable means at our command has been exercised to alleviate the grievances and causes of armed conflict among nations. The advance of Communism and its enslavement of people has been checked, and, at key points, thrown back. Austria, Iran and Guatemala have been liberated from Kremlin control. Forces of freedom are at work in the nations still enslaved by Communist imperialism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We firmly believe in the right of peoples everywhere to determine their form of government, their leaders, their destiny, in peace. Where needed, in order to promote peace and freedom throughout the world, we shall within the prudent limits of our resources, assist friendly countries in their determined efforts to strengthen their economies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We hold high hopes for useful service to mankind in the power of the atom. We shall generously assist the International Atomic Energy Agency, now evolving from President Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" proposal, in an effort to find ways to dedicate man's genius not to his death, but to his life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We maintain that no treaty or international agreement can deprive any of our citizens of Constitutional rights. We shall see to it that no treaty or agreement with other countries attempts to deprive our citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

President Eisenhower has given the world bold proposals for mutual arms reduction and protection against aggression through flying sentinels in an "open sky."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We support this and his further offer of United States participation in an international fund for economic development financed from the savings brought by true disarmament. We approve his determined resistance to disarmament without effective inspection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We work and pray for the day when the domination of any people from any source will have ended, and when there will be liberation and true freedom for the hundreds of millions of individuals now held in subjugation. We shall continue to dedicate our best efforts to this lofty purpose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We shall continue vigorously to support the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We shall continue to oppose the seating of Communist China in the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We shall maintain our powerful military strength as a deterrent to aggression and as a guardian of the peace. We shall maintain it ready, balanced and technologically advanced for these objectives only.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

Good times in America have reached a breadth and depth never before known by any nation. Moreover, it is a prosperity of a nation at peace, not at war. We shall continue to encourage the good business and sound employee relationships which have made possible for the first time in our history a productive capacity of more than $400 billion a year. Nearly 67 million people have full-time jobs, with real wages and personal income at record highs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

The farmers of America are at last able to look to the future with a confidence based on expanding peacetime markets instead of on politically contrived formulas foredoomed to fail except in a wartime economy. The objective is to insure that agriculture shares fairly and fully in our record prosperity without needless Federal meddlings and domination.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

Restoration of integrity in government has been an essential element to the achievement of our unparalleled good times. We will faithfully preserve the sound financial management which already has reduced annual spending $14 billion below the budgets planned by our Democratic predecessors and made possible in 1954 a $7.4-billion tax cut, the largest one-year tax reduction in history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.546

We will ever fight the demoralizing influence of inflation as a national way of life. We are proud to have fulfilled our 1952 pledge to halt the skyrocketing cost of living that in the previous 13 years had cut the value of the dollar by half, and robbed millions of the full value of their wages, savings, insurance, pensions and social security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

We have balanced the budget. We believe [p.547] and will continue to prove that thrift, prudence and a sensible respect for living within income applies as surely to the management of our Government's budget as it does to the family budget.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

We hold that the major world issue today is whether Government shall be the servant or the master of men. We hold that the Bill of Rights is the sacred foundation of personal liberty. That men are created equal needs no affirmation, but they must have equality of opportunity and protection of their civil rights under the law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

We hold that the strict division of powers and the primary responsibility of State and local governments must be maintained, and that the centralization of powers in the national Government leads to expansion of the mastery of our lives,

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

We hold that the protection of the freedom of men requires that budgets be balanced, waste in government eliminated, and taxes reduced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

In these and all other areas of proper Government concern, we pledge our best thought and whole energy to a continuation of our prized peace, prosperity and progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

For our guidance in fulfilling this responsibility, President Eisenhower has given us a statement of principles that is neither partisan nor prejudiced, but warmly American:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

The individual is of supreme importance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

The spirit of our people is the strength of our nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

America does not prosper unless all Americans prosper.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Government must have a heart as well as a head.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Courage in principle, cooperation in practice make freedom positive.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

To stay free, we must stay strong.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Under God, we espouse the cause of freedom and justice and peace for all peoples. Embracing these guides to positive, constructive action, and in their rich spirit, we ask the support of the American people for the election of a Republican Congress and the re-election of the Nation's devoted and dedicated leader—Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Declaration of Determination

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

In the interest of complete public understanding, elaboration of Republican aspirations and achievements is desirable in the areas of broadest public concern.

Dynamic Economy—Free Labor

Taxation and Fiscal Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

The Republican Party takes pride in calling attention to the outstanding fiscal achievements of the Eisenhower Administration, several of which are mentioned in the foreword to these resolutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

In order to progress further in correcting the unfortunate results of unwise financial management during 20 years of Democrat Administrations, we pledge to pursue the following objectives:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Further reductions in Government spending as recommended in the Hoover Commission Report, without weakening the support of a superior defense program or depreciating the quality of essential services of government to our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Continued balancing of the budget, to assure the financial strength of the country which is so vital to the struggle of the free world in its battle against Communism; and to maintain the purchasing power of a sound dollar, and the value of savings, pensions and insurance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Gradual reduction of the national debt.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Then, insofar as consistent with a balanced budget, we pledge to work toward these additional objectives:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Further reductions in taxes with particular consideration for low and middle income families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Initiation of a sound policy of tax reductions which will encourage small independent businesses to modernize and progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Continual study of additional ways to correct inequities in the effect of various taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

Consistent with the Republican Administration's accomplishment in stemming the inflation —which under five Democrat Administrations had cut the value of the dollar in half, and so had robbed the wage earner and millions of thrifty citizens who had savings, pensions and insurance—we endorse the present policy of freedom for the Federal Reserve System to combat both inflation and deflation by wise fiscal policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.547

The Republican Party believes that sound money, which retains its buying power, is an essential foundation for new jobs, a higher standard [p.548] of living, protection of savings, a secure national defense, and the general economic growth of the country.

Business and Economic Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

The Republican Party has as a primary concern the continued advancement of the well-being of the individual. This can be attained only in an economy that, as today, is sound, free and creative, ever building new wealth and new jobs for all the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We believe in good business for all business—small, medium and large. We believe that competition in a free economy opens unrivaled opportunity and brings the greatest good to the greatest number.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

The sound economic policies of the Eisenhower Administration have created an atmosphere of confidence in which good businesses flourish and can plan for growth to create new job opportunities for our expanding population.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We have eliminated a host of needless controls. To meet the immense demands of our expanding economy, we have initiated the largest highway, air and maritime programs in history, each soundly financed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We shall continue to advocate the maintenance and expansion of a strong, efficient, privately-owned and operated and soundly financed system of transportation that will serve all of the needs of our Nation under Federal regulatory policies that will enable each carrier to realize its inherent economic advantages and its full competitive capabilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We recognize the United States' world leadership in aviation, and we shall continue to encourage its technical development and vigorous expansion. Our goal is to support and sponsor air services and to make available to our citizens the safest and most comprehensive air transportation. We favor adequate funds and expeditious action in improving air safety, and highest efficiency in the control of air traffic.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We stand for forward-looking programs, created to replace our war-built merchant fleet with the most advanced types in design, with increased speed. Adaptation of new propulsion power units, including nuclear, must be sponsored and achieved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We should proceed with the prompt construction of the Atomic Powered Peace Ship in order that we may demonstrate to the world, in this as in other fields, the peaceful uses of the atom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

Our steadily rising prosperity is constantly reflecting the confidence of our citizens in the policies of our Republican Administration.

Small Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We pledge the continuation and improvement of our drive to aid small business. Every constructive potential avenue of improvement both legislative and executive—has been explored in our search for ways in which to widen opportunities for this important segment of America's economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

Beginning with our creation of the very successful Small Business Administration, and continuing through the recently completed studies and recommendations of the Cabinet Committee on Small Business, which we strongly endorse, we have focused our attention on positive measures to help small businesses get started and grow.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

Small Business can look forward to expanded participation in federal procurement—valuable financing and technical aids—a continuously vigorous enforcement of anti-trust laws—important cuts in the burdens of paper work, and certain tax reductions as budgetary requirements permit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

Small business now is receiving approximately one-third, dollar-wise, of all Defense contracts. We recommend a further review of procurement procedures for all defense departments and agencies with a view to facilitating and extending such participation for the further benefit of Small Business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We favor loans at reasonable rates of interest to small businesses which have records of permanency but who are in temporary need and which are unable to obtain credit in commercial channels. We recommend an extension at the earliest opportunity of the Small Business Administration which is now scheduled to expire in mid 1957.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

We also propose:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

Additional technical research in problems of development and distribution for the benefit of small business;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.548

Legislation to enable closer Federal scrutiny of mergers which have a significant or potential monopolistic connotations;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

[p.549] Procedural changes in the antitrust laws to facilitate their enforcement;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Simplification of wage reporting by employers for purposes of social security records and income tax withholding;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Continuance of the vigorous SEC policies which are providing maximum protection to the investor and maximum opportunity for the financing of small business without costly red tape.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Under the Republican Administration, as our country has prospered, so have its people. This is as it should be, for as President Eisenhower said: "Labor is the United States. The men and women, who with their minds, their hearts and hands, create the wealth that is shared in this country—they are America."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

The Eisenhower Administration has brought to our people the highest employment, the highest wages and the highest standard of living ever enjoyed by any nation. Today there are nearly 67 million men and women at work in the United States, 4 million more than in 1952. Wages have increased substantially over the past 3 1/2 years; but, more important, the American wage earner today can buy more than ever before for himself and his family because his pay check has not been eaten away by rising taxes and soaring prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

The record of performance of the Republican Administration on behalf of our working men and women goes still further. The Federal minimum wage has been raised for more than 2 million workers. Social Security has been extended to an additional 10 million workers and the benefits raised for 6 1/2 million. The protection of unemployment insurance has been brought to 4 million additional workers. There have been increased workmen's compensation benefits for longshoremen and harbor workers, increased retirement benefits for railroad employees, and wage increases and improved welfare and pension plans for federal employees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

In addition, the Eisenhower Administration has enforced more vigorously and effectively than ever before, the laws which protect the working standards of our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Workers have benefited by the progress which has been made in carrying out the programs and principles set forth in the 1952 Republican platform. All workers have gained and unions have grown in strength and responsibility, and have increased their membership by 2 millions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Furthermore, the process of free collective bargaining has been strengthened by the insistence of this Administration that labor and management settle their differences at the bargaining table without the intervention of the Government. This policy has brought to our country an unprecedented period of labor-management peace and understanding.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

We applaud the effective, unhindered, collective bargaining which brought an early end to the 1956 steel strike, in contrast to the six months' upheaval, Presidential seizure of the steel industry and ultimate Supreme Court intervention under the last Democrat Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

The Eisenhower Administration will continue to fight for dynamic and progressive programs which, among other things, will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Stimulate improved job safety of our workers, through assistance to the States, employees and employers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Continue and further perfect its programs of assistance to the millions of workers with special employment problems, such as older workers, handicapped workers, members of minority groups, and migratory workers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Strengthen and improve the Federal-State Employment Service and improve the effectiveness of the unemployment insurance system;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Protect by law, the assets of employee welfare and benefit plans so that workers who are the beneficiaries can be assured of their rightful benefits;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Assure equal pay for equal work regardless of Sex;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Clarify and strengthen the eight-hour laws for the benefit of workers who are subject to federal wage standards on Federal and Federally-assisted construction, and maintain and continue the vigorous administration of the Federal prevailing minimum wage law for public supply contracts;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Extend the protection of the Federal minimum wage laws to as many more workers as is possible and practicable;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.549

Continue to fight for the elimination of discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry or sex;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

Provide assistance to improve the economic [p.550] conditions of areas faced with persistent and substantial unemployment;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

Revise and improve the Taft-Hartley Act so as to protect more effectively the rights of labor unions, management, the individual worker, and the public. The protection of the right of workers to organize into unions and to bargain collectively is the firm and permanent policy of the Eisenhower Administration. In 1954, 1955 and again in 1956, President Eisenhower recommended constructive amendments to this Act. The Democrats in Congress have consistently blocked these needed changes by parliamentary maneuvers. The Republican Party pledges itself to overhaul and improve the Taft-Hartley Act along the lines of these recommendations.

Human Welfare and Advancement

Health, Education and Welfare

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

The Republican Party believes that the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the people is as important as their economic health. It will continue to support this conviction with vigorous action.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

Republican action created the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as the first new Federal department in 40 years, to raise the continuing consideration of these problems for the first time to the highest council of Government, the President's Cabinet.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

Through the White House Conference on Education, our Republican Administration initiated the most comprehensive Community-State-Federal attempt ever made to solve the pressing problems of primary and secondary education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

Four thousand communities, studying their school populations and their physical and financial resources, encouraged our Republican Administration to urge a five-year program of Federal assistance in building schools to relieve a critical classroom shortage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

The Republican Party will renew its efforts to enact a program based on sound principles of need and designed to encourage increased state and local efforts to build more classrooms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

Our Administration also proposed for the first time in history, a thorough nation-wide analysis of rapidly growing problems in education beyond the high schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

The Republican Party is determined to press all such actions that will help insure that every child has the educational opportunity to advance to his own greatest capacity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We have fully resolved to continue our steady gains in man's unending struggle against disease and disability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We have supported the distribution of free vaccine to protect millions of children against dreaded polio.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

Republican leadership has enlarged Federal assistance for construction of hospitals, emphasizing low-cost care of chronic diseases and the special problems of older persons, and increased Federal aid for medical care of the needy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We have asked the largest increase in research funds ever sought in one year to intensify attacks on cancer, mental illness, heart disease and other dread diseases.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We demand once again, despite the reluctance of the Democrat 84th Congress, Federal assistance to help build facilities to train more physicians and scientists.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We have encouraged a notable expansion and improvement of voluntary health insurance, and urge that reinsurance and pooling arrangements be authorized to speed this progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We have strengthened the Food and Drug Administration, and we have increased the vocational rehabilitation program to enable a larger number of the disabled to return to satisfying activity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We have supported measures that have made more housing available than ever before in history, reduced urban slums in local-federal partnership, stimulated record home ownership, and authorized additional low-rent public housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We initiated the first flood insurance program in history under Government sponsorship in cooperation with private enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We shall continue to seek extension and perfection of a sound social security system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

We pledge close cooperation with State, local and private agencies to reduce the ghastly toll of fatalities on the Nation's highways.

Rural America's Recovery—Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.550

The men and women operating the farms and ranches of America have confidence in President Eisenhower and the Republican farm program. Our farmers have earned the respect and appreciation [p.551] of our entire nation for their energy, resourcefulness, efficiency, and ability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

Agriculture, our basic industry, must remain free and prosperous. The Republican Party will continue to move boldly to help the farmer obtain his full share of the rewards of good business and good Government. It is committed to a program for agriculture which creates the widest possible markets and highest attainable income for our farm and ranch families. This program must be versatile and flexible to meet effectively the impact of rapidly changing conditions. It does not envision making farmers dependent upon direct governmental payments for their incomes. Our objective is markets which return full parity to our farm and ranch people when they sell their products. There is no simple, easy answer to farm problems. Our approach as ever is a many-sided, versatile and positive program to help all farmers and ranchers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

Farm legislation, developed under the Democrat Administration to stimulate production in wartime, carried a built-in mechanism for the accumulation of price-depressing surpluses in peacetime. Under laws sponsored by the Republican Administration, almost $7 billion in price-depressing surplus farm products have been moved into use, and the rate of movement is being accelerated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

Agriculture is successfully making the transition from wartime to peacetime markets, with less disruption than at any time after a great war. We are gratified by the improvement this year in farm prices and income as a result of our policies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

Our Republican Administration fostered a constructive Soil Bank Program further to reduce surpluses and to permit improvement of our soil, water and timber resources. The Democrat Party tactics of obstruction and delay have prevented our farm families from receiving the full benefits of this program in 1956.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

However, by aggressive action, we now have the Soil Bank in operation, and in 3 months, half a million farmers have contracted to shift more than 10 million acres from producing more surpluses to a soil reserve for the future. For this they already have earned $225 million.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

This program is a sound aid to removing the burdens of surpluses which Democrat programs placed on farmers. It is now moving into full operation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

Benefits of Social Security have been extended to farm families. Programs of loans and grants for farm families hit by flood and drought have been made operative.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

Tax laws were improved to help farmers with respect to livestock, farm equipment, and conservation practices. We initiated action to refund to the farmers $60 million annually in taxes on gasoline used in machinery on the farm.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

Cooperation between the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the State Departments of Agriculture and land grant colleges and universities is at an all-time high. This Republican Administration has increased support for agricultural research and education to the highest level in history. New records of assistance to farm and ranch families in soil and water conservation were attained in every year of this Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

Convinced that the Government should ever be the farmer's helper, never his master, the Republican Party is pledged:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

To establish an effective, new research program, fully and completely implemented to find and vigorously promote new uses for farm crops;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

To move our agriculture commodities into use at home and abroad, and to use every appropriate and effective means to improve marketing, so that farmers can produce and sell their products to increase their income and enjoy an improving level of living;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

To encourage the improvement of quality in farm products through agricultural research, education and price support differentials, thus increasing market acceptance both at home and abroad;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

To further help and cooperate with the several States as co-equals with the federal government to provide needed research, education, service and regulatory programs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

To develop farm programs that are fair to all farmers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

To work toward full freedom instead of toward more regimentation, developing voluntary rather than oppressive farm programs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

To encourage agricultural producers in their efforts to seek solutions to their own production and price problems;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.551

To provide price supports as in the Agricultural Act of 1954 that protect farmers, rather than price their products out of the market;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To continue our commodity loan and marketing [p.552] agreement programs as effective marketing tools;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To make every effort to develop a more accurate measurement of farm parity;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To safeguard our precious soil and water resources for generations yet unborn;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To encourage voluntary self-supporting federal crop insurance;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To bring sympathetic and understanding relief promptly to farm and ranch families hard hit with problems of drought, flood or other natural disaster, or economic disaster, and to maintain the integrity of these programs by terminating them when the emergency is over;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To assist the young people of American farms and ranches in their development as future farmers and homemakers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To continue and expand the Republican-sponsored school milk program, to encourage further use of the school lunch program now benefiting 11 million children, and to foster improved nutritional levels;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To provide constructive assistance by effective purchase and donation to ease temporary market surpluses, especially for the producers of perishable farm products;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To give full support to farmer-owned and farmer-operated co-operatives;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To encourage and assist adequate private and cooperative sources of credit, to provide supplemental credit through the Farmers Home Administration where needed, with an understanding of both the human and economic problems of farmers and ranchers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To expand rural electrification through REA loans for generation and transmission, and to expand rural communication facilities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To continue the improvement of rural mail delivery to farm families;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To promote fully the Republican-sponsored Rural-Development Program to broaden the operation and increase the income of low income farm families and help tenant farmers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To work with farmers, ranchers and others to carry forward the Great Plains program to achieve wise use of lands in the area subject to wind erosion, so that the people of this region can enjoy a higher standard of living; and in summation:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

To keep agriculture strong, free, attuned to peace and not war, to stand ready with a reserve

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

capacity at all times as a part of our defense, based on sound agricultural economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

We are an expanding nation. Our needs for farm products will continue to grow. Farm prices are improving and farm income is climbing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

Our farm and ranch people are confident of the future, despite efforts to frighten them into accepting economic nostrums and political panaceas. Record numbers of farms are owned by those who operate them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

The Republican Party is pledged to work for improved farm prices and farm income. We will seek that improvement boldly, in ways that protect the family farm. Our objective is a prosperous, expanding and free agriculture. We are dedicated to creating the opportunity for farmers to earn a high per-family income in a world at peace.

Federal Government Integrity

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

The Republican Party is wholeheartedly committed to maintaining a Federal Government that is clean, honorable and increasingly efficient. It proudly affirms that it has achieved this kind of Government and dedicated it to the service of all the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

Our many economic and social advances of the past four years are the result of our faithful adherence to our 1952 pledge to reverse a 20-year Democratic philosophy calling for more and more power in Washington.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

We have left no stone unturned to remove from Government the irresponsible and those whose employment was not clearly consistent with national security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

We believe that working for the Government is not a right but a privilege. Based on that principle we will continue a security program to make certain that all people employed by our Government are of unquestioned loyalty and trustworthiness. The Republican Party will, realistically and in conformity with constitutional safeguards for the individual, continue to protect our national security by enforcing our laws fairly, vigorously, and with certainty. We will act through the new division established to this end in the Department of Justice, and by close coordination among the intelligence services.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.552

We promise unwavering vigilance against corruption and waste, and shall continue so to manage the public business as to warrant our [p.553] people's full confidence in the integrity of their Government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We condemn illegal lobbying for any cause and improper use of money in political activities, including the use of funds collected by compulsion for political purposes contrary to the personal desires of the individual.

Efficiency and Economy in Government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We pledge to continue our far reaching program for improving the efficiency and the effectiveness of the Federal Government in accordance with the principles set forth in the report of the Hoover Commission.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We are unalterably opposed to unwarranted growth of centralized Federal power. We shall carry forward the worthy effort of the Kestnbaum Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs to clarify Federal relationships and strengthen State and local government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We shall continue to dispense with Federal activities wrongfully competing with private enterprise, and take other sound measures to reduce the cost of Government.

Governmental Affairs

Postal Service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

In the last four years, under direction from President Eisenhower to improve the postal service and reduce costs, we have modernized and revitalized the postal establishment from top to bottom, inside and out. We have undertaken and substantially completed the largest reorganization ever to take place in any unit of business or government:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We have provided more than 1200 badly-needed new post office buildings, and are adding two more every day. We are using the very latest types of industrial equipment where practicable; and, through a program of research and engineering, we are inventing new mechanical and electronic devices to speed the movement of mail by eliminating tedious old-fashioned methods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We have improved service across the country in hundreds of ways. We have extended city carrier service to millions of new homes in thousands of urban and suburban communities which have grown and spread under the favorable economic conditions brought about by the Eisenhower Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We have re-inspired the morale of our half-million employees through new programs of promotion based on ability, job training and safety, and through our sponsorship of increased pay and fringe benefits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We have adopted the most modern methods of transportation, accounting and cost control, and other operating procedures; through them we have saved many millions of dollars a year for the taxpayers while advancing the delivery of billions of letters by a day or more—all this while reducing the enormous deficit of the Department from its all time high of almost three-quarters of a billion dollars in 1952 to less than half that amount in 1955.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We pledge to continue our efforts, blocked by the Democratic leadership of the 84th Congress, for a financially sound, more nearly self-sustaining postal service—with the users of the mails paying a greater share of the costs instead of the taxpayers bearing the burden of huge postal deficits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We pledge to continue and to complete this vitally needed program of modernization of buildings, equipment, methods and service, so that the American people will receive the kind of mail delivery they deserve—the speediest and best that American ingenuity, technology and modern business management can provide.

Civil Service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We will vigorously promote, as we have in the past, a non-political career service under the merit system which will attract and retain able servants of the people. Many gains in this field, notably pay increases and a host of new benefits, have been achieved in their behalf in less than four years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

The Republican Party will continue to fight for eagerly desired new advances for Government employees, and realistic reappraisement and adjustment of benefits for our retired civil service personnel.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We pledge immediate statehood for Alaska, recognizing the fact that adequate provision for defense requirements must be made.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We pledge immediate statehood for Hawaii.

Puerto Rico.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We shall continue to encourage the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in its political growth and economic development in accordance with the wishes of its people and the fundamental principle of self-determination.

Indian Affairs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.553

We shall continue to pursue our enlightened policies which are now producing exceptional advances in the long struggle to help [p.554] the American Indian gain the material and social advantages of his birthright and citizenship, while maintaining to the fullest extent the cultural integrity of the various tribal groups.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

We commend the present administration for its progressive programs which have achieved such striking progress in preparing our Indian citizens for participation in normal community life. Health, educational and employment opportunities for Indians have been greatly expanded beyond any previous level, and we favor still further extensions of these programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

We favor most sympathetic and constructive execution of the Federal trusteeship over Indian affairs, always in full consultation with Indians in the management of their interests and the expansion of their rights of self-government in local and tribal affairs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

We urge the prompt adjudication or settlement of pending Indian claims.

District of Columbia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

We favor self-government, national suffrage and representation in the Congress of the United States for residents of the District of Columbia.

Equal Rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

We recommend to Congress the submission of a constitutional amendment providing equal rights for men and women.

Equal Opportunity and Justice

Civil Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

The Republican Party points to an impressive record of accomplishment in the field of civil rights and commits itself anew to advancing the rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

In the area of exclusive Federal jurisdiction, more progress has been made in this field under the present Republican Administration than in any similar period in the last 80 years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

The many Negroes who have been appointed to high public positions have played a significant part in the progress of this Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

Segregation has been ended in the District of Columbia Government and in the District public facilities including public schools, restaurants, theaters and playgrounds. The Eisenhower Administration has eliminated discrimination in all federal employment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

Great progress has been made in eliminating employment discrimination on the part of those who do business with the Federal Government and secure Federal contracts. This Administration has impartially enforced Federal civil rights statutes, and we pledge that we will continue to do so. We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the Second Session of the 84th Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

The regulatory agencies under this Administration have moved vigorously to end discrimination in interstate commerce. Segregation in the active Armed Forces of the United States has been ended. For the first time in our history there is no segregation in veterans' hospitals and among civilians on naval bases. This is an impressive record. We pledge ourselves to continued progress in this field.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

The Republican Party has unequivocally recognized that the supreme law of the land is embodied in the Constitution, which guarantees to all people the blessings of liberty, due process and equal protection of the laws. It confers upon all native-born and naturalized citizens not only citizenship in the State where the individual resides but citizenship of the United States as well. This is an unqualified right, regardless of race, creed or color.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

The Republican Party accepts the decision of the U.S.. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed" locally through Federal District Courts. The implementation order of the Supreme Court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and long-standing decisions of the same tribunal.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.554

We believe that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the Federal Government to the end that the constitutional ideal of the law, regardless of race, creed or color, be steadily achieved.[p.555]

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The Republican Party supports an immigration policy which is in keeping with the traditions of America in providing a haven for oppressed peoples, and which is based on equality of treatment, freedom from implications of discrimination between racial, nationality and religious groups, and flexible enough to conform to changing needs and conditions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

We believe that such a policy serves our self-interest, reflects our responsibility for world leadership and develops maximum cooperation with other nations in resolving problems in this area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

We support the President's program submitted to the 84th Congress to carry out needed modifications in existing law and to take such further steps as may be necessary to carry out our traditional policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

In that concept, this Republican Administration sponsored the Refugee Relief Act to provide asylum for thousands of refugees, expellees and displaced persons, and undertook in the face of Democrat opposition to correct the inequities in existing law and to bring our immigration policies in line with the dynamic needs of the country and principles of equity and justice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

We believe also that the Congress should consider the extension of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 in resolving this difficult refugee problem which resulted from world conflict. To all this we give our wholehearted support.

Human Freedom and Peace

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

Under the leadership of President Eisenhower, the United States has advanced foreign policies which enable our people to enjoy the blessings of liberty and peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The changes in the international scene have been so great that it is easy to forget the conditions we inherited in 1953.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

Peace, so hardly won in 1945, had again been lost. The Korean War, with its tragic toll of more than an eighth of a million American casualties, seemed destined to go on indefinitely. Its material costs and accompanying inflation were undermining our economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

Freedom was under assault, and despotism was on the march. Armed conflict continued in the Far East, and tensions mounted elsewhere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The threat of global war increased daily.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

International Communism which, in 1945, ruled the 200 million people in the Soviet Union and Baltic States, was conquering so that, by 1952, it dominated more than 700 million people in 15 once-independent nations.

Today.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

Now, we are at peace. The Korean War has been ended. The Communist aggressors have been denied their goals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The threat of global war has receded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The advance of Communism has been checked, and, at key points, thrown back. The once-monolithic structure of International Communism, denied the stimulant of successive conquests, has shown hesitancy both internally and abroad.

The Far East.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The Korean War was brought to a close when the Communist rulers were made to realize that they could not win.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The United States has made a Collective Defense Treaty with the Republic of Korea which will exclude, for the future, the Communist miscalculation as to announced American interests and intentions which led to the original aggression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The United States has made a security Treaty with the Republic of China coveting Formosa and the Pescadores; and the Congress, by virtually unanimous action, has authorized the President to employ the armed forces of the United States to defend this area. As a result, the Chinese Communists have not attempted to implement their announced intention to take Formosa by force.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

In Indochina, the Republics of Vietnam and Cambodia and Laos are now free and independent nations. The Republic of Vietnam, with the United States assistance, has denied the Communists the gains which they expected from the withdrawal of French forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The security of Southeast Asia has now been bolstered by the collective-defense system of SEATO, and its peoples encouraged by the declarations in the Pacific Charter of the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

The Middle East and Southeast Asia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.555

The Middle East has been strengthened by the defensive unity of the four "northern tier" countries—Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan—which hold gateways to the vast oil resources upon which depend the industry and military strength of the free world. This was made possible by the [p.556] liberation of Iran from the grip of the Communist Tudeh Party. Iran has again made its oil reserves available to the world under an equitable settlement negotiated by the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

We have maintained, and will maintain, friendly relations with all nations in this vital area, seeking to mediate differences among them, and encouraging their legitimate national aspirations.

Europe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

In Western Europe, the scene has been transformed. The Federal Republic of Germany, which until 1953 was denied sovereignty and the opportunity to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has now had full sovereignty restored by the Treaties of 1954, and has become a member of NATO despite the intense opposition of the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

NATO itself has been strengthened by developing reliance upon new weapons and retaliatory power, thus assisting the NATO countries increasingly to attain both economic welfare and adequate military defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

On our initiative, the political aspects of NATO are being developed. Instead of being merely a military alliance, NATO will provide a means for coordinating the policies of the member states on vital matters, such as the reunification of Germany, the liberation of the satellites, and general policies in relation to the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

Austria has been liberated. The freedom treaty, blocked since 1947 by the Soviet Union, was signed in 1955. For the first time since the end of World War II, Red Army forces in Europe evacuated occupied lands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

The emotion-charged dispute between Italy and Yugoslavia about Trieste was settled with the active participation of the United States. The City of Trieste was restored to Italian sovereignty, and United States and British forces withdrawn.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

The Spanish base negotiations, which had long languished, were successfully concluded, and close working relations in this important respect established between the United States and Spain.

The Americas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

Our good neighbor policy continues to prove its wisdom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

The American Republics have taken effective steps against the cancer of Communism. At the Caracas Conference of March, 1954, they agreed that if International Communism gained control of the political institutions of any American republic, this would endanger them all, and would call for collective measures to remove the danger. This new Doctrine, first proposed by the United States, extends into modern times the principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

A first fruit of the Caracas Doctrine was the expulsion of the Communist regime ruling Guatemala. Today, Guatemala is liberated from Kremlin control. The Organization of American States has grown in vigor. It has acted promptly and effectively to settle hemispheric disputes. In Costa Rica, for the first time in history, international aerial inspection was employed to maintain peace. The Panama Conference was probably the most successful in the long history of the Organization of American States in its promotion of good will, understanding and friendship.

Relations with Soviet Russia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

Far-reaching steps have been taken to eliminate the danger of a third world war. President Eisenhower led the way at Geneva. There he impressed the Soviet leaders and the world with the dedication of the United States to peace, but also with its determination not to purchase peace at the price of freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

That Summit Conference set new forces into motion. The Soviet rulers professed to renounce the use of violence, which Stalin had made basic in the Communist doctrine. Then followed a repudiation of Stalin, the growth of doctrinal disputes within the Communist Party, and a discrediting of Party authority and its evil power. Forces of liberalism within the Soviet Bloc challenge the brutal and atheistic doctrines of Soviet Communism. For the first time, we see positive evidence that forces of freedom and liberation will inevitably prevail if the free nations maintain their strength, unity and resolution.

The future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

We re-dedicate ourselves to the pursuit of a just peace and the defense of human liberty and national independence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

We shall continue vigorously to support the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

We shall continue our cooperation with our sister states of the Americas for the strengthening of our security, economic and social ties with them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.556

We shall continue to support the collective-security system begun in 1947 and steadily developed on a bipartisan basis. That system has joined the United States with 42 other nations in common defense of freedom. It has created [p.557] a deterrent to war which cannot be nullified by Soviet veto.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

Where needed, we shall help friendly countries maintain such local forces and economic strength as provide a first bulwark against Communist aggression or subversion. We shall reinforce that defense by a military capacity which, operating in accordance with the United Nations Charter, could so punish aggression that it ceases to be a profitable pursuit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We will continue efforts with friends and allies to assist the underdeveloped areas of the free world in their efforts to attain greater freedom, independence and self-determination, and to raise their standards of living.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We recognize the existence of a major threat to international peace in the Near East. We support a policy of impartial friendship for the peoples of the Arab states and Israel to promote a peaceful settlement of the causes of tension in that area, including the human problem of the Palestine-Arab refugees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

Progress toward a just settlement of the tragic conflict between the Jewish State and the Arab nations in Palestine was upset by the Soviet Bloc sale of arms to Arab countries. But prospects of peace have now been reinforced by the mission to Palestine of the United Nations Secretary General upon the initiative of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We regard the preservation of Israel as an important tenet of American foreign policy. We are determined that the integrity of an independent Jewish State shall be maintained. We shall support the independence of Israel against armed aggression. The best hope for peace in the Middle East lies in the United Nations. We pledge our continued efforts to eliminate the obstacles to a lasting peace in this area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We shall continue to seek the reunification of Germany in freedom, and the liberation of the satellite states—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and other, once-free countries now behind the Iron Curtain. The Republican Party stands firmly with the peoples of these countries in their just quest for freedom. We are confident that our peaceful policies, resolutely pursued, will finally restore freedom and national independence to oppressed peoples and nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We continue to oppose the seating of Communist China in the United Nations, thus upholding international morality. To seat a Communist China which defies, by word and deed, the principles of the United Nations Charter would be to betray the letter, violate the spirit and subvert the purposes of that charter. It would betray our friend and ally, the Republic of China. We will continue our determined efforts to free the remaining Americans held prisoner by Communist China.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

Recognizing economic health as an indispensable basis of military strength and world peace, we shall strive to foster abroad and to practice at home, policies to encourage productivity and profitable trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

Barriers which impede international trade and the flow of capital should be reduced on a gradual, selective and reciprocal basis, with full recognition of the necessity to safeguard domestic enterprises, agriculture and labor against unfair import competition. We proudly point out that the Republican Party was primarily responsible for initiating the escape clause and peril point provisions of law to make effective the necessary safeguards for American agriculture, labor and business. We pledge faithful and expeditious administration of these provisions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We are against any trade with the Communist world that would threaten the security of the United States and our allies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We recognize that no single nation can alone defend the liberty of all nations threatened by Communist aggression or subversion. Mutual security means effective mutual cooperation. Poverty and unrest in less developed countries make them the target for international communism. We must help them achieve the economic growth and stability necessary to attain and preserve their independence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

Technical and economic assistance programs are effective countermeasures to Soviet economic offensives and propaganda. They provide the best way to create the political and social stability essential to lasting peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We will strive to bring about conditions that will end the injustices of nations divided against their will, of nations held subject to foreign domination, of peoples deprived of the right of self-government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.557

We reaffirm the principle of freedom for all peoples, and look forward to the eventual end of colonialism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

[p.558] We will overlook no opportunity that, with prudence, can be taken to bring about a progressive elimination of the barriers that interfere with the free flow of news, information and ideas, and the exchange of persons between the free peoples and the captive peoples of the world. We favor the continuance and development of the "exchange-of-persons" programs between free nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

We approve appropriate action to oppose the imposition by foreign governments of discrimination against United States citizens, based on their religion or race.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

We shall continue the bipartisan development of foreign policies. We hold this necessary if those policies are to have continuity, and be regarded by other free nations as dependable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

The Republican Party pledges itself to continue the dynamic, courageous, sound and patriotic policies which have protected and promoted the interests of the United States during the past four years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

In a world fraught with peril, peace can be won and preserved only by vigilance and inspired leadership. In such a world, we believe it is essential that the vast experience of our proven leader, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, continues to guide our country in the achievement and maintenance of a just, honorable and durable peace.

Bulwark for the Free World—Our National Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

The military strength of the United States has been a key factor in the preservation of world peace during the past four years. We are determined to maintain that strength so long as our security and the peace of the world require it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

This Administration, within six months after President Eisenhower's inauguration, ended the war in Korea by concluding an honorable armistice. The lesson of that war and our lack of preparedness which brought it about will not be forgotten. Such mistakes must not be repeated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

As we maintain and strengthen the security of this Nation, we shall, consistent with this Administration's dedication to peace, strive for the acceptance of realistic proposals for disarmament and the humanitarian control of weapons of mass destruction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

Our country's defense posture is today a visible and powerful deterrent against attack by any enemy, from any quarter, at any time.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

We have the strongest striking force in the world—in the air—on the sea—and a magnificent supporting land force in our Army and Marine Corps. Such visible and powerful deterrents must continue to include:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

A) A jet-powered, long-range strategic air force, and a tactical air force of the fastest and very latest type aircraft, with a striking capability superior to any other;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

B) The most effective guided and ballistic missiles;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

C) A modern navy, with a powerful naval aircraft arm prepared to keep the sea lanes open to meet any assignment;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

D) An army whose mobility and unit firepower are without equal;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

E) Bases, strategically dispersed at home and around the world, essential to all these operations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

We will maintain and improve the effective strength and state of readiness of all these armed forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

To achieve this objective, we must depend upon attracting to, and retaining in our military services vigorous and well-trained manpower, and upon continuously maintaining in reserve, an enthusiastic and well-informed group of men and women. This will require incentives that will make armed service careers attractive and rewarding. A substantial start has been made toward bolstering the rewards and benefits that accompany a military career. We must continue to provide them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

In order that American youth in our armed services shall be provided with the most modern weapons, we have supported and will continue to support an effective and well-directed program of research and development, staffed by men of the highest caliber and ability in this field. There is no substitute for the best where the lives of our men and the defense of our Nation are concerned.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

We fully appreciate the importance of scientific knowledge and its application particularly in the military field.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.558

We pledge ourselves to stimulate and encourage the education of our young people in the sciences with a determination to maintain our technological leadership.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

In this age of weapons of inconceivable destructiveness, [p.559] we must not neglect the protection of the civilian population by all known means, while, at the same time, preparing our armed forces for every eventuality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

We wholeheartedly agree with President Eisenhower that our military defense must be backed by a strong civil defense, and that an effective civil defense is an important deterrent against attack upon our country, and an indispensable reliance should our nation ever be attacked.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

We support his proposals for strengthening civil defense, mindful that it has become an effective Government arm to deal with natural disasters.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

We shall continue to carry forward, vigorously and effectively, the valued services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as well as all other Government intelligence agencies, so as to insure that we are protected at all times against subversive activities. We will never relax our determined efforts to keep our Government, and our people, safely guarded against all enemies from within.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

We agree and assert that civilian authority and control over our defense structure and program must be maintained at all times. We believe, without qualification, that in our present Commander-in-Chief, Dwight D. Eisenhower, this Nation possesses a leader equipped by training, temperament, and experience in war and in peace, for both that personal example and that direction of our national defense in which the American people will continue to have confidence, and in which the peoples of all the free world will find an increasing sense of security and of an opportunity for peace.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

We believe that active duty in the Armed Forces during a state of war or national emergency is the highest call of citizenship constituting a special service to our nation and entitles those who have served to positive assistance to alleviate the injuries, hardships and handicaps imposed by their service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

In recognizing this principle under previous Republican Administrations we established the Veterans Administration. This Republican Administration increased compensation and pension benefits for veterans and survivors to provide more adequate levels and to off-set cost of living increases that occurred during the most recent Democratic Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

We have also improved quality of hospital service and have established a long-range program for continued improvement of such service. We have strengthened and extended survivors' benefits, thus affording greater security for all veterans in the interest of equity and justice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

In advancing this Republican program we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

That compensation for injuries and disease arising out of service be fairly and generously provided for all disabled veterans and for their dependents or survivors;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

That a pension program for disabled war veterans in need and for their widows and orphans in need be maintained as long as necessary to assure them adequate income;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

That all veterans be given equal and adequate opportunity for readjustment following service, including unemployment compensation when needed, but placing emphasis on obtaining suitable employment for veterans, particularly those disabled, by using appropriate facilities of government and by assuring that Federal employment preference and re-employment rights, to which the veteran is entitled, are received;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

That the Veterans Administration be continued as a single independent agency providing veterans services;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

That the service-disabled continue to receive first-priority medical services of the highest standard and that non-service disabled war veterans in need receive hospital care to the extent that beds are available.

Guarding and Improving Our Resources

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

One of the brightest areas of achievement and progress under the Eisenhower Administration has been in resource conservation and development and in sound, long-range public works programing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.559

Policies of sound conservation and wise development—originally advanced half a century ago under that preeminent Republican conservation team of President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot and amplified by succeeding Republican Administrations—have been pursued by the Eisenhower Administration. While meeting the essential development needs of the people, this Administration has conserved and safeguarded [p.560] our natural resources for the greatest good of all, now and in the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

Our national parks, national forests and wildlife refuges are now more adequately financed, better protected and more extensive than ever before. Long-range improvement programs, such as Mission 66 for the National Parks system, are now under way, and studies are nearing completion for a comparable program for the National Forests. These forward-looking programs will be aggressively continued.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

Our Republican Administration has modernized and vitalized our mining laws by the first major revision in more than 30 years.

Recreation, parks and wildlife.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

ACHIEVEMENTS: Reversed the 15-year trend of neglect of our National Parks by launching the 10-year, $785 million Mission 66 parks improvement program. Has nearly completed field surveys for a comparable forest improvement program. Obtained passage of the so-called "Week-end Miner Bill." Added more than 400,000 acres to our National Park system, and 90,000 acres to wildlife refuges. Has undertaken well-conceived measures to protect reserved areas of all types and to provide increased staffs and operating funds for public recreation agencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We favor full recognition of recreation as an important public use of our national forests and public domain lands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We favor a comprehensive study of the effect upon wildlife of the drainage of our wetlands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We favor recognition, by the States, of wild-life and recreation management and conservation as a beneficial use of water.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We subscribe to the general objectives of groups seeking to guard the beauty of our land and to promote clean, attractive surroundings throughout America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We recognize the need for maintaining isolated wilderness areas to provide opportunity for future generations to experience some of the wilderness living through which the traditional American spirit of hardihood was developed.

Public land and forest resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

ACHIEVEMENTS: Approved conservation programs of many types, including improvement of western grazing lands through reseeding programs, water-spreading systems, and encouragement of soil-and moisture-conservation practices by range users. Returned to the States their submerged lands and resources of their coasts, out to their historical boundaries—an area comprising about one tenth of the area off the Continental Shelf and about 17 per cent of the mineral resources. Initiated leasing of the Federally owned 83 per cent of the Continental Shelf which is expected ultimately to bring from 6 to 8 billion dollars into the Treasury and already has brought in over 250 million dollars. Enacted new legislation to encourage multiple use of the public domain.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We commend the Eisenhower Administration for its administration of our public lands and for elimination of bureaucratic abuses. We recommend continuing study and evaluation of the advisability of returning unused or inadequately used public lands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We commend the Administration for expanding forest research and access road construction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We shall continue to improve timber conservation practices, recreational facilities, grazing management, and watershed protection of our national forests and our public domain.

Minerals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

Recognizing that a vigorous and efficient mineral industry is essential to the long-term development of the United States, and to its defense, we believe the Federal Government should foster a long-term policy for the development and prudent use of domestic mineral resources, and to assure access to necessary sources abroad, without dangerously weakening the market for domestic production of defense-essential materials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

We favor reasonable depletion allowances. We favor freedom of mineral producers from unnecessary governmental regulation; expansion of government minerals exploration and research, and establishment of minerals stockpile objectives which will reduce, and, where possible, eliminate foreseeable wartime shortages.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.560

ACHIEVEMENTS: St. Lawrence Seaway and power projects, Colorado River Storage Project, Great Lakes connecting channels, small watershed protection and flood prevention under local control, Mississippi Gulf level canal, extension of water-pollution control program, survey of power potential of Passamaquoddy Bay tides, expansion of small project development for flood control, navigation and reclamation; extension to all 48 States of water facilities act, accelerated research on saline water conversion, authorized planning surveys and construction of [p.561] more than 200 navigation, flood-control, beach erosion, rivers and harbors, reclamation, and watershed projects throughout the nation, advanced partnership water resource developments in a number of states.

Water resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

Water resource development legislation enacted under the Eisenhower Administration already has ushered in one of the greatest water resource development programs this Nation has ever seen, a soundly-conceived construction program that will continue throughout this Century and beyond.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

We recognize that the burgeoning growth of our Nation requires a combination of Federal, State and local water and power development—a real partnership of effort by all interested parties. In no other way can the nation meet the huge and accelerated demands for increasing generating capacity and uses of water, both by urban and agricultural areas. We also are aware that water demands have been accentuated by the ravages of drought, creating emergency conditions in many sections of our country. We commend the Eisenhower Administration for encouraging state and local governments, public agencies, and regulated private enterprise, to participate actively in comprehensive water and power development. In such partnership we are leading the way with great Federal developments such as the Upper Colorado Project and with partnership projects of great importance, some of which have been shelved by the Democratic 84th Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

In the marketing of federally produced power we support preference to public bodies and cooperatives under the historic policy of the Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

We will continue to press for co-operative solution of all problems of water supply and distribution, reclamation, pollution, flood control, and saline-water conversion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

We pledge legislative support to the arid and semi-arid states in preserving the integrity of their water laws and customs as developed out of the necessities of these regions. We affirm the historic policy of Congress recognizing State water rights, as repeatedly expressed in Federal law over the past 90 years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

We pledge an expansion in research and planning of water resource development programs, looking to the future when it may be necessary to re-distribute water from water-surplus areas to water-deficient areas.

Fisheries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

ACHIEVEMENTS: Accelerated research and administrative action to rehabilitate our long-neglected fishing industry. Approval of measures for additional conservation and propagation of fish. Development of the comprehensive program for fisheries management and assistance adopted by the Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

We favor continuation of the Eisenhower program to rehabilitate our long-neglected domestic fishing industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

We advocate protective treaties insuring the United States commercial-fisheries industry against unfair foreign competition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

The Republican Party is acutely aware that a foundation stone of the nation's strength is its wealth of natural resources and the high development of its physical assets. They are the basis of our great progress in 180 years of freedom and of our nation's military and economic might.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

We pledge that we will continue the policies of sound conservation and wise development instituted by this Administration to insure that our resources are managed as a beneficial trust for all the people.

For a Brighter Tomorrow: Atomic Energy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

The Republican Party pledges continuous, vigorous development of Atomic Energy:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

for the defense of our own country and to deter aggression, and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

for the promotion of world peace and the enhancement of our knowledge of basic science and its application to industry, agriculture and the healing arts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

From the passage of the first Atomic Energy Act in 1946 to the beginning of this Republican Administration, a stalemate had existed, and only an arms race with the prospect of eventual catastrophe faced the nations of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

President Eisenhower has inaugurated and led a strong program for developing the peaceful atom—a program which has captured the imagination of men and women everywhere with its widespread, positive achievements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.561

The Government and private enterprise are working together on a number of large-scale projects designed to develop substantial quantities of electric power from atomic sources. The [p.562] first power reactor will be completed next year. More and more private funds are being invested as the Government monopoly is relaxed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.562

In relaxing its monopoly, Government can stimulate private enterprise to go ahead by taking recognition of the tremendous risks involved and the complexity of the many technical problems that will arise, and assist in those ways that will make advances possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.562

The Atomic Energy Commission also is encouraging a vigorous rural electrification program by cooperatives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.562

Every day, radioactive isotopes are brought more and more into use on farms, in clinics and hospitals, and in industry. The use of isotopes already has resulted in annual savings of hundreds of millions of dollars and the nuclear age has only begun.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.562

It is to the benefit of the United States, as well as to all nations everywhere, that the uses of atomic energy be explored and shared. The Republican Party pledges that it will continue this imaginative, world-embracing program. We shall continue to chart our course so as to fortify the security of the free nations and to further the prosperity and progress of all people everywhere.

Declaration of Dedication

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.562

With utmost confidence in the future and with justifiable pride in our achievements, the Republican Party warmly greets the dawn of our second century of service in the cause of unity and progress in the Nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1956, p.562

As the Party of the Young and in glowing appreciation of his dynamic leadership and inspiration, we respectfully dedicate this Platform of the Party of the Future to our distinguished President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and to the Youth of America.[p.574]

National Party Platforms,

1960-1996

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1960

Democratic Platform of 1960

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

In 1796, in America's first contested national election, our Party, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, campaigned on the principles of "The Rights of Man."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

Ever since, these four words have underscored our identity with the plain people of America and the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

In periods of national crisis, we Democrats have returned to these words for renewed strength. We return to them today.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

In 1960, "The Rights of Man" are still the issue. It is our continuing responsibility to provide an effective instrument of political action for every American who seeks to strengthen these rights-everywhere here in America, and everywhere in our 20th Century world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

The common danger of mankind is war and the threat of war. Today, three billion human beings live in fear that some rash act or blunder may plunge us all into a nuclear holocaust which will leave only ruined cities, blasted homes, and a poisoned earth and sky.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

Our objective, however, is not the right to coexist in armed camps on the same planet with totalitarian ideologies; it is the creation of an enduring peace in which the universal values of human dignity, truth, and justice under law are finally secured for all men everywhere on earth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

If America is to work effectively for such a peace, we must first restore our national strength-military, political, economic, and moral.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

The new Democratic Administration will recast our military capacity in order to provide forces and weapons of a diversity, balance, and mobility sufficient in quantity and quality to deter both limited and general aggressions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.574

When the Democratic Administration left office in 1953, the United States was the pre-eminent power in the world. Most free nations had confidence [p.575] in our will and our ability to carry out our commitments to the common defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

Even those who wished us ill respected our power and influence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

The Republican Administration has lost that position of pre-eminence. Over the past 7 1/2 years, our military power has steadily declined relative to that of the Russians and the Chinese and their satellites.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

This is not a partisan election-year charge. It has been persistently made by high officials of the Republican Administration itself. Before Congressional committees they have testified that the Communists will have a dangerous lead in intercontinental missiles through 1963—and that the Republican Administration has no plans to catch up.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

They have admitted that the Soviet Union leads in the space race—and that they have no plans to catch up.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

They have also admitted that our conventional military forces, on which we depend for defense in any non-nuclear war, have been dangerously slashed for reasons of "economy"—and that they have no plans to reverse this trend.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

As a result, our military position today is measured in terms of gaps—missile gap, space gap, limited-war gap.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

To recover from the errors of the past 7 1/2 years will not be easy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

This is the strength that must be erected:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

1. Deterrent military power such that the Soviet and Chinese leaders will have no doubt that an attack on the United States would surely be followed by their own destruction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

2. Balanced conventional military forces which will permit a response graded to the intensity of any threats of aggressive force.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

3. Continuous modernization of these forces through intensified research and development, including essential programs now slowed down, terminated, suspended, or neglected for lack of budgetary support.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

A first order of business of a Democratic Administration will be a complete re-examination of the organization of our armed forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

A military organization structure, conceived before the revolution in weapons technology, cannot be suitable for the strategic deterrent, continental defense, limited war, and military alliance requirements of the 1960s.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

We believe that our armed forces should be organized more nearly on the basis of function, not only to produce greater military strength, but also to eliminate duplication and save substantial sums.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

We pledge our will, energies, and resources to oppose Communist aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

Since World War II, it has been clear that our own security must be pursued in concert with that of many other nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

The Democratic Administrations which, in World War II, led in forging a mighty and victorious alliance, took the initiative after the war in creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the greatest peacetime alliance in history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

This alliance has made it possible to keep Western Europe and the Atlantic Community secure against Communist pressures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

Our present system of alliances was begun in a time of an earlier weapons technology when our ability to retaliate against Communist attack required bases all around the periphery of the Soviet Union. Today, because of our continuing weakness in mobile weapons systems and intercontinental missiles, our defenses still depend in part on bases beyond our borders for planes and shorter-range missiles.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

If an alliance is to be maintained in vigor, its unity must be reflected in shared purposes. Some of our allies have contributed neither devotion to the cause of freedom nor any real military strength.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

The new Democratic Administration will review our system of pacts and alliances. We shall continue to adhere to our treaty obligations, including the commitment of the UN Charter to resist aggression. But we shall also seek to shift the emphasis of our cooperation from military aid to economic development, wherever this is possible.

Civil Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

We commend the work of the civil defense groups throughout the nation. A strong and effective civil defense is an essential element in our nation's defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.575

The new Democratic Administration will undertake a full review and analysis of the programs that should be adopted if the protection possible [p.576] is to be provided to the civilian population of our nation.

Arms Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

A fragile power balance sustained by mutual nuclear terror does not, however, constitute peace. We must regain the initiative on the entire international front with effective new policies to create the conditions for peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

There are no simple solutions to the infinitely complex challenges which face us. Mankind's eternal dream, a world of peace, can only be built slowly and patiently.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

A primary task is to develop responsible proposals that will help break the deadlock on arms control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

Such proposals should include means for ending nuclear tests under workable safeguards, cutting back nuclear weapons, reducing conventional forces, preserving outer space for peaceful purposes, preventing surprise attack, and limiting the risk of accidental war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

This requires a national peace agency for disarmament planning and research to muster the scientific ingenuity, coordination, continuity, and seriousness of purpose which are now lacking in our arms control efforts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

The national peace agency would develop the technical and scientific data necessary for serious disarmament negotiations, would conduct research in cooperation with the Defense Department and Atomic Energy Commission on methods of inspection and monitoring arms control agreements, particularly agreements to control nuclear testing, and would provide continuous technical advice to our disarmament negotiators.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

As with armaments, so with disarmament, the Republican Administration has provided us with much talk but little constructive action. Representatives of the United States have gone to conferences without plans or preparation. The Administration has played opportunistic politics, both at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

Even during the recent important negotiations at Geneva and Paris, only a handful of people were devoting full time to work on the highly complex problem of disarmament.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

More than $100 billion of the world's production now goes each year into armaments. To the extent that we can secure the adoption of effective arms control agreements, vast resources will be freed for peaceful use.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

The new Democratic Administration will plan for an orderly shift of our expenditures. Long-delayed reductions in excise, corporation, and individual income taxes will then be possible. We can also step up the pace in meeting our backlog of public needs and in pursuing the promise of atomic and space science in a peaceful age.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

As world-wide disarmament proceeds, it will free vast resources for a new international attack on the problem of world poverty.

The Instruments of Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

American foreign policy in all its aspects must be attuned to our world of change.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

We will recruit officials whose experience, humanity, and dedication fit them for the task of effectively representing America abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

We will provide a more sensitive and creative direction to our overseas information program. And we will overhaul our administrative machinery so that America may avoid diplomatic embarrassments and at long last speak with a single confident voice in world affairs.

The "Image" of America

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

First, those men and women selected to represent us abroad must be chosen for their sensitive understanding of the peoples with whom they will live. We can no longer afford representatives who are ignorant of the language and culture and politics of the nations in which they represent us.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

Our information programs must be more than news broadcasts and boastful recitals of our accomplishments and our material riches. We must find ways to show the people of the world that we share the same goals—dignity, health, freedom, schools for children, a place in the sun—and that we will work together to achieve them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.576

Our program of visits between Americans and people of other nations will be expanded, with special emphasis upon students and younger leaders. We will encourage study of foreign languages. We favor continued support and extension of such programs as the East-West cultural center established at the University of Hawaii. We shall study a similar center for Latin America, with due [p.577] consideration of the existing facilities now available in the Canal Zone.

National Policy Machinery

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

In the present Administration, the National Security Council has been used not to focus issues for decision by the responsible leaders of Government, but to paper over problems of policy with "agreed solutions" which avoid decisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

The mishandling of the U-2 espionage flights—the sorry spectacle of official denial, retraction, and contradiction—and the admitted misjudging of Japanese public opinion are only two recent examples of the breakdown of the Administration's machinery for assembling facts, making decisions, and coordinating action.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

The Democratic Party welcomes the study now being made by the Senate Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery. The new Democratic Administration will revamp and simplify this cumbersome machinery.

World Trade

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

World trade is more than ever essential to world peace. In the tradition of Cordell Hull, we shall expand world trade in every responsible way.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

Since all Americans share the benefits of this policy, its costs should not be the burden of a few. We shall support practical measures to case the necessary adjustments of industries and communities which may be unavoidably hurt by increases in imports.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

World trade raises living standards, widens markets, reduces costs, increases profits, and builds political stability and international economic cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

However, the increase in foreign imports involves costly adjustment and damage to some domestic industries and communities. The burden has been heavier recently because of the Republican failure to maintain an adequate rate of economic growth, and the refusal to use public programs to ease necessary adjustments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

The Democratic Administration will help industries affected by foreign trade with measures favorable to economic growth, orderly transition, fair competition, and the long-run economic strength of all parts of our nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

Industries and communities affected by foreign trade need and deserve appropriate help through trade adjustment measures such as direct loans, tax incentives, defense contracts priority, and re-training assistance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

Our Government should press for reduction of foreign barriers to the sale of the products of American industry and agriculture. These are particularly severe in the case of fruit products. The present balance-of-payments situation provides a favorable opportunity for such action.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

The new Democratic Administration will seek international agreements to assure fair competition and fair labor standards to protect our own workers and to improve the lot of workers elsewhere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

Our domestic economic policies and our essential foreign policies must be harmonious.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

To sell, we must buy. We therefore must resist the temptation to accept remedies that deny American producers and consumers access to world markets and destroy the prosperity of our friends in the non-Communist world.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

We shall adjust our immigration, nationality and refugee policies to eliminate discrimination and to enable members of scattered families abroad to be united with relatives already in our midst.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

The national-origins quota system of limiting immigration contradicts the rounding principles of this nation. It is inconsistent with our belief in the rights of man. This system was instituted after World War I as a policy of deliberate discrimination by a Republican Administration and Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

The revision of immigration and nationality laws we seek will implement our belief that enlightened immigration, naturalization and refugee policies and humane administration of them are important aspects of our foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

These laws will bring greater skills to our land, reunite families, permit the United States to meet its fair share of world programs of rescue and rehabilitation, and take advantage of immigration as an important factor in the growth of the American economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.577

In this World Refugee Year it is our hope to achieve admission of our fair share of refugees. We will institute policies to alleviate suffering [p.578] among the homeless wherever we are able to extend our aid.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

We must remove the distinctions between native-born and naturalized citizens to assure full protection of our laws to all. There is no place in the United States for "second-class citizenship."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

The protections provided by due process, right of appeal, and statutes of limitation, can be extended to non-citizens without hampering the security of our nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

We commend the Democratic Congress for the initial steps that have recently been taken toward liberalizing changes in immigration law. However, this should not be a piecemeal project and we are confident that a Democratic President in cooperation with Democratic Congresses will again implant a humanitarian and liberal spirit in our nation's immigration and citizenship policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

To the peoples and governments beyond our shores we offer the following pledges:

The Underdeveloped World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

To the non-Communist nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America: We shall create with you working partnerships, based on mutual respect and understanding.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

In the Jeffersonian tradition, we recognize and welcome the irresistible momentum of the world revolution of rising expectations for a better life. We shall identify American policy with the values and objectives of this revolution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

To this end the new Democratic Administration will revamp and refocus the objectives, emphasis and allocation of our foreign assistance programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

The proper purpose of these programs is not to buy gratitude or to recruit mercenaries, but to enable the peoples of these awakening, developing nations to make their own free choices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

As they achieve a sense of belonging, of dignity, and of justice, freedom will become meaningful for them, and therefore worth defending.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

Where military assistance remains essential for the common defense, we shall see that the requirements are fully met. But as rapidly as security considerations permit, we will replace tanks with tractors, bombers with bulldozers, and tacticians with technicians.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

We shall place our programs of international cooperation on a long-term basis to permit more effective planning. We shall seek to associate other capital-exporting countries with us in promoting the orderly economic growth of the underdeveloped world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

We recognize India and Pakistan as major tests of the capacity of free men in a difficult environment to master the age-old problems of illiteracy, poverty, and disease. We will support their efforts in every practical way.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

We welcome the emerging new nations of Africa to the world community. Here again we shall strive to write a new chapter of fruitful cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

In Latin America we shall restore the Good Neighbor Policy based on far closer economic cooperation and increased respect and understanding.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

In the Middle East we will work for guarantees to insure independence for all states. We will encourage direct Arab-Israeli peace negotiations, the resettlement of Arab refugees in lands where there is room and opportunity for them, an end to boycotts and blockades, and unrestricted use of the Suez Canal by all nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

A billion and a half people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are engaged in an unprecedented attempt to propel themselves into the 20th Century. They are striving to create or reaffirm their national identity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

But they want much more than independence. They want an end to grinding poverty. They want more food, health for themselves and their children, and other benefits that a modern industrial civilization can provide.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

Communist strategy has sought to divert these aspirations into narrowly nationalistic channels, or external troublemaking, or authoritarianism. The Republican Administration has played into the hands of this strategy by concerning itself almost exclusively with the military problem of Communist invasion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

The Democratic programs of economic cooperation will be aimed at making it as easy as possible for the political leadership in these countries to turn the energy, talent and resources of their peoples to orderly economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.578

History and current experience show that an annual per capita growth rate of at least 2% is feasible in these countries. The Democratic Administration's assistance program, in concert with [p.579] the aid forthcoming from our partners in Western Europe, Japan, and the British Commonwealth, will be geared to facilitating this objective.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

The Democratic Administration will recognize that assistance to these countries is not an emergency or short-term matter. Through the Development Loan Fund and otherwise, we shall seek to assure continuity in our aid programs for periods of at least five years, in order to permit more effective allocation on our part and better planning by the governments of the countries receiving aid.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

More effective use of aid and a greater confidence in us and our motives will be the result.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

We shall establish priorities for foreign aid which will channel it to those countries abroad which, by their own willingness to help themselves, show themselves most capable of using it effectively.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

We shall use our own agricultural productivity as an effective tool of foreign aid, and also as a vital form of working capital for economic development. We shall seek new approaches which will provide assistance without disrupting normal world markets for food and fiber.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

We shall give attention to the problem of stabilizing world prices of agricultural commodities and basic raw materials on which many underdeveloped countries depend for needed foreign exchange.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

We shall explore the feasibility of shipping and storing a substantial part of our food abundance in a system of "food banks" located at distribution centers in the underdeveloped world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

Such a system would be an effective means of alleviating famine and suffering in times of natural disaster, and of cushioning the effect of bad harvests. It would also have a helpful anti-inflationary influence as economic development gets under way.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

Although basic development requirements like transport, housing, schools, and river development may be financed by Government, these projects are usually built and sometimes managed by private enterprise. Moreover, outside this public sector a large and increasing role remains for private investment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

The Republican Administration has done little to summon American business to play its part in this, one of the most creative tasks of our generation. The Democratic Administration will take

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

steps to recruit and organize effectively the best business talent in America for foreign economic development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

We urge continued economic assistance to Israel and the Arab peoples to help them raise their living standards. We pledge our best efforts for peace in the Middle East by seeking to prevent an arms race while guarding against the dangers of a military imbalance resulting from Soviet arms shipments.

The Atlantic Community

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

To our friends and associates in the Atlantic Community: We propose a broader partnership that goes beyond our common fears to recognize the depth and sweep of our common political, economic, and cultural interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

We welcome the recent heartening advances toward European unity. In every appropriate way, we shall encourage their further growth within the broader framework of the Atlantic Community.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

After World War II, Democratic statesmen saw that an orderly, peaceful world was impossible with Europe shattered and exhausted.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

They fashioned the great programs which bear their names—the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan—by which the economies of Europe were revived. Then in NATO they renewed for the common defense the ties of alliance forged in war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

In these endeavors, the Democratic Administrations invited leading Republicans to full participation as equal partners. But the Republican Administration has rejected this principle of bi-partisanship.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

We have already seen how the mutual trust and confidence created abroad under Democratic leadership have been eroded by arrogance, clumsiness, and lack of understanding in the Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

The new Democratic Administration will restore the former high levels of cooperation within the Atlantic Community envisaged from the beginning by the NATO treaty in political and economic spheres as well as military affairs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.579

We welcome the progress towards European unity expressed in the Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, the European Economic Community, the European Free Trade Association, and the European Assembly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

[p.580] We shall conduct our relations with the nations of the Common Market so as to encourage the opportunities for freer and more expanded trade, and to avert the possibilities of discrimination that are inherent in it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

We shall encourage adjustment with the so-called "Outer Seven" nations so as to enlarge further the area of freer trade.

The Communist World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

To the rulers of the Communist World: We confidently accept your challenge to competition in every field of human effort.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

We recognize this contest as one between two radically different approaches to the meaning of life—our open society which places its highest value upon individual dignity, and your closed society in which the rights of men are sacrificed to the state.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

We believe your Communist ideology to be sterile, unsound, and doomed to failure. We believe that your children will reject the intellectual prison in which you seek to confine them, and that ultimately they will choose the eternal principles of freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

In the meantime, we are prepared to negotiate with you whenever and wherever there is a realistic possibility of progress without sacrifice of principle.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

If negotiations through diplomatic channels provide opportunities, we will negotiate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

If debate before the United Nations holds promise, we will debate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

If meetings at high level offer prospects of success, we will be there.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

But we will use all the power, resources, and energy at our command to resist the further encroachment of Communism on freedom — whether at Berlin, Formosa, or new points of pressure as yet undisclosed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

We will keep open the lines of communication with our opponents. Despite difficulties in the way of peaceful agreement, every useful avenue will be energetically explored and pursued.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

However, we will never surrender positions which are essential to the defense of freedom, nor will we abandon peoples who are now behind the Iron Curtain through any formal approval of the status quo.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

Everyone proclaims "firmness" in support of Berlin. The issue is not the desire to be firm, but the capability to be firm. This the Democratic Party will provide as it has done before.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

The ultimate solution of the situation in Berlin must be approached in the broader context of settlement of the tensions and divisions of Europe.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

The good faith of the United States is pledged likewise to defending Formosa. We will carry out that pledge.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

The new Democratic Administration will also reaffirm our historic policy of opposition to the establishment anywhere in the Americas of governments dominated by foreign powers, a policy now being undermined by Soviet threats to the freedom and independence of Cuba. The Government of the United States under a Democratic Administration will not be deterred from fulfilling its obligations and solemn responsibilities under its treaties and agreements with the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Nor will the United States, in conformity with its treaty obligations, permit the establishment of a regime dominated by international, atheistic Communism in the Western Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

To the people who live in the Communist World and its captive nations: We proclaim an enduring friendship which goes beyond governments and ideologies to our common human interest in a better world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

Through exchanges of persons, cultural contacts, trade in non-strategic areas, and other non-governmental activities, we will endeavor to preserve and improve opportunities for human relationships which no Iron Curtain can permanently sever.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

No political platform promise in history was more cruelly cynical than the Republican effort to buy votes in 1952 with false promises of painless liberation for the captive nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

The blood of heroic freedom fighters in Hungary tragically proved this promise a fraud. We Democrats will never be party to such cruel cultivation of false hopes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.580

We look forward to the day when the men and women of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, and the other captive nations will stand again in freedom and justice. We will [p.581] hasten, by every honorable and responsible means, the arrival of the day.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

We shall never accept any deal or arrangement which acquiesces in the present subjugation of these peoples.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

We deeply regret that the policies and actions of the Government of Communist China have interrupted the generations of friendship between the Chinese and American peoples.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

We reaffirm our pledge of determined opposition to the present admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

Although normal diplomatic relations between our Governments are impossible under present conditions, we shall welcome any evidence that the Chinese Communist Government is genuinely prepared to create a new relationship based on respect for international obligations, including the release of American prisoners.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

We will continue to make every effort to effect the release of American citizens and servicemen now unjustly imprisoned in Communist China and elsewhere in the Communist empire.

The United Nations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

To all our fellow members of the United Nations: We shall strengthen our commitments in this, our great continuing institution for conciliation and the growth of a world community.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

Through the machinery of the United Nations, we shall work for disarmament, the establishment of an international police force, the strengthening of the World Court, and the establishment of world law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

We shall propose the bolder and more effective use of the specialized agencies to promote the world's economic and social development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

Great Democratic Presidents have taken the lead in the effort to unite the nations of the world in an international organization to assure world peace with justice under law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

The League of Nations, conceived by Woodrow Wilson, was doomed by Republican defeat of United States participation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

The United Nations, sponsored by Franklin Roosevelt, has become the one place where representatives of the rival systems and interests which divide the world can and do maintain continuous contact.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

The United States' adherence to the World Court contains a so-called "self-judging reservation" which, in effect, permits us to prevent a Court decision in any particular case in which we are involved. The Democratic Party proposes its repeal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

To all these endeavors so essential to world peace, we, the members of the Democratic Party, will bring a new urgency, persistence, and determination, born of the conviction that in our thermonuclear century all of the other Rights of Man hinge on our ability to assure man's right to peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

The pursuit of peace, our contribution to the stability of the new nations of the world, our hopes for progress and well-being at home, all these depend in large measure on our ability to release the full potential of our American economy for employment, production, and growth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

Our generation of Americans has achieved a historic technological breakthrough. Today we are capable of creating an abundance in goods and services beyond the dreams of our parents. Yet on the threshold of plenty the Republican Administration hesitates, confused and afraid.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

As a result, massive human needs now exist side by side with idle workers, idle capital, and idle machines.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

The Republican failure in the economic field has been virtually complete.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

Their years of power have consisted of two recessions, in 1953-54 and 1957-60, separated by the most severe peacetime inflation in history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

They have shown themselves incapable of checking inflation. In their efforts to do so, they have brought on recessions that have thrown millions of Americans out of work. Yet even in these slumps, the cost of living has continued to climb, and it is now at an all-time high.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

They have slowed down the rate of growth of the economy to about one-third the rate of the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.581

Over the past 7 1/2-year period, the Republicans have failed to balance the budget or reduce the national debt. Responsible fiscal policy requires surpluses in good times to more than offset the deficits which may occur in recessions, in order to reduce the national debt over the long run. The Republican Administration has produced the deficits— [p.582] in fact, the greatest deficit in any peace-time year in history, in 1958-59—but only occasional and meager surpluses. Their first seven years produced a total deficit of nearly $19 billion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

While reducing outlays for essential public services which directly benefit our people, they have raised the annual interest charge on the national debt to a level $3 billion higher than when they took office. In the eight fiscal years of the Republican Administration, these useless higher interest payments will have cost the taxpayers $9 billion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

They have mismanaged the public debt not only by increasing interest rates, but also by failing to lengthen the average maturity of Government obligations when they had a clear opportunity to do so.

Economic Growth

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

The new Democratic Administration will confidently proceed to unshackle American enterprise and to free American labor, industrial leadership, and capital, to create an abundance that will outstrip any other system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

Free competitive enterprise is the most creative and productive form of economic order that the world has seen. The recent slow pace of American growth is due not to the failure of our free economy but to the failure of our national leadership.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

We Democrats believe that our economy can and must grow at an average rate of 5% annually, almost twice as fast as our average annual rate since 1953. We pledge ourselves to policies that will achieve this goal without inflation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

Economic growth is the means whereby we improve the American standard of living and produce added tax resources for national security and essential public services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

Our economy must grow more swiftly in order to absorb two groups of workers: the much larger number of young people who will be reaching working age in the 1960s, and the workers displaced by the rapid pace of technological advances, including automation. Republican policies which have stifled growth could only mean increasingly severe unemployment, particularly of youth and older workers.

An End to Tight Money

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

As the first step in speeding economic growth, a Democratic president will put an end to the present high-interest, tight-money policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

This policy has failed in its stated purpose—to keep prices down. It has given us two recessions within five years, bankrupted many of our farmers, produced a record number of business failures, and added billions of dollars in unnecessary higher interest charges to Government budgets and the cost of living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

A new Democratic Administration will reject this philosophy of economic slowdown. We are committed to maximum employment, at decent wages and with fair profits, in a far more productive, expanding economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

The Republican high-interest policy has extracted a costly toll from every American who has financed a home, an automobile, a refrigerator, or a television set.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

It has foisted added burdens on taxpayers of state and local governments which must borrow for schools and other public services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

It has added to the cost of many goods and services, and hence has been itself a factor in inflation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

It has created windfalls for many financial institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

The $9 billion of added interest charges on the national debt would have been even higher but for the prudent insistence of the Democratic Congress that the ceiling on interest rates for long-term Government bonds be maintained.

Control of Inflation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

The American consumer has a right to fair prices. We are determined to secure that right.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

Inflation has its roots in a variety of causes; its cure lies in a variety of remedies. Among those remedies are monetary and credit policies properly applied, budget surpluses in times of full employment, and action to restrain "administered price" increases in industries where economic power rests in the hands of a few.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

A fair share of the gains from increasing productivity in many industries should he passed on to the consumer through price reductions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.582

The agenda which a new Democratic Administration will face next January is crowded with urgent needs on which action has been delayed, deferred, or denied by the present Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

[p.583] A new Democratic Administration will undertake to meet those needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

It will reaffirm the Economic Bill of Rights which Franklin Roosevelt wrote into our national conscience sixteen years ago. It will reaffirm these rights for all Americans of whatever race, place of residence, or station in life:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

1. "The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation."

Full Employment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

The Democratic Party reaffirms its support of full employment as a paramount objective of national policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

For nearly 30 months the rate of unemployment has been between 5 and 7.5% of the labor force. A pool of three to four million citizens, able and willing to work but unable to find jobs, has been written off by the Republican Administration as a "normal" readjustment of the economic system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

The policies of a Democratic Administration to restore economic growth will reduce current unemployment to a minimum.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

Thereafter, if recessionary trends appear, we will act promptly with counter-measures, such as public works or temporary tax cuts. We will not stand idly by and permit recessions to run their course as the Republican Administration has done.

Aid to Depressed Areas

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

The right to a job requires action to create new industry in America's depressed areas of chronic unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

General economic measures will not alone solve the problems of localities which suffer some special disadvantage. To bring prosperity to these depressed areas and to enable them to make their full contribution to the national welfare, specially directed action is needed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

Areas of heavy and persistent unemployment result from depletion of natural resources, technological change, shifting defense requirements, or trade imbalances which have caused the decline of major industries. Whole communities, urban and rural, have been left stranded in distress and despair, through no fault of their own.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

These communities have undertaken valiant efforts of self-help. But mutual aid, as well as self-help, is part of the American tradition. Stricken communities deserve the help of the whole nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

The Democratic Congress twice passed bills to provide this help. The Republican President twice vetoed them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

These bills proposed low-interest loans to private enterprise to create new industry and new jobs in depressed communities, assistance to the communities to provide public facilities necessary to encourage the new industry, and retraining of workers for the new jobs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

The Democratic Congress will again pass, and the Democratic President will sign, such a bill.

Discrimination in Employment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

The right to a job requires action to break down artificial and arbitrary barriers to employment based on age, race, sex, religion, or national origin.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

Unemployment strikes hardest at workers over 40, minority groups, young people, and women. We will not achieve full employment until prejudice against these workers is wiped out.

Collective Bargaining

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

The right to a job requires the restoration of full support for collective bargaining and the repeal of the anti-labor excesses which have been written into our labor laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

Under Democratic leadership a sound national policy was developed, expressed particularly by the Wagner National Labor Relations Act, which guaranteed the rights of workers to organize and to bargain collectively. But the Republican Administration has replaced this sound policy with a national anti-labor policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

The Republican Taft-Hartley Act seriously weakened unions in their efforts to bring economic justice to the millions of American workers who remain unorganized.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

By administrative action, anti-labor personnel appointed by the Republicans to the National Labor Relations Board have made the Taft-Hartley Act even more restrictive in its application than in its language.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.583

Thus the traditional goal of the Democratic Party—to give all workers the right to organize and bargain collectively—has still not been achieved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

[p.584] We pledge the enactment of an affirmative labor policy which will encourage free collective bargaining through the growth and development of free and responsible unions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

Millions of workers just now seeking to organize are blocked by Federally authorized "right-to-work" laws, unreasonable limitations on the right to picket, and other hampering legislative and administrative provisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

Again, in the new Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, the Republican Administration perverted the constructive effort of the Democratic Congress to deal with improper activities of a few in labor and management by turning that Act into a means of restricting the legitimate rights of the vast majority of working men and women in honest labor unions. This law likewise strikes hardest at the weak or poorly organized, and it fails to deal with abuses of management as vigorously as with those of labor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

We will repeal the authorization for "right-to-work" laws, limitations on the rights to strike, to picket peacefully and to tell the public the facts of a labor dispute, and other anti-labor features of the Taft-Hartley Act and the 1959 Act. This unequivocal pledge for the repeal of the anti-labor and restrictive provisions of those laws will encourage collective bargaining and strengthen and support the free and honest labor movement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

The Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act are in need of improvement. We strongly oppose Republican attempts to weaken the Railway Labor Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

We shall strengthen and modernize the Walsh-Healey and Davis-Bacon Acts, which protect the wage standards of workers employed by Government contractors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

Basic to the achievement of stable labor-management relations is leadership from the White House. The Republican Administration has failed to provide such leadership.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

It failed to foresee the deterioration of labor-management relations in the steel industry last year. When a national emergency was obviously developing, it failed to forestall it. When the emergency came, the Administration's only solution was government-by-injunction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

A Democratic President, through his leadership and concern, will produce a better climate for continuing constructive relationships between labor and management. He will have periodic White House conferences between labor and management to consider their mutual problems before they reach the critical stage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

A Democratic President will use the vast fact-finding facilities that are available to inform himself, and the public, in exercising his leadership in labor disputes for the benefit of the nation as a whole.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

If he needs more such facilities, or authority, we will provide them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

We further pledge that in the administration of all labor legislation we will restore the level of integrity, competence and sympathetic understanding required to carry out the intent of such legislation.

Planning for Automation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

The right to a job requires planning for automation, so that men and women will be trained and available to meet shifting employment needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

We will conduct a continuing analysis of the nation's manpower resources and of measures which may be required to assure their fullest development and use.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

We will provide the Government leadership necessary to insure that the blessings of automation do not become burdens of widespread unemployment. For the young and the technologically displaced workers, we will provide the opportunity for training and retraining that equips them for jobs to be filled.

Minimum Wages

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

2. "The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

At the bottom of the income scale are some eight million families whose earnings are too low to provide even basic necessities of food, shelter, and clothing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

We pledge to raise the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and to extend coverage to several million workers not now protected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.584

We pledge further improvements in the wage, hour and coverage standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act so as to extend its benefits to all workers employed in industries engaged in or affecting interstate commerce and to raise its [p.585] standards to keep up with our general economic progress and needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We shall seek to bring the two million men, women and children who work for wages on the farms of the United States under the protection of existing labor and social legislation; and to assure migrant labor, perhaps the most underprivileged of all, of a comprehensive program to bring them not only decent wages but also adequate standards of health, housing, Social Security protection, education and welfare services.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

3. "The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We shall take positive action to raise farm income to full parity levels and to preserve family farming as a way of life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We shall put behind us once and for all the timidity with which our Government has viewed our abundance of food and fiber.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We will set new high levels of food consumption both at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

As long as many Americans and hundreds of millions of people in other countries remain underfed, we shall regard these agricultural riches, and the family farmers who produce them, not as a liability but as a national asset.

Using Our Abundance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

The Democratic Administration will inaugurate a national food and fiber policy for expanded use of our agricultural abundance. We will no longer view food stockpiles with alarm but will use them as powerful instruments for peace and plenty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We will increase consumption at home. A vigorous, expanding economy will enable many American families to eat more and better food.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We will use the food stamp programs authorized to feed needy children, the aged and the unemployed. We will expand and improve the school lunch and milk programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We will establish and maintain food reserves for national defense purposes near important population centers in order to preserve lives in event of national disaster, and will operate them so as not to depress farm prices. We will expand research into new industrial uses of agricultural products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We will increase consumption abroad. The Democratic Party believes our nation's capacity to produce food and fiber is one of the great weapons for waging war against hunger and want throughout the world. With wise management of our food abundance we will expand trade between nations, support economic and human development programs, and combat famine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

Unimaginative, outmoded Republican policies which fail to use these productive capacities of our farms have been immensely costly to our nation. They can and will be changed.

Achieving Income Parity

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

While farmers have raised their productive efficiency to record levels, Republican farm policies have forced their income to drop by 30%.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

Tens of thousands of farm families have been bankrupted and forced off the land. This has happened despite the fact that the Secretary of Agriculture has spent more on farm programs than all previous Secretaries in history combined.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

Farmers acting individually or in small groups are helpless to protect their incomes from sharp declines. Their only recourse is to produce more, throwing production still further out of balance with demand and driving prices down further.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

This disastrous downward cycle can be stopped only by effective farm programs sympathetically administered with the assistance of democratically elected farmer committees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

The Democratic Administration will work to bring about full parity income for farmers in all segments of agriculture by helping them to balance farm production with the expanding needs of the nation and the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

Measures to this end include production and marketing quotas measured in terms of barrels, bushels and bales, loans on basic commodities at not less than 90% of parity, production payments, commodity purchases, and marketing orders and agreements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We repudiate the Republican administration of the Soil Bank Program, which has emphasized the retirement of whole farm units, and we pledge an orderly land retirement and conservation program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.585

We are convinced that a successful combination of these approaches will cost considerably less than present Republican programs which have failed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

[p.586] We will encourage agricultural cooperatives by expanding and liberalizing existing credit facilities and developing new facilities if necessary to assist them in extending their marketing and purchasing activities, and we will protect cooperatives from punitive taxation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

The Democratic Administration will improve the marketing practices of the family-type dairy farm to reduce risk of loss.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

To protect farmers' incomes in times of natural disaster, the Federal Crop Insurance Program, created and developed experimentally under Democratic Administrations, should be invigorated and expanded nationwide.

Improving Working and Living on Farms

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

Farm families have been among those victimized most severely by Republican tight-money policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

Young people have been barred from entering agriculture. Giant corporations and other non-farmers, with readier access to credit and through vertical integration methods, have supplanted hundreds of farm families and caused the bankruptcy of many others.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

The Democratic Party is committed by tradition and conviction to preservation of family agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

To this end, we will expand and liberalize farm credit facilities, especially to meet the needs of family-farm agriculture and to assist beginning farmers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

Many families in America's rural counties are still living in poverty because of inadequate resources and opportunity. This blight and personal desperation should have received national priority attention long ago.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

The new Democratic Administration will begin at once to eradicate long-neglected rural blight. We will help people help themselves with extended and supervised credit for farm improvement, local industrial development, improved vocational training and other assistance to those wishing to change to non-farm employment, and with the fullest development of commercial and recreational possibilities. This is one of the major objectives of the area redevelopment program, twice vetoed by the Republican President.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

The rural electric cooperatives celebrate this year the twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation of the Rural Electrification Administration under President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

The Democratic Congress has successfully fought the efforts of the Republican Administration to cut off REA loans and force high-interest-rate policies on this great rural enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

We will maintain interest rates for REA co-ops and public power districts at the levels provided in present law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

We deplore the Administration's failure to provide the dynamic leadership necessary for encouraging loans to rural users for generation of power where necessary.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

We promise the co-ops active support in meeting the ever-growing demand for electric power and telephone service, to be filled on a complete area-coverage basis without requiring benefits for special-interest power groups.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

In every way we will seek to help the men, women, and children whose livelihood comes from the soil to achieve better housing, education, health, and decent earnings and working conditions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

All these goals demand the leadership of a Secretary of Agriculture who is conversant with the technological and economic aspects of farm problems, and who is sympathetic with the objectives of effective farm legislation not only for farmers but for the best interest of the nation as a whole.

Small Business

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

4. "The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home and abroad."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

The new Democratic Administration will act to make our free economy really free—free from the oppression of monopolistic power, and free from the suffocating impact of high interest rates. We will help create an economy in which small businesses can take root, grow, and flourish. We Democrats pledge:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

1. Action to aid small business in obtaining credit and equity capital at reasonable rates. Small business which must borrow to stay alive has been a particular victim of the high-interest policies of the Republican administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.586

The loan program of the Small Business Administration should be accelerated, and the independence of that agency preserved. The Small Business [p.587] Investment Act of 1958 must be administered with a greater sense of its importance and possibilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

2. Protection of the public against the growth of monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

The last 7 1/2 years of Republican government has been the greatest period of merger and amalgamation in industry and banking in American history. Democratic Congresses have enacted numerous important measures to strengthen our anti-trust laws. Since 1950 the four Democratic Congresses have enacted laws like the Celler-Kefauver Anti-Merger Act, and improved the laws against price discriminations and tie-in sales.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

When the Republicans were in control of the 80th and 83rd Congresses they failed to enact a single measure to strengthen or improve the antitrust laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

The Democratic Party opposes this trend to monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We pledge vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We favor requiring corporations to file advance notice of mergers with the anti-trust enforcement agencies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We favor permitting all firms to have access at reasonable rates to patented inventions resulting from Government-financed research and development contracts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We favor strengthening the Robinson-Patman Act to protect small business against price discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We favor authorizing the Federal Trade Commission to obtain temporary injunctions during the pendency of administrative proceedings.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

3. A more equitable share of Government contracts to small and independent business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We will move from almost complete reliance on negotiation in the award of Government contracts toward open, competitive bidding.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

5. "The right of every family to a decent home." Today our rate of home building is less than that of ten years ago. A healthy, expanding economy will enable us to build two million homes a year, in wholesome neighborhoods, for people of all incomes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

At this rate, within a single decade we can clear away our slums and assure every American family a decent place to live.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

Republican policies have led to a decline of the home building industry and the production of fewer homes. Republican high-interest policies have forced the cost of decent housing beyond the range of many families. Republican indifference has perpetuated slums.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We record the unpleasant fact that in 1960 at least 40 million Americans live in substandard housing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

One million new families are formed each year and need housing, and 300,000 existing homes are lost through demolition or other causes and need to be replaced. At present, construction does not even meet these requirements, much less permit reduction of the backlog of slum units.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We support a housing construction goal of more than two million homes a year. Most of the increased construction will be priced to meet the housing needs of middle—and low-income families who now live in substandard housing and are priced out of the market for decent homes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

Our housing programs will provide for rental as well as sales housing. They will permit expanded cooperative housing programs and sharply stepped-up rehabilitation of existing homes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

To make possible the building of two million homes a year in wholesome neighborhoods, the home building industry should be aided by special mortgage assistance, with low interest rates, long-term mortgage periods and reduced down payments. Where necessary, direct Government loans should be provided.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

Even with this new and flexible approach, there will still be need for a substantial low-rent public housing program authorizing as many units as local communities require and are prepared to build.

Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

6. "The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

Illness is expensive. Many Americans have neither incomes nor insurance protection to enable them to pay for modern health care. The problem is particularly acute with our older citizens, among whom serious illness strikes most often.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.587

We shall provide medical care benefits for the aged as part of the time-tested Social Security insurance system. We reject any proposal which [p.588] would require such citizens to submit to the indignity of a means test—a "pauper's oath."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

For young and old alike, we need more medical schools, more hospitals, more research laboratories to speed the final conquest of major killers.

Medical Care for Older Persons

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

Fifty million Americans—more than a fourth of our people—have no insurance protection against the high cost of illness. For the rest, private health insurance pays, on the average, only about one-third of the cost of medical care.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

The problem is particularly acute among the 16 million Americans over 65 years old, and among disabled workers, widows and orphans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

Most of these have low incomes and the elderly among them suffer two to three times as much illness as the rest of the population.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

The Republican Administration refused to acknowledge any national responsibility for health care for elder citizens until forced to do so by an increasingly outraged demand. Then, its belated proposal was a cynical sham built around a degrading test based on means or income—a "pauper's oath."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

The most practicable way to provide health protection for older people is to use the contributory machinery of the Social Security system for insurance covering hospital bills and other high-cost medical services. For those relatively few of our older people who have never been eligible for Social Security coverage, we shall provide corresponding benefits by appropriations from the general revenue.

Research

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

We will step up medical research on the major killers and crippling diseases—cancer, heart disease, arthritis, mental illness. Expenditures for these purposes should be limited only by the availability of personnel and promising lines of research. Today such illness costs us $35 billion annually, much of which could be avoided. Federal appropriations for medical research are barely 1% of this amount.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

Heart disease and cancer together account for two out of every three deaths in this country. The Democratic President will summon to a White House conference the nation's most distinguished scientists in these fields to map a coordinated long-run program for the prevention and control of these diseases.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

We will also support a cooperative program with other nations on international health research.

Hospitals

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

We will expand and improve the Hill-Burton hospital construction program.

Health Manpower

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

To ease the growing shortage of doctors and other medical personnel we propose Federal aid for constructing, expanding and modernizing schools of medicine, dentistry, nursing and public health.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

We are deeply concerned that the high cost of medical education is putting this profession beyond the means of most American families. We will provide scholarships and other assistance to break through the financial barriers to medical education.

Mental Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

Mental patients fill more than half the hospital beds in the country today. We will provide greatly increased Federal support for psychiatric research and training, and community mental health programs, to help bring back thousands of our hospitalized mentally ill to full and useful lives in the community.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

7. "The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accidents, and unemployment."

A Program for the Aging

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

The Democratic Administration will end the neglect of our older citizens. They deserve lives of usefulness, dignity, independence, and participation. We shall assure them not only health care but employment for those who want work, decent housing, and recreation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

Already 16 million Americans—about one in ten—are over 65, with the prospect of 26 million by 1980.

Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.588

As stated, we will provide an effective system for paid-up medical insurance upon retirement, financed during working years through the Social Security mechanism and available to all retired [p.589] persons without a means test. This has first priority.

Income

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

Half of the people over 65 have incomes inadequate for basic nutrition, decent housing, minimum recreation and medical care. Older people who do not want to retire need employment opportunity and those of retirement age who no longer wish to or cannot work need better retirement benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We pledge a campaign to eliminate discrimination in employment due to age. As a first step we will prohibit such discrimination by Government contractors and subcontractors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We will amend the Social Security Act to increase the retirement benefit for each additional year of work after 65, thus encouraging workers to continue on the job full time.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

To encourage part-time work by others, we favor raising the $1200-a-year ceiling on what a worker may earn while still drawing Social Security benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

Retirement benefits must be increased generally, and minimum benefits raised from $33 a month to $50.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We shall provide decent and suitable housing which older persons can afford. Specifically we shall move ahead with the program of direct Government loans for housing for older people initiated in the Housing Act of 1959, a program which the Republican Administration has sought to kill.

Special Services

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We shall take Federal action in support of state efforts to bring standards of care in nursing homes and other institutions for the aged up to desirable minimums.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We shall support demonstration and training programs to translate proven research into action in such fields as health, nutritional guidance, home care, counseling, recreational activity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

Taken together, these measures will affirm a new charter of rights for the older citizens among us—the right to a life of usefulness, health, dignity, independence and participation.

Welfare

Disability Insurance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We shall permit workers who are totally and permanently disabled to retire at any age, removing the arbitrary requirement that the worker be 50 years of age.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We shall also amend the law so that after six months of total disability, a worker will be eligible for disability benefits, with restorative services to enable him to return to work.

Physically Handicapped

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We pledge continued support of legislation for the rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons and improvement of employment opportunities for them.

Public Assistance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

Persons in need who are inadequately protected by social insurance are cared for by the states and local communities under public assistance programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

The Federal Government, which now shares the cost of aid to some of these, should share in all, and benefits should be made available without regard to residence.

Unemployment Benefits

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We will establish uniform minimum standards throughout the nation for coverage, duration, and amount of unemployment insurance benefits.

Equality for Women

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We support legislation which will guarantee to women equality of rights under the law, including equal pay for equal work.

Child Welfare

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

The Child Welfare Program and other services already established under the Social Security Act should be expanded. Federal leadership is required in the nationwide campaign to prevent and control juvenile delinquency.

Intergroup Relations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.589

We propose a Federal bureau of intergroup relations to help solve problems of discrimination in housing, education, employment, and community opportunities in general. The bureau would assist in the solution of problems arising from the re [p.590] settlement of immigrants and migrants within our own country, and in resolving religious, social and other tensions where they arise.

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

8. "The right to a good education."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

America's young people are our greatest resource for the future. Each of them deserves the education which will best develop his potentialities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

We shall act at once to help in building the classrooms and employing the teachers that are essential if the right to a good education is to have genuine meaning for all the youth of America in the decade ahead.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

As a national investment in our future we propose a program of loans and scholarship grants to assure that qualified young Americans will have full opportunity for higher education, at the institutions of their choice, regardless of the income of their parents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

The new Democratic Administration will end eight years of official neglect of our educational system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

America's education faces a financial crisis. The tremendous increase in the number of children of school and college age has far outrun the available supply of educational facilities and qualified teachers. The classroom shortage alone is interfering with the education of 10 million students.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

America's teachers, parents and school administrators have striven courageously to keep up with the increased challenge of education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

So have states and local communities. Education absorbs two-fifths of all their revenue. With limited resources, private educational institutions have shouldered their share of the burden.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

Only the Federal Government is not doing its part. For eight years, measures for the relief of the educational crisis have been held up by the cynical maneuvers of the Republican Party in Congress and the White House.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

We believe that America can meet its educational obligations only with generous Federal financial support, within the traditional framework of local control. The assistance will take the form of Federal grants to states for educational purposes they deem most pressing, including classroom construction and teachers' salaries. It will include aid for the construction of academic facilities as well as dormitories at colleges and universities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

We pledge further Federal support for all phases of vocational education for youth and adults; for libraries and adult education; for realizing the potential of educational television; and for exchange of students and teachers with other nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

As part of a broader concern for young people we recommend establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps, to give underprivileged young people a rewarding experience in a healthful environment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

The pledges contained in this Economic Bill of Rights point the way to a better life for every family in America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

They are the means to a goal that is now within our reach—the final eradication in America of the age-old evil of poverty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

Yet there are other pressing needs on our national agenda.

Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

A thin layer of earth, a few inches of rain, and a blanket of air make human life possible on our planet.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

Sound public policy must assure that these essential resources will be available to provide the good life for our children and future generations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

Water, timber and grazing lands, recreational areas in our parks, shores, forests and wildernesses, energy, minerals, even pure air—all are feeling the press of enormously increased demands of a rapidly growing population.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

Natural resources are the birthright of all the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

The new Democratic Administration, with the vision that built a TVA and a Grand Coulee, will develop and conserve that heritage for the use of this and future generations. We will reverse Republican policies under which America's resources have been wasted, depleted, underdeveloped, and recklessly given away.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

We favor the best use of our natural resources, which generally means adoption of the multiple-purpose principle to achieve full development for all the many functions they can serve.

Water and Soil

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.590

An abundant supply of pure water is essential to our economy. This is a national problem.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

[p.591] Water must serve domestic, industrial and irrigation needs and inland navigation. It must provide habitat for fish and wildlife, supply the base for much outdoor recreation, and generate electricity. Water must also be controlled to prevent floods, pollution, salinity and silt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

The new Democratic Administration will develop a comprehensive national water resource policy. In cooperation with state and local governments, and interested private groups, the Democratic Administration will develop a balanced, multiple-purpose plan for each major river basin, to be revised periodically to meet changing needs. We will erase the Republican slogan of "no new starts" and will begin again to build multiple-purpose dams, hydroelectric facilities, flood-control works, navigation facilities, and reclamation projects to meet mounting and urgent needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

We will renew the drive to protect every acre of farm land under a soil and water conservation plan, and we will speed up the small-watershed program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

We will support and intensify the research effort to find an economical way to convert salt and brackish water. The Republicans discouraged this research, which holds untold possibilities for the whole world.

Water and Air Pollution

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

America can no longer take pure water and air for granted. Polluted rivers carry their dangers to everyone living along their courses; impure air does not respect boundaries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

Federal action is needed in planning, coordinating and helping to finance pollution control. The states and local communities cannot go it alone. Yet President Eisenhower vetoed a Democratic bill to give them more financial help in building sewage treatment plants.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

A Democratic President will sign such a bill.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

Democrats will step up research on pollution control, giving special attention to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

1. the rapidly growing problem of air pollution from industrial plants, automobile exhausts, and other sources, and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

2. disposal of chemical and radioactive wastes, some of which are now being dumped off our coasts without adequate knowledge of the potential consequences.

Outdoor Recreation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

As population grows and the work week shortens and transportation becomes easier and speedier, the need for outdoor recreation facilities mounts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

We must act quickly to retain public access to the oceans, gulfs, rivers, streams, lakes and reservoirs, and their shorelines, and to reserve adequate camping and recreational areas while there is yet time. Areas near major population centers are particularly needed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

The new Democratic Administration will work to improve and extend recreation opportunities in national parks and monuments, forests, and river development projects, and near metropolitan areas. Emphasis will be on attractive, low-cost facilities for all the people and on preventing undue commercialization.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

The National Park System is still incomplete; in particular, the few remaining suitable shorelines must be included in it. A national wilderness system should be created for areas already set aside as wildernesses. The system should be extended but only after careful consideration by the Congress of the value of areas for competing uses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

Recreational needs of the surrounding area should be given important consideration in disposing of Federally owned lands.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

We will protect fish and game habitats from commercial exploitation and require military installations to conform to sound conservation practices.

Energy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

The Republican Administration would turn the clock back to the days before the New Deal, in an effort to divert the benefits of the great natural energy resources from all the people to a favored few. It has followed for many years a "no new starts" policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

It has stalled atomic energy development; it has sought to cripple rural electrification.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

It has closed the pilot plant on getting oil from shale.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

It has harassed and hampered the TVA.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

We reject this philosophy and these policies. The people are entitled to use profitably what they already own.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.591

The Democratic Administration instead will foster the development of efficient regional giant power systems from all sources, including water, [p.592] tidal, and nuclear power, to supply low-cost electricity to all retail electric systems, public, private, and cooperative.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The Democratic Administration will continue to develop "yardsticks" for measuring the rates of private utility systems. This means meeting the needs of rural electric cooperatives for low-interest loans for distribution, transmission and generation facilities; Federal transmission facilities, where appropriate, to provide efficient low-cost power supply; and strict enforcement of the public-preference clause in power marketing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The Democratic Administration will support continued study and research on energy fuel resources, including new sources in wind and sun. It will push forward with the Passamaquoddy tidal power project with its great promise of cheaper power and expanded prosperity for the people of New England.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

We support the establishment of a national fuels policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The $15 billion national investment in atomic energy should be protected as a part of the public domain.

Federal Lands and Forests

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The record of the Republican Administration in handling the public domain is one of complete lethargy. It has failed to secure existing assets. In some cases, it has given away priceless resources for plunder by private corporations, as in the A1 Sarena mining incident and the secret leasing of game refuges to favored oil interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The new Democratic Administration will develop balanced land and forest policies suited to the needs of a growing America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

This means intensive forest management on a multiple-use and sustained-yield basis, reforestation of burnt-over lands, building public access roads, range reseeding and improvement, intensive work in watershed management, concern for small business operations, and insuring free public access to public lands for recreational uses.

Minerals

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

America uses half the minerals produced in the entire Free World. Yet our mining industry is in what may be the initial phase of a serious long-term depression. Sound policy requires that we strengthen the domestic mining industry without interfering with adequate supplies of needed materials at reasonable costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

We pledge immediate efforts toward the establishment of a realistic long-range minerals policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The new Democratic Administration will begin intensive research on scientific prospecting for mineral deposits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

We will speed up the geologic mapping of the country, with emphasis on Alaska.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

We will resume research and development work on use of low-grade mineral reserves, especially oil shale, lignites, iron ore taconite, and radioactive minerals. These efforts have been halted or cut back by the Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The Democratic Party favors a study of the problem of non-uniform seaward boundaries of the coastal states.

Government Machinery for Managing Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

Long-range programming of the nation's resource development is essential. We favor creation of a council of advisers on resources and conservation, which will evaluate and report annually upon our resource needs and progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

We shall put budgeting for resources on a businesslike basis, distinguishing between operating expense and capital investment, so that the country can have an accurate picture of the costs and returns. We propose the incremental method in determining the economic justification of our river basin programs. Charges for commercial use of public lands will be brought into line with benefits received.

Cities and Their Suburbs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

A new Democratic Administration will expand Federal programs to help urban communities clear their slums, dispose of their sewage, educate their children, transport suburban commuters to and from their jobs, and combat juvenile delinquency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

We will give the city dweller a voice at the Cabinet table by bringing together within a single department programs concerned with urban and metropolitan problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The United States is now predominantly an urban nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

The efficiency, comfort, and beauty of our cities and suburbs influence the lives of all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.592

Local governments have found increasing difficulty in coping with such fundamental public [p.593] problems as urban renewal, slum clearance, water supply, mass transportation, recreation, health, welfare, education and metropolitan planning. These problems are, in many cases, interstate and regional in scope.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

Yet the Republican Administration has turned its back on urban and suburban America. The list of Republican vetoes includes housing, urban renewal and slum clearance, area redevelopment, public works, airports and stream pollution control. It has proposed severe cutbacks in aid for hospital construction, public assistance, vocational education, community facilities and sewage disposal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

The result has been to force communities to thrust an ever-greater tax load upon the already overburdened property taxpayer and to forgo needed public services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

The Democratic Party believes that state and local governments are strengthened—not weakened—by financial assistance from the Federal Government. We will extend such aid without impairing local administration through unnecessary Federal interference or red tape.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

We propose a ten-year action program to restore our cities and provide for balanced suburban development, including the following:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

1. The elimination of slums and blight and the restoration of cities and depressed areas within the next ten years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

2. Federal aid for metropolitan area planning and community facility programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

3. Federal aid for comprehensive metropolitan transportation programs, including bus and rail mass transit, commuter railroads as well as highway programs, and construction of civil airports.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

4. Federal aid in combating air and water pollution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

5. Expansion of park systems to meet the recreation needs of our growing population.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

The Federal Government must recognize the financial burdens placed on local governments, urban and rural alike, by Federal installations and land holdings.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

Over the past seven years, we have watched the steady weakening of the nation's transportation system. Railroads are in distress. Highways are congested. Airports and airways lag far behind the needs of the jet age.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

To meet this challenge we will establish a national transportation policy, designed to coordinate and modernize our facilities for transportation by road, rail, water, and air.

Air

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

The jet age has made rapid improvement in air safety imperative. Rather than "an orderly withdrawal" from the airport grant programs as proposed by the Republican Administration, we pledge to expand the program to accommodate growing air traffic.

Water

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

Development of our inland waterways, our harbors, and Great Lakes commerce has been held back by the Republican President.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

We pledge the improvement of our rivers and harbors by new starts and adequate maintenance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

A strong and efficient American-flag merchant marine is essential to peacetime commerce and defense emergencies. Continued aid for ship construction and operation to offset cost differentials favoring foreign shipping is essential to these goals.

Roads

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

The Republican Administration has slowed down, stretched out and greatly increased the costs of the interstate highway program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

The Democratic Party supports the highway program embodied in the Acts of 1956 and 1958 and the principle of Federal-state partnership in highway construction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

We commend the Democratic Congress for establishing a special committee which has launched an extensive investigation of this highway program. Continued scrutiny of this multi-billion-dollar highway program can prevent waste, inefficiency and graft and maintain the public's confidence.

Rail

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.593

The nation's railroads are in particular need of freedom from burdensome regulation to enable them to compete effectively with other forms of transportation. We also support Federal assistance in meeting certain capital needs, particularly for urban mass transportation.[p.594]

Science

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

We will recognize the special role of our Federal Government in support of basic and applied research.

Space

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

The Republican Administration has remained incredibly blind to the prospects of space exploration. It has failed to pursue space programs with a sense of urgency at all close to their importance to the future of the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

It has allowed the Communists to hit the moon first, and to launch substantially greater payloads. The Republican program is a catchall of assorted projects with no clearly defined, long-range plan of research.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

The new Democratic Administration will press forward with our national space program in full realization of the importance of space accomplishments to our national security and our international prestige. We shall reorganize the program to achieve both efficiency and speedy execution. We shall bring top scientists into positions of responsibility. We shall undertake long-term basic research in space science and propulsion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

We shall initiate negotiations leading toward the international regulation of space.

Atomic Energy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

The United States became pre-eminent in the development of atomic energy under Democratic Administrations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

The Republican Administration, despite its glowing promises of "Atoms for Peace," has permitted the gradual deterioration of United States leadership in atomic development both at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

In order to restore United States leadership in atomic development, the new Democratic Administration will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

1. Restore truly nonpartisan and vigorous administration of the vital atomic energy program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

2. Continue the development of the various promising experimental and prototype atomic power plants which show promise, and provide increasing support for longer-range projects at the frontiers of atomic energy application.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

3. Continue to preserve and support national laboratories and other Federal atomic installations as the foundation of technical progress and a bulwark of national defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

4. Accelerate the Rover nuclear rocket project and auxiliary power facilities so as to achieve world leadership in peaceful outer space exploration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

5. Give reality to the United States international atoms-for-peace programs, and continue and expand technological assistance to underdeveloped countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

6. Consider measures for improved organization and procedure for radiation protection and reactor safety, including a strengthening of the role of the Federal Radiation Council, and the separation of quasi-judicial functions in reactor safety regulations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

7. Provide a balanced and flexible nuclear defense capability, including the augmentation of the nuclear submarine fleet.

Oceanography

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

Oceanographic research is needed to advance such important programs as food and minerals from our Great Lakes and the sea. The present Administration has neglected this new scientific frontier.

Government Operations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

We shall reform the processes of Government in all branches—Executive, Legislative, and Judicial. We will clean out corruption and conflicts of interest, and improve Government services.

The Federal Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

Two weeks before this Platform was adopted, the difference between the Democratic and Republican attitudes toward Government employees was dramatically illustrated. The Democratic Congress passed a fully justified pay increase to bring Government pay scales more nearly into line with those of private industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

The Republican President vetoed the pay raise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

The Democratic Congress decisively overrode the veto.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

The heavy responsibilities of modern government require a Federal service characterized by devotion to duty, honesty of purpose and highest competence. We pledge the modernization and strengthening of our Civil Service system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.594

We shall extend and improve the employees' appeals system and improve programs for recognizing [p.595] the outstanding merits of individual employees.

Ethics in Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

We reject totally the concept of dual or triple loyalty on the part of Federal officials in high places.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

The conflict-of-interest statutes should be revised and strengthened to assure the Federal service of maximum security against unethical practices on the part of public officials.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

The Democratic Administration will establish and enforce a Code of Ethics to maintain the full dignity and integrity of the Federal service and to make it more attractive to the ablest men and women.

Regulatory Agencies

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

The Democratic Party promises to clean up the Federal regulatory agencies. The acceptance by Republican appointees to these agencies of gifts, hospitality, and bribes from interests under their jurisdiction has been a particularly flagrant abuse of public trust.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

We shall bring all contacts with commissioners into the open, and will protect them from any form of improper pressure.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

We shall appoint to these agencies men of ability and independent judgment who understand that their function is to regulate these industries in the public interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

We promise a thorough review of existing agency practices, with an eye toward speedier decisions, and a clearer definition of what constitutes the public interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

The Democratic Party condemns the usurpation by the Executive of the powers and functions of any of the independent agencies and pledges the restoration of the independence of such agencies and the protection of their integrity of action,

The Postal Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

The Republican policy has been to treat the United States postal service as a liability instead of a great investment in national enlightenment, social efficiency and economic betterment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

Constant curtailment of service has inconvenienced every citizen.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

A program must be undertaken to establish the Post Office Department as a model of efficiency and service. We pledge ourselves to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

1. Restore the principle that the postal service is a public service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

2. Separate the public service costs from those to be borne by the users of the mails.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

3. Continue steady improvement in working conditions and wage scales, reflecting increasing productivity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

4. Establish a long-range program for research and capital improvements compatible with the highest standards of business efficiency.

Law Enforcement

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

In recent years, we have been faced with a shocking increase in crimes of all kinds. Organized criminals have even infiltrated into legitimate business enterprises and labor unions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

The Republican Administration, particularly the Attorney General's office, has failed lamentably to deal with this problem despite the growing power of the underworld. The new Democratic Administration will take vigorous corrective action.

Freedom of Information

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

We reject the Republican contention that the workings of Government are the special private preserve of the Executive.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

The massive wall of secrecy erected between the Executive branch and the Congress as well as the citizen must be torn down. Information must flow freely, save in those areas in which the national security is involved.

Clean Elections

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

The Democratic Party favors realistic and effective limitations on contributions and expenditures, and full disclosure of campaign financing in Federal elections.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

We further propose a tax credit to encourage small contributions to political parties. The Democratic Party affirms that every candidate for public office has a moral obligation to observe and uphold traditional American principles of decency, honesty and fair play in his campaign for election.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

We deplore efforts to divide the United States into regional, religious and ethnic groups.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.595

We denounce and repudiate campaign tactics that substitute smear and slander, bigotry and false accusations of bigotry, for truth and reasoned argument.[p.596]

District of Columbia

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

The capital city of our nation should be a symbol of democracy to people throughout the world. The Democratic Party reaffirms its long-standing support of home rule for the District of Columbia, and pledges to enact legislation permitting voters of the District to elect their own local government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

We urge the legislatures of the 50 states to ratify the 23rd Amendment, passed by the Democratic Congress, to give District citizens the right to participate in Presidential elections.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

We also support a Constitutional amendment giving the District voting representation in Congress.

Virgin Islands

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

We believe that the voters of the Virgin Islands should have the right to elect their own Governor, to have a delegate in the Congress of the United States and to have the right to vote in national elections for a President and Vice President of the United States.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

The social, economic, and political progress of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is a testimonial to the sound enabling legislation, and to the sincerity and understanding with which the people of the 50 states and Puerto Rico are meeting their joint problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

The Democratic Party, under whose administration the Commonwealth status was established, is entitled to great credit for providing the opportunity which the people of Puerto Rico have used so successfully.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

Puerto Rico has become a show place of world-wide interest, a tribute to the benefits of the principles of self-determination. Further benefits for Puerto Rico under these principles are certain to follow.

Congressional Procedures

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

In order that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action be taken at the beginning of the 87th Congress to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either House.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

The rules of the House of Representatives should be so amended as to make sure that bills reported by legislative committees reach the floor for consideration without undue delay.

Consumers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

In an age of mass production, distribution, and advertising, consumers require effective Government representation and protection.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

The Republican Administration has allowed the Food and Drug Administration to be weakened. Recent Senate hearings on the drug industry have revealed how flagrant profiteering can be when essential facts on costs, prices, and profits are hidden from scrutiny. The new Democratic Administration will provide the money and the authority to strengthen this agency for its task.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

We propose a consumer counsel, backed by a suitable staff, to speak for consumers in the formulation of Government policies and represent consumers in administrative proceedings.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

The consumer also has a right to know the cost of credit when he borrows money. We shall enact Federal legislation requiring the vendors of credit to provide a statement of specific credit charges and what these charges cost in terms of true annual interest.

Veterans Affairs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

We adhere to the American tradition dating from the Plymouth Colony in New England in 1636:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

"... any soldier injured in defense of the colony shall be maintained completely by the colony for the remainder of his life."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

We pledge adequate compensation for those with service-connected disabilities and for the survivors of those who died in service or from service-connected disabilities. We pledge pensions adequate for a full and dignified life for disabled and distressed veterans and for needy survivors of deceased veterans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

Veterans of World War I, whose Federal benefits have not matched those of veterans of subsequent service, will receive the special attention of the Democratic Party looking toward equitable adjustments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.596

We endorse expanded programs of vocational rehabilitation for disabled veterans, and education for orphans of servicemen.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

[p.597] The quality of medical care furnished to the disabled veterans has deteriorated under the Republican Administration. We shall work for an increased availability of facilities for all veterans in need and we shall move with particular urgency to fulfill the need for expanded domiciliary and nursing-home facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

We shall continue the veterans home loan guarantee and direct loan programs and educational benefits patterned after the G.I. Bill of Rights.

American Indians

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

We recognize the unique legal and moral responsibility of the Federal Government for Indians in restitution for the injustice that has sometimes been done them. We therefore pledge prompt adoption of a program to assist Indian tribes in the full development of their human and natural resources and to advance the health, education, and economic well-being of Indian citizens while preserving their cultural heritage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

Free consent of the Indian tribes concerned shall be required before the Federal Government makes any change in any Federal-Indian treaty or other contractual relationship.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

The new Democratic Administration will bring competent, sympathetic, and dedicated leadership to the administration of Indian affairs which will end practices that have eroded Indian rights and resources, reduced the Indians' land base and repudiated Federal responsibility. Indian claims against the United States can and will he settled promptly, whether by negotiation or other means, in the best interests of both parties.

The Arts

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

The arts flourish where there is freedom and where individual initiative and imagination are encouraged. We enjoy the blessings of such an atmosphere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

The nation should begin to evaluate the possibilities for encouraging and expanding participation in and appreciation of our cultural life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

We propose a Federal advisory agency to assist in the evaluation, development, and expansion of cultural resources of the United States. We shall support legislation needed to provide incentives for those endowed with extraordinary talent, as a worthy supplement to existing scholarship programs.

Civil Liberties

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

With democratic values threatened today by Communist tyranny, we reaffirm our dedication to the Bill of Rights. Freedom and civil liberties, far from being incompatible with security, are vital to our national strength. Unfortunately, those high in the Republican Administration have all too often sullied the name and honor of loyal and faithful American citizens in and out of Government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

The Democratic Party will strive to improve Congressional investigating and hearing procedures. We shall abolish useless disclaimer affidavits such as those for student educational loans. We shall provide a full and fair hearing, including confrontation of the accuser, to any person whose public or private employment or reputation is jeopardized by a loyalty or security proceeding.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

Protection of rights of American citizens to travel, to pursue lawful trade and to engage in other lawful activities abroad without distinction as to race or religion is a cardinal function of the national sovereignty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

We will oppose any international agreement or treaty which by its terms or practices differentiates among American citizens on grounds of race or religion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

The list of unfinished business for America is long. The accumulated neglect of nearly a decade cannot be wiped out overnight. Many of the objectives which we seek will require our best efforts over a period of years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

Although the task is far-reaching, we will tackle it with vigor and confidence. We will substitute planning for confusion, purpose for indifference, direction for drift and apathy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

We will organize the policy-making machinery of the Executive branch to provide vigor and leadership in establishing our national goals and achieving them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

The new Democratic President will sign, not veto, the efforts of a Democratic Congress to create more jobs, to build more homes, to save family farms, to clean up polluted streams and rivers, to help depressed areas, and to provide full employment for our people.

Fiscal Responsibility

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.597

We vigorously reject the notion that America, with a half-trillion-dollar gross national product, [p.598] and nearly half of the world's industrial resources, cannot afford to meet our needs at home and in our world relationships.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

We believe, moreover, that except in periods of recession or national emergency, these needs can be met with a balanced budget, with no increase in present tax rates, and with some surplus for the gradual reduction of our national debt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

To assure such a balance we shall pursue a four-point program of fiscal responsibility.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

First, we shall end the gross waste in Federal expenditures which needlessly raises the budgets of many Government agencies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

The most conspicuous unnecessary item is, of course, the excessive cost of interest on the national debt. Courageous action to end duplication and competition among the armed services will achieve large savings. The cost of the agricultural program can be reduced while at the same time prosperity is being restored to the nation's farmers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

Second, we shall collect the billions in taxes which are owed to the Federal Government but not now collected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

The Internal Revenue Service is still suffering from the cuts inflicted upon its enforcement staff by the Republican Administration and the Republican Congress in 1953.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

The Administration's own Commissioner of Internal Revenue has testified that billions of dollars in revenue are lost each year because the Service does not have sufficient agents to follow up on tax evasion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

We will add enforcement personnel, and develop new techniques of enforcement, to collect tax revenue which is now being lost through evasion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

Third, we shall close the loopholes in the tax laws by which certain privileged groups legally escape their fair share of taxation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

Among the more conspicuous loopholes are depletion allowances which are inequitable, special consideration for recipients of dividend income, and deductions for extravagant "business expenses" which have reached scandalous proportions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

Tax reform can raise additional revenue and at the same time increase legitimate incentives for growth, and make it possible to ease the burden on the general taxpayer who now pays an unfair share of taxes because of special favors to the few.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

Fourth, we shall bring in added Federal tax revenues by expanding the economy itself. Each dollar of additional production puts an additional 18 cents in tax revenue in the national treasury. A 5% growth rate, therefore, will mean that at the end of four years the Federal Government will have had a total of nearly $50 billion in additional tax revenues above those presently received.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

By these four methods we can sharply increase the Government funds available for needed services, for correction of tax inequities, and for debt or tax reduction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

Much of the challenge of the 1960s, however, remains unforeseen and unforeseeable. If, therefore, the unfolding demands of the new decade at home or abroad should impose clear national responsibilities that cannot be fulfilled without higher taxes, we will not allow political disadvantage to deter us from doing what is required.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

As we proceed with the urgent task of restoring America's productivity, confidence, and power, we will never forget that our national interest is more than the sum total of all the group interests in America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

When group interests conflict with the national interest, it will be the national interest which we serve.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

On its values and goals the quality of American life depends. Here above all our national interest and our devotion to the Rights of Man coincide.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

Democratic Administrations under Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman led the way in pressing for economic justice for all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

But man does not live by bread alone. A new Democratic Administration, like its predecessors, will once again look beyond material goals to the spiritual meaning of American society.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

We have drifted into a national mood that accepts payola and quiz scandals, tax evasion and false expense accounts, soaring crime rates, influence peddling in high Government circles, and the exploitation of sadistic violence as popular entertainment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.598

For eight long critical years our present national leadership has made no effective effort to reverse this mood.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

[p.599] The new Democratic Administration will help create a sense of national purpose and higher standards of public behavior.

Civil Rights

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

We shall also seek to create an affirmative new atmosphere in which to deal with racial divisions and inequalities which threaten both the integrity of our democratic faith and the proposition on which our nation was founded—that all men are created equal. It is our faith in human dignity that distinguishes our open free society from the closed totalitarian society of the Communists.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

The Constitution of the United States rejects the notion that the Rights of Man means the rights of some men only. We reject it too.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

The right to vote is the first principle of self-government. The Constitution also guarantees to all Americans the equal protection of the laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

It is the duty of the Congress to enact the laws necessary and proper to protect and promote these constitutional rights. The Supreme Court has the power to interpret these rights and the laws thus enacted.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

It is the duty of the President to see that these rights are respected and that the Constitution and laws as interpreted by the Supreme Court are faithfully executed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

What is now required is effective moral and political leadership by the whole Executive branch of our Government to make equal opportunity a living reality for all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

As the party of Jefferson, we shall provide that leadership.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

In every city and state in greater or lesser degree there is discrimination based on color, race, religion, or national origin.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

If discrimination in voting, education, the administration of justice or segregated lunch counters are the issues in one area, discrimination in housing and employment may be pressing questions elsewhere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

The peaceful demonstrations for first-class citizenship which have recently taken place in many parts of this country are a signal to all of us to make good at long last the guarantees of our Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

The time has come to assure equal access for all Americans to all areas of community life, including voting booths, schoolrooms, jobs, housing, and public facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

The Democratic Administration which takes office next January will therefore use the full powers provided in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 to secure for all Americans the right to vote.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

If these powers, vigorously invoked by a new Attorney General and backed by a strong and imaginative Democratic President, prove inadequate, further powers will be sought.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

We will support whatever action is necessary to eliminate literacy tests and the payment of poll taxes as requirements for voting.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

A new Democratic Administration will also use its full powers—legal and moral—to ensure the beginning of good-faith compliance with the Constitutional requirement that racial discrimination be ended in public education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

We believe that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision should submit a plan providing for at least first-step compliance by 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

To facilitate compliance, technical and financial assistance should be given to school districts facing special problems of transition.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

For this and for the protection of all other Constitutional rights of Americans, the Attorney General should be empowered and directed to file civil injunction suits in Federal courts to prevent the denial of any civil right on grounds of race, creed, or color.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

The new Democratic Administration will support Federal legislation establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission to secure effectively for everyone the right to equal opportunity for employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

In 1949 the President's Committee on Civil Rights recommended a permanent Commission on Civil Rights. The new Democratic Administration will broaden the scope and strengthen the powers of the present commission and make it permanent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

Its functions will be to provide, assistance to communities, industries, or individuals in the implementation of Constitutional rights in education, housing, employment, transportation, and the administration of justice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.599

In addition, the Democratic Administration will use its full executive powers to assure equal employment [p.600] opportunities and to terminate racial segregation throughout Federal services and institutions, and on all Government contracts, The successful desegregation of the armed services took place through such decisive executive action under President Truman.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

Similarly the new Democratic Administration will take action to end discrimination in Federal housing programs, including Federally assisted housing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

To accomplish these goals will require executive orders, legal actions brought by the Attorney General, legislation, and improved Congressional procedures to safeguard majority rule.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

Above all, it will require the strong, active, persuasive, and inventive leadership of the President of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

The Democratic President who takes office next January will face unprecedented challenges. His Administration will present a new face to the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

It will be a bold, confident, affirmative face. We will draw new strength from the universal truths which the founder of our Party asserted in the Declaration of Independence to be "self-evident."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

Emerson once spoke of an unending contest in human affairs, a contest between the Party of Hope and the Party of Memory.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

For 7 1/2 years America, governed by the Party of Memory, has taken a holiday from history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

As the Party of Hope it is our responsibility and opportunity to call forth the greatness of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1960, p.600

In this spirit, we hereby rededicate ourselves to the continuing service of the Rights of Man-everywhere in America and everywhere else on God's earth.[p.604]

Republican Platform of 1960

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.604

The United States is living in an age of profoundest revolution. The lives of men and of nations are undergoing such transformations as history has rarely recorded. The birth of new nations, the impact of new machines, the threat of new weapons, the stirring of new ideas, the ascent into a new dimension of the universe- everywhere the accent falls on the new.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.604

At such a time of world upheaval, great perils match great opportunities—and hopes, as well as fears, rise in all areas of human life. Such a force as nuclear power symbolizes the greatness of the choice before the United States and mankind. The energy of the atom could bring devastation to humanity. Or it could be made to serve men's hopes for peace and progress—to make for all [p.605] peoples a more healthy and secure and prosperous life than man has ever known.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

One fact darkens the reasonable hopes of free men: the growing vigor and thrust of Communist imperialism. Everywhere across the earth, this force challenges us to prove our strength and wisdom, our capacity for sacrifice, our faith in ourselves and in our institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

Free men look to us for leadership and support, which we dedicate ourselves to give out of the abundance of our national strength.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

The fate of the world will be deeply affected, perhaps determined, by the quality of American leadership. American leadership means both how we govern ourselves and how we help to influence others. We deliberate the choice of national leadership and policy, mindful that in some measure our proposals involve the fate of mankind.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

The leadership of the United States must be responsible and mature; its promises must be rational and practical, soberly pledged and faithfully undertaken. Its purposes and its aspirations must ascend to that high ground of right and freedom upon which mankind may dwell and progress in decent security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

We are impressed, but not dismayed, by the revolutionary turbulence that is wracking the world. In the midst of violence and change, we draw strength and confidence from the changeless principles of our free Constitution. Free men are invincible when the power and courage, the patience and the fortitude latent in them are drawn forth by reasonable appeal.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

In this Republican Platform we offer to the United States our program—our call to service, our pledge of leadership, our proposal of measures in the public interest. We call upon God, in whose hand is every blessing, to favor our deliberations with wisdom, our nation with endurance, and troubled mankind everywhere with a righteous peace.

Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

The Republican Party asserts that the sovereign purpose of our foreign policy is to secure the free institutions of our nation against every peril, to hearten and fortify the love of freedom everywhere in the world, and to achieve a just peace for all of anxious humanity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

The pre-eminence of this Republic requires of us a vigorous, resolute foreign policy—inflexible against every tyrannical encroachment, and mighty in its advance toward our own affirmative goals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

The Government of the United States, under the administration of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon, has demonstrated that firmness in the face of threatened aggression is the most dependable safeguard of peace. We now reaffirm our determination to defend the security and the freedom of our country, to honor our commitments to our allies at whatever cost or sacrifice, and never to submit to force or threats. Our determination to stand fast has forestalled aggression before Berlin, in the Formosa Straits, and in Lebanon. Since 1954 no free nation has fallen victim behind the Iron Curtain. We mean to adhere to the policy of firmness that has served us so well.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

We are unalterably committed to maintaining the security, freedom and solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. We support President Eisenhower's reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine in all its vitality. Faithful to our treaty commitments, we shall join the Republics of the Americas against any intervention in our hemisphere, and in refusing to tolerate the establishment in this hemisphere of any government dominated by the foreign rule of communism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

In the Middle East, we shall continue to support the integrity and independence of all the states of that area including Israel and the Arab States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

With specific reference to Israel and the Arab Nations we urge them to undertake negotiations for a mutually acceptable settlement of the causes of tension between them. We pledge continued efforts:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

To eliminate the obstacles to a lasting peace in the area, including the human problem of the Arab refugees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

To seek an end to transit and trade restrictions, blockades and boycotts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

To secure freedom of navigation in international waterways, the cessation of discrimination against Americans on the basis of religious beliefs, and an end to the wasteful and dangerous arms race and to the threat of an arms imbalance in the area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.605

Recognition of Communist China and its admission to the United Nations have been firmly opposed by the Republican Administration. We will continue in this opposition because of compelling [p.606] evidence that to do otherwise would weaken the cause of freedom and endanger the future of the free peoples of Asia and the world. The brutal suppression of the human rights and the religious traditions of the Tibetan people is an unhappy evidence of the need to persist in our policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

The countries of the free world have been benefited, reinforced and drawn closer together by the vigor of American support of the United Nations, and by our participation in such regional organizations as NATO, SEATO, CENTO, the Organization of American States and other collective security alliances. We assert our intention steadfastly to uphold the action and principles of these bodies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

We believe military assistance to our allies under the mutual security program should be continued with all the vigor and funds needed to maintain the strength of our alliances at levels essential to our common safety.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

The firm diplomacy of the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has been supported by a military power superior to any in the history of our nation or in the world. As long as world tensions menace us with war, we are resolved to maintain an armed power exceeded by no other.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

Under Republican administration, the Government has developed original and constructive programs in many fields—open skies, atoms for peace, cultural and technical exchanges, the peaceful uses of outer space and Antarctica—to make known to men everywhere our desire to advance the cause of peace. We mean, as a Party, to continue in the same course.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

We recognize and freely acknowledge the support given to these principles and policies by all Americans, irrespective of party. Standing as they do above partisan challenge, such principles and policies will, we earnestly hope, continue to have bipartisan support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

We established a new independent agency, the United States Information Agency, fully recognizing the tremendous importance of the struggle for men's minds. Today, our information program throughout the world is a greatly improved medium for explaining our policies and actions to audiences overseas, answering Communist propaganda, and projecting a true image of American life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

This is the Republican record. We rededicate ourselves to the principles that have animated it; and we pledge ourselves to persist in those principles, and to apply them to the problems, the occasions, and the opportunities to be faced by the new Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

We confront today the global offensive of Communism, increasingly aggressive and violent in its enterprises. The agency of that offensive is Soviet policy, aimed at the subversion of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

Recently we have noted Soviet Union pretexts to intervene in the affairs of newly independent countries, accompanied by threats of the use of nuclear weapons. Such interventions constitute a form of subversion against the sovereignty of these new nations and a direct challenge to the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

The immediate strategy of the Soviet imperialists is to destroy the world's confidence in America's desire for peace, to threaten with violence our mutual security arrangements, and to sever the bonds of amity and respect among the free nations. To nullify the Soviet conspiracy is our greatest task. The United States faces this challenge and resolves to meet it with courage and confidence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

To this end we will continue to support and strengthen the United Nations as an instrument for peace, for international cooperation, and for the advancement of the fundamental freedoms and humane interests of mankind.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

Under the United Nations we will work for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the extension of the rule of law in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

And, in furtherance of President Eisenhower's proposals for the peaceful use of space, we suggest that the United Nations take the initiative to develop a body of law applicable thereto.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

Through all the calculated shifts of Soviet tactics and mood, the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has demonstrated its willingness to negotiate in earnest with the Soviet Union to arrive at just settlements for the reduction of world tensions. We pledge the new Administration to continue in the same course.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.606

We are similarly ready to negotiate and to institute realistic methods and safeguards for disarmament, and for the suspension of nuclear tests. We advocate an early agreement by all nations to forego nuclear tests in the atmosphere, and the suspension of other tests as verification techniques permit. We support the President in any decision [p.607] he may make to re-evaluate the question of resumption of underground nuclear explosions testing, if the Geneva Conference fails to produce a satisfactory agreement. We have deep concern about the mounting nuclear arms race. This concern leads us to seek disarmament and nuclear agreements. And an equal concern to protect all peoples from nuclear danger, leads us to insist that such agreements have adequate safeguards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

We recognize that firm political and military policies, while imperative for our security, cannot in themselves build peace in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

In Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East, peoples of ancient and recent independence, have shown their determination to improve their standards of living, and to enjoy an equality with the rest of mankind in the enjoyment of the fruits of civilization. This determination has become a primary fact of their political life. We declare ourselves to be in sympathy with their aspirations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

We have already created unprecedented dimensions of diplomacy for these purposes. We recognize that upon our support of well-conceived programs of economic cooperation among nations rest the best hopes of hundreds of millions of friendly people for a decent future for themselves and their children. Our mutual security program of economic help and technical assistance; the Development Loan Fund, the Inter-American Bank, the International Development Association and the Food for Peace Program, which create the conditions for progress in less-developed countries; our leadership in international efforts to help children, eliminate pestilence and disease and aid refugees—these are programs wise in concept and generous in purpose. We mean to continue in support of them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

Now we propose to further evolution of our programs for assistance to and cooperation with other nations, suitable to the emerging needs of the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

We will encourage the countries of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia, to initiate appropriate regional groupings to work out plans for economic and educational development. We anticipate that the United Nations Special Fund would be of assistance in developing such plans. The United States would offer its cooperation in planning, and the provision of technical personnel for this purpose. Agreeable to the developing nations, we would join with them in inviting countries with advanced economies to share with us a proportionate part of the capital and technical aid required. We would emphasize the increasing use of private capital and government loans, rather than outright grants, as a means of fostering independence and mutual respect. The President's recent initiative of a joint partnership program for Latin America opens the way to this approach.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

We would propose that such groupings adopt means to attain viable economies following such examples as the European Common Market. And if from these institutions, there should follow stronger economic and political unions, we would welcome them with our support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

Despite the counterdrive of international Communism, relentless against individual freedom and subversive of the sovereignty of nations, a powerful drive for freedom has swept the world since World War II and many heroic episodes in the Communist countries have demonstrated anew that freedom will not die.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

The Republican Party reaffirms its determination to use every peaceful means to help the captive nations toward their independence, and thus their freedom to live and worship according to conscience. We do not condone the subjugation of the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and other once-free nations. We are not shaken in our hope and belief that once again they will rule themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

Our time surges with change and challenge, peril and great opportunities. It calls us to great tasks and efforts—for free men can hope to guard freedom only if they prove capable of historic acts of wisdom and courage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

Dwight David Eisenhower stands today throughout the world as the greatest champion of peace and justice and good.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

The Republican Party brings to the days ahead trained, experienced, mature and courageous leadership.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.607

Our Party was born for freedom's sake. It is still the Party of full freedom in our country. As in Lincoln's time, our Party and its leaders will meet the challenges and opportunities of our time and keep our country the best and enduring hope of freedom for the world.[p.608]

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

The future of freedom depends heavily upon America's military might and that of her allies. Under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, our military might has been forged into a power second to none. This strength, tailored to serve the needs of national policy, has deterred and must continue to deter aggression and encourage the growth of freedom in the world. This is the only sure way to a world at peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

We have checked aggression. We ended the war in Korea. We have joined with free nations in creating strong defenses. Swift technological change and the warning signs of Soviet aggressiveness make clear that intensified and courageous efforts are necessary, for the new problems of the 1960's will of course demand new efforts on the part of our entire nation. The Republican Party is pledged to making certain that our arms, and our will to use them, remain superior to all threats. We have, and will continue to have, the defenses we need to protect our freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

The strategic imperatives of our national defense policy are these:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

A second-strike capability, that is, a nuclear retaliatory power that can survive surprise attack, strike back, and destroy any possible enemy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Highly mobile and versatile forces, including forces deployed, to deter or check local aggressions and "brush fire wars" which might bring on all-out nuclear war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

National determination to employ all necessary military capabilities so as to render any level of aggression unprofitable. Deterrence of war since Korea, specifically, has been the result of our firm statement that we will never again permit a potential aggressor to set the ground rules for his aggression; that we will respond to aggression with the full means and weapons best suited to the situation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Maintenance of these imperatives requires these actions:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Unremitting modernization of our retaliatory forces, continued development of the manned bomber well into the missile age, with necessary numbers of these bombers protected through dispersal and airborne alert.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Development and production of new strategic weapons, such as the Polaris submarine and ballistic missile. Never again will they be neglected, as intercontinental missile development was neglected between the end of World War II and 1953.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Accelerate as necessary, development of hardening, mobility, dispersal, and production programs for long-range missiles and the speedy perfection of new and advanced generations of missiles and anti-missile missiles.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Intensified development of active civil defense to enable our people to protect themselves against the deadly hazards of atomic attack, particularly fallout; and to develop a new program to build a reserve of storable food, adequate to the needs of the population after an atomic attack.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Constant intelligence operations regarding Communist military preparations to prevent another Pearl Harbor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

A military establishment organized in accord with a national strategy which enables the unified commands in Europe, the Pacific, and this continent to continue to respond promptly to any kind of aggression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Strengthening of the military might of the free-world nations in such ways as to encourage them to assume increasing responsibility for regional security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Continuation of the "long pull" preparedness policies which, as inaugurated under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, have avoided the perilous peaks and slumps of defense spending and planning which marked earlier administrations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

There is no price ceiling on America's security. The United States can and must provide whatever is necessary to insure its own security and that of the free world and to provide any necessary increased expenditures to meet new situations, to guarantee the opportunity to fulfill the hopes of men of good will everywhere. To provide more would be wasteful. To provide less would be catastrophic. Our defense posture must remain steadfast, confident, and superior to all potential foes.

Economic Growth and Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

To provide the means to a better life for individual Americans and to strengthen the forces of freedom in the world, we count on the proved productivity of our free economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.608

Despite the lamentations of the opposition in viewing the economic scene today, the plain fact is that our 500 billion dollar economy finds more [p.609] Americans at work, earning more, spending more, saving more, investing more, building more than ever before in history. The well-being of our people, by virtually every yardstick, has greatly advanced under this Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

But we can and must do better. We must raise employment to even higher levels and utilize even more fully our expanding, overall capacity to produce. We must quicken the pace of our economic growth to prove the power of American free enterprise to meet growing and urgent demands: to sustain our military posture, to provide jobs for a growing labor force in a time of rapid technological change, to improve living standards, to serve all the needs of an expanding population.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

We therefore accord high priority to vigorous economic growth and recognize that its mainspring lies in the private sector of the economy. We must continue to foster a healthy climate in that sector. We reject the concept of artificial growth forced by massive new federal spending and loose money policies. The only effective way to accelerate economic growth is to increase the traditional strengths of our free economy—initiative and investment, productivity and efficiency. To that end we favor:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Broadly-based tax reform to foster job-making and growth-making investment for modernization and expansion, including realistic incentive depreciation schedules.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Use of the full powers of government to prevent the scourges of depression and inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Elimination of featherbedding practices by labor and business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Maintenance of a stable dollar as an indispensable means to progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Relating wage and other payments in production to productivity—except when necessary to correct inequalities—in order to help us stay competitive at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Spurring the economy by advancing the successful Eisenhower-Nixon program fostering new and small business, by continued active enforcement of the anti-trust laws, by protecting consumers and investors against the hazard and economic waste of fraudulent and criminal practices in the market place, and by keeping the federal government from unjustly competing with private enterprise upon which Americans mainly depend for their livelihood.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Continued improvement of our vital transportation network, carrying forward rapidly the vast Eisenhower-Nixon national highway program and promoting safe, efficient, competitive and integrated transport by air, road, rail and water under equitable, impartial and minimal regulation directed to those ends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Carrying forward, under the Trade Agreements Act, the policy of gradual selective—and truly reciprocal—reduction of unjustifiable barriers to trade among free nations. We advocate effective administration of the Act's escape clause and peril point provisions to safeguard American jobs and domestic industries against serious injury. In support of our national trade policy we should continue the Eisenhower-Nixon program of using this government's negotiating powers to open markets abroad and to eliminate remaining discrimination against our goods. We should also encourage the development of fair labor standards in exporting countries in the interest of fair competition in international trade. We should, too, expand the Administration's export drive, encourage tourists to come from abroad, and protect U.S. investors against arbitrary confiscations and expropriations by foreign governments. Through these and other constructive policies, we will better our international balance of payments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Discharge by government of responsibility for those activities which the private sector cannot do or cannot so well do, such as constructive federal-local action to aid areas of chronic high unemployment, a sensible farm policy, development and wise use of natural resources, suitable support of education and research, and equality of job opportunity for all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Action on these fronts, designed to release the strongest productive force in human affairs—the spirit of individual enterprise-can contribute greatly to our goal of a steady, strongly growing economy.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

America's growth cannot be compartmentalized. Labor and management cannot prosper without each other. They cannot ignore their mutual public obligation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.609

Industrial harmony, expressing these mutual interests, can best be achieved in a climate of free [p.610] collective bargaining, with minimal government intervention except by mediation and conciliation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Even in dealing with emergency situations imperiling the national safety, ways of solution must be found to enhance and not impede the processes of free collective bargaining—carefully considered ways that are in keeping with the policies of national labor relations legislation and with the need to strengthen the hand of the President in dealing with such emergencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

In the same spirit, Republican leadership will continue to encourage discussions, away from the bargaining table, between labor and management to consider the mutual interest of all Americans in maintaining industrial peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Republican policy firmly supports the right of employers and unions freely to enter into agreements providing for the union shop and other forms of union security as authorized by the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 (the Taft-Hartley Act ).

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Republican-sponsored legislation has supported the right of union members to full participation in the affairs of their union and their right to freedom from racketeering and gangster interference whether by labor or management in labor-management relations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Republican action has given to millions of American working men and women new or expanded protection and benefits, such as: Increased federal minimum wage;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Extended coverage of unemployment insurance and the payment of additional temporary benefits provided in 1958-59;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Improvement of veterans' re-employment rights;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Extension of federal workman's compensation coverage and increase of benefits;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Legislative assurance of safety standards for longshore and harbor workers and for the transportation of migratory workers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

An increase of railroad workers' retirement and disability benefits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Seven past years of accomplishments, however, are but a base to build upon in fostering, promoting and improving the welfare of America's working men and women, both organized and unorganized. We pledge, therefore, action on these constructive lines:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Diligent administration of the amended Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 (Taft-Hartley Act) and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Landrum-Griffin Act) with recommendations for improvements which experience shows are needed to make them more effective or remove any inequities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Correction of defects in the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act to protect employees' and beneficiaries' interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Upward revision in amount and extended coverage of the minimum wage to several million more workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Strengthening the unemployment insurance system and extension of its benefits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Improvement of the eight-hour laws relating to hours and overtime compensation on federal and federally-assisted construction, and continued vigorous enforcement and improvement of minimum wage laws for federal supply and construction contracts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Continued improvement of manpower skills and training to meet a new era of challenges, including action programs to aid older workers, women, youth, and the physically handicapped.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Encouragement of training programs by labor, industry and government to aid in finding new jobs for persons dislocated by automation or other economic changes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Improvement of job opportunities and working conditions of migratory farm workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Assurance of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex; encouragement of programs to insure on-the-job safety, and encouragement of the States to improve their labor standards legislation, and to improve veterans' employment rights and benefits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Encouragement abroad of free democratic institutions, higher living standards and higher wages through such agencies as the International Labor Organization, and cooperation with the free trade union movement in strengthening free labor throughout the world.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.610

Americans are the best-fed and the best-clothed people in the world. Our challenge fortunately is one of dealing with abundance, not overcoming shortage. The fullness of our fields, forests and grazing lands is an important advantage in our struggle against worldwide tyranny and our crusade against poverty. Our farmers have provided [p.611] us with a powerful weapon in the ideological and economic struggle in which we are now engaged.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Yet, far too many of our farm families, the source of this strength, have not received a fair return for their labors. For too long, Democratic-controlled Congresses have stalemated progress by clinging to obsolete programs conceived for different times and different problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Promises of specific levels of price support or a single type of program for all agriculture are cruel deceptions based upon the pessimistic pretense that only with rigid controls can farm families be aided. The Republican Party will provide within the framework of individual freedom a greater bargaining power to assure an equitable return for the work and capital supplied by farmers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

The Republican Party pledges itself to develop new programs to improve and stabilize farm family income. It recognizes two main challenges: the immediate one of utilizing income-depressing surpluses, and the long-range one of steady balanced growth and development with a minimum of federal interference and control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

To utilize immediately surpluses in an orderly manner, with a minimum impact on domestic and foreign markets, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Intensification of the Food for Peace program, including new cooperative efforts among food-surplus nations to assist the hungry peoples in less favored areas of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Payment-in-kind, out of existing surpluses, as part of our land retirement program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Creation of a Strategic Food Reserve properly dispersed in forms which can be preserved for long periods against the contingency of grave national emergency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Strengthened efforts to distribute surpluses to schools and low-income and needy citizens of our own country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

A reorganization of Commodity Credit Corporation's inventory management operations to reduce competition with the marketings of farmers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

To assure steady balanced growth and agricultural progress, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

A crash research program to develop industrial and other uses of farm products.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Use of price supports at levels best fitted to specific commodities, in order to widen markets, ease production controls, and help achieve increased farm family income.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Acceleration of production adjustments, including a large scale land conservation reserve program on a voluntary and equitable rental basis, with full consideration of the impact on local communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Continued progress in the wise use and conservation of water and soil resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Use of marketing agreements and orders, and other marketing devices, when approved by producers, to assist in the orderly marketing of crops, thus enabling farmers to strengthen their bargaining power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Stepped-up research to reduce production costs and to cut distribution costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Strengthening of the educational programs of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Improvement of credit facilities for financing the capital needs of modern farming.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Encouragement of farmer owned and operated cooperatives including rural electric and telephone facilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Expansion of the Rural Development Program to help low-income farm families not only through better farming methods, but also through opportunities for vocational training, more effective employment services, and creation of job opportunities through encouragement of local industrialization.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Continuation and further improvement of the Great Plains Program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Legislative action for programs now scheduled to expire for the school milk program, wool, and sugar, including increased sugar acreage to domestic areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

Free movement in interstate commerce of agricultural commodities meeting federal health standards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

To prevent dumping of agricultural imports upon domestic markets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

To assure the American farmer a more direct voice in his own destiny, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.611

To select an official committee of farmers and ranchers, on a regional basis, broadly representative of American agriculture, whose function will be to recommend to the President guidelines for improving the operation of government farm programs.

Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

A strong and growing economy requires vigorous [p.612] and persistent attention to wise conservation and sound development of all our resources. Teamwork between federal, state and private entities is essential and should be continued. It has resulted in sustained conservation and resource development programs on a scale unmatched in our history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

The past seven years of Republican leadership have seen the development of more power capacity, flood control, irrigation, fish and wildlife projects, recreational facilities, and associated multi-purpose benefits than during any previous administration in history. The proof is visible in the forests and waters of the land and in Republican initiation of and support for the Upper Watershed Program and the Small Reclamation Projects Act. It is clear, also, in the results of continuing administration-encouraged forest management practices which have brought, for the first time, a favorable balance between the growth and cutting of America's trees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Our objective is for further growth, greater strength, and increased utilization in each great area of resource use and development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Use of the community watershed as the basic natural unit through which water resource, soil, and forest management programs may best be developed, with interstate compacts encouraged to handle regional aspects without federal domination.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Development of new water resource projects throughout the nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Support of the historic policy of Congress in preserving the integrity of the several States to govern water rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Continued federal support for Republican-initiated research and demonstration projects which will supply fresh water from salt and brackish water sources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Necessary measures for preservation of our domestic fisheries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Continued forestry conservation with appropriate sustained yield harvesting, thus increasing jobs for people and increasing revenue.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

To observe the "preference clause" in marketing federal power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Support of the basic principles of reclamation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Recognition of urban and industrial demands by making available to states and local governments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

federal lands not needed for national programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Full use and preservation of our great outdoors are pledged in:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Completion of the "Mission 66" for the improvement of National Park areas as well as sponsorship of a new "Mission 76" program to encourage establishment and rehabilitation of local, state, and regional parks, to provide adequate recreational facilities for our expanding population.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Continued support of the effort to keep our great out-of-doors beautiful, green, and clean.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Establishment of a citizens board of conservation, resource and land management experts to inventory those federal lands now set aside for a particular purpose; to study the future needs of the nation for parks, seashores, and wildlife and other recreational areas; and to study the possibility of restoring lands not needed for a federal program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Minerals, metals, fuels, also call for carefully considered actions in view of the repeated failure of Democratic-controlled Congresses to enact any long-range minerals legislation. Republicans, therefore, pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Long-range minerals and fuels planning and programming, including increased coal research.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Assistance to mining industries in bridging the gap between peak defense demands and anticipated peacetime demands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Continued support for federal financial assistance and incentives under our tax laws to encourage exploration for domestic sources of minerals and metals, with reasonable depletion allowances.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

To preserve our fish and wildlife heritage, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Legislation to authorize exchange of lands between state and federal governments to adapt programs to changing uses and habits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

Vigorous implementation of long-range programs for fish and wildlife.

Government Finance

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.612

To build a better America with broad national purposes such as high employment, vigorous and steady economic growth, and a dependable currency, responsible management of our federal finances is essential. Even more important, a sound economy is vital to national security. While leading [p.613] Democrats charge us with a "budget balancing" mentality, their taunts really reflect their frustration over the people's recognition that as a nation we must live within our means. Government that is careless with the money of its citizens is careless with their future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

Because we are concerned about the well-being of people, we are concerned about protecting the value of their money. To this end, we Republicans believe that:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

Every government expenditure must be tested by its contribution to the general welfare, not to any narrow interest group.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

Except in times of war or economic adversity, expenditures should be covered by revenues.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

We must work persistently to reduce, not to increase, the national debt, which imposes a heavy economic burden on every citizen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

Our tax structure should be improved to provide greater incentives to economic progress, to make it fair and equitable, and to maintain and deserve public acceptance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

We must resist assaults upon the independence of the Federal Reserve System; we must strengthen, not weaken, the ability of the Federal Reserve System and the Treasury Department to exercise effective control over money and credit in order better to combat both deflation and inflation that retard economic growth and shrink people's savings and earnings.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

In order of priority, federal revenues should be used: first, to meet the needs of national security; second, to fulfill the legitimate and urgent needs of the nation that cannot be met by the States, local governments or private action; third, to pay down on the national debt in good times; finally, to improve our tax structure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

National security and other essential needs will continue to make enormous demands upon public revenues. It is therefore imperative that we weigh carefully each demand for a new federal expenditure. The federal government should undertake not the most things nor the least things, but the right things.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

Achieving this vital purpose demands:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

That Congress, in acting on new spending bills, have figures before it showing the cumulative effect of its actions on the total budget.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

That spending commitments for future years be clearly listed in each budget, so that the effect of built-in expenditure programs may be recognized and evaluated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

That the President be empowered to veto individual items in authorization and appropriation bills.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

That increasing efforts be made to extend business-like methods to government operations, particularly in purchasing and supply activities, and in personnel.

Government Administration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

The challenges of our time test the very organization of democracy. They put on trial the capacity of free government to act quickly, wisely, resolutely. To meet these challenges:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

The President must continue to be able to reorganize and streamline executive operations to keep the executive branch capable of responding effectively to rapidly changing conditions in both foreign and domestic fields. The Eisenhower-Nixon Administration did so by creating a new Department of Health, Education and Welfare, by establishing the National Aeronautics and Space Agency and the Federal Aviation Agency, and by reorganizations of the Defense Department.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

Two top positions should be established to assist the President in, (1) the entire field of National Security and international Affairs, and, (2) Governmental Planning and Management, particularly in domestic affairs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

We must undertake further reorganization of the Defense Department to achieve the most effective unification of defense planning and command.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

Improved conflict-of-interest laws should be enacted for vigilant protection of the public interest and to remove deterrents to governmental service by our most able citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

The federal government must constantly strengthen its career service and must be truly progressive as an employer. Government employment must be a vocation deserving of high public respect. Common sense demands continued improvements in employment, training and promotion practices based on merit, effective procedures for dealing with employment grievances, and salaries which are comparable to those offered by private employers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.613

As already practiced by the Republican membership, responsible Policy Committees should be elected by each party in each house of Congress. [p.614] This would provide a mechanism for meetings of party Congressional leaders with the President when circumstances demand.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

Needed federal judgeships, appointed on the basis of the highest qualifications and without limitation to a single political party, should be created to expedite administration of justice in federal courts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

The remarkable growth of the Post Office since 1952 to serve an additional 9 million urban and l 1/2 million farm families must be continued. The Post Office must be continually improved and placed on a self-sustaining basis. Progressive Republican policies of the past seven years have resulted in reduced costs, decentralization of postal operations, liberal pay, fringe benefits, improved working conditions, streamlined management, and improved service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

Vigorous state and local governments are a vital part of our federal union. The federal government should leave to state and local governments those programs and problems which they can best handle and tax sources adequate to finance them. We must continue to improve liaison between federal, state and local governments. We believe that the federal government, when appropriate, should render significant assistance in dealing with our urgent problems of urban growth and change. No vast new bureaucracy is needed to achieve this objective.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

We favor a change in the Electoral College system to give every voter a fair voice in presidential elections.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

We condemn bigotry, smear and other unfair tactics in political campaigns. We favor realistic and effective safeguards against diverting non-political funds to partisan political purposes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

Republicans will continue to work for Congressional representation and self-government for the District of Columbia and also support the constitutional amendment granting suffrage in national elections.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

We support the right of the Puerto Rican people to achieve statehood, whenever they freely so determine. We support the right of the people of the Virgin Islands to an elected Governor, national representation and suffrage, looking toward eventual statehood, when qualified. We also support the right of the people of Guam to an elected Governor and national representation. These pledges are meaningful from the Republican leadership under which Alaska and Hawaii have newly entered the Union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

Congress should submit a constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women.

Education

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

The rapid pace of international developments serves to re-emphasize dramatically the challenge which generations of Americans will face in the years ahead. We are reminded daily of the crucial importance of strengthening our system of education to prepare our youth for understanding and shaping the powerful emerging forces of the modern world and to permit the fullest possible development of individual capacities and potentialities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

We express our gratefulness and we praise the countless thousands of teachers who have devoted themselves in an inspired way towards the development of our greatest heritage—our own children—the youth of the country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

Education is not a luxury, nor a gift to be bestowed upon ourselves and our children. Education is an investment; our schools cannot become second best. Each person possesses the right to education—it is his birthright in a free Republic.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

Primary responsibility for education must remain with the local community and state. The federal government should assist selectively in strengthening education without interfering with full local control of schools. One objective of such federal assistance should be to help equalize educational opportunities. Under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, the federal government will spend more than a billion dollars in 1960 to strengthen American education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

We commend the objective of the Republican Administration in sponsoring the National Defense Education Act to stimulate improvement of study and teaching in selected fields at the local level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

Toward the goal of fullest possible educational opportunity for every American, we pledge these actions:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.614

Federal support to the primary and secondary schools by a program of federal aid for school construction—pacing it to the real needs of individual school districts in states and territories, and requiring state approval and participation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

[p.615] Stimulation of actions designed to update and strengthen vocational education for both youth and adults.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Support of efforts to make adequate library facilities available to all our citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Continued support of programs to strengthen basic research in education; to discover the best methods for helping handicapped, retarded, and gifted children to realize their highest potential.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

The federal government can also play a part in stimulating higher education. Constructive action would include:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

The federal program to assist in construction of college housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Extension of the federal student loan program and graduate fellowship program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Consideration of means through tax laws to help offset tuition costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Continued support of the East-West Center for cultural and technical interchange in Hawaii for the purpose of strengthening our relationship with the peoples of the Pacific world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Federal matching grants to help states finance the cost of state surveys and inventories of the status and needs of their school systems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Provision should be made for continuous attention to education at all levels by the creation of a permanent, top-level commission to advise the President and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, constantly striving to focus the interest of each citizen on the quality of our education at every level, from primary through postgraduate, and for every age group from children to adults.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

We are aware of the fact that there is a temporary shortage of classrooms for our elementary and secondary schools in a limited number of states. But this shortage, due to the vigilant action of state legislatures and local school boards, is not increasing, but is decreasing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

We shall use our full efforts in all the states of the Union to have these legislatures and school boards augment their present efforts to the end that this temporary shortage may be eliminated and that every child in this country shall have the opportunity to obtain a good education. The respective states as a permanent program can shoulder this long-standing and cherished responsibility easier than can the federal government with its heavy indebtedness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

We believe moreover that any large plan of federal aid to education, such as direct contributions to or grants for teachers salaries can only lead ultimately to federal domination and control of our schools to which we are unalterably opposed. In the words of President Eisenhower, "Education best fulfills its high purpose when responsibility for education is kept close to the people it serves—when it is rooted in the homes, nurtured in the community and sustained by a rich variety of public, private and individual resources. The bond linking home and school and community—the responsiveness of each to the needs of the others—is a precious asset of American education."

Science and Technology

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Much of America's future depends upon the inquisitive mind, freely searching nature for ways to conquer disease, poverty and grinding physical demands, and for knowledge of space and the atom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

We Republicans express our profound gratitude to the great scientists and engineers of our country, both in and out of government, for the remarkable progress they have made. Reliable evidence indicates, all areas of scientific knowledge considered, that our country has been, is, and under our system of free inquiry, will continue to be the greatest arsenal and reservoir of effective scientific knowledge in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

We pledge our continued leadership in every field of science and technology, earthbound as well as spacial, to assure a citadel of liberty from which the fruits of freedom may be carried to all people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

Our continuing and great national need is for basic research—a wellspring of knowledge and progress. Government must continue to take a responsible role in science to assure that worth-while endeavors of national significance are not retarded by practical limitations of private and local support. This demands from all Americans the intellectual leadership and understanding so necessary for these creative endeavors and an equal understanding by our scientists and technicians of the needs and hopes of mankind.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.615

We believe the federal roles in research to be in the area of ( 1 ) basic research which industry cannot be reasonably expected to pursue, and (2) applied research in fields of prime national concern such as national defense, exploration and use of [p.616] space, public health, and better common use of all natural resources, both human and physical. We endorse the contracting by government agencies for research and urge allowance for reasonable charges for overhead and management in connection therewith.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

The vigor of American science and technology may best be inspired by:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

An environment of freedom and public understanding in which intellectual achievement and scientific research may flourish.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

A decentralization of research into as many centers of creativity as possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

The encouragement of colleges and universities, private enterprise, and foundations as a growing source of new ideas and new applications.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Opportunity for scientists and engineers, in and out of government, to pursue their search with utmost aggressiveness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Continuation of the advisory committee to represent the views of the scientific community to the President and of the Federal Council for Science and Technology to foster coordination in planning and execution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Continued expansion of the Eisenhower-Nixon Atoms-for-Peace program and a constant striving, backed by scientific advice, for international agreement for peaceful and cooperative exploration and use of space.

Human Needs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

The ultimate objective of our free society and of an ever-growing economy is to enable the individual to pursue a life of dignity and to develop his own capacities to his maximum potential.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Government's primary role is to help provide the environment within which the individual can seek his own goals. In some areas this requires federal action to supplement individual, local and state initiative. The Republican Party has acted and will act decisively, compassionately, and with deep human understanding in approaching such problems as those of the aged, the infirm, the mentally ill, and the needy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

This is demonstrated by the significant increase in social security coverage and benefits as a result of recommendations made by the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration. As a result of these recommendations and normal growth, 14 million persons are receiving benefits today compared to five million in 1952, and benefit payments total $10.3 billion as compared to $2.5 billion in 1952. In addition, there have been increases in payments to those on public assistance, both for their basic needs and for their health and medical care; and a broad expansion in our federal-state program for restoring disabled persons to useful lives—an expansion which has accomplished the rehabilitation of over half a million persons during this Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

New needs, however, are constantly arising in our highly complex, interdependent, and urbanized society.

Older Citizens

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

To meet the needs of the aging, we pledge: Expansion of coverage, and liberalization of selected social security benefits on a basis which would maintain the fiscal integrity of the system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Support of federal-state grant programs to improve health, welfare and rehabilitation services for the handicapped older persons and to improve standards of nursing home care and care and treatment facilities for the chronically and mentally ill.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Federal leadership to encourage policies that will make retirement at a fixed age voluntary and not compulsory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Support of programs that will persuade and encourage the nation to utilize fully the skills, wisdom and experience of older citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Prompt consideration of recommendations by the White House Conference on Aging called by the President for January, 1961.

Health Aid

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Development of a health program that will provide the aged needing it, on a sound fiscal basis and through a contributory system, protection against burdensome costs of health care. Such a program should:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Provide the beneficiaries with the option of purchasing private health insurance—a vital distinction between our approach and Democratic proposals in that it would encourage commercial carriers and voluntary insurance organizations to continue their efforts to develop sound coverage plans for the senior population.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.616

Protect the personal relationship of patient and physician.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

[p.617] Include state participation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

For the needs which individuals of all age groups cannot meet by themselves, we propose:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

Removing the arbitrary 50-year age requirement under the disability insurance program while amending the law also to provide incentives for rehabilitated persons to return to useful work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

A single, federal assistance grant to each state for aid to needy persons rather than dividing such grants into specific categories.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

A strengthened federal-state program to rehabilitate the estimated 200,000 persons who annually could become independent after proper medical services and occupational training.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

A new federal-state program, for handicapped persons completely dependent on others, to help them meet their needs for personal care.

Juvenile Delinquency

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

The Federal Government can and should help state and local communities combat juvenile delinquency by inaugurating a grant program for research, demonstration, and training projects and by placing greater emphasis on strengthening family life in all welfare programs for which it shares responsibility.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

We believe that military service in the defense of our Republic against aggressors who have sought to destroy the freedom and dignity of man imposes upon the nation a special responsibility to those who have served. To meet this responsibility, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

Continuance of the Veterans Administration as an independent agency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

The highest possible standard of medical care with increasing emphasis on rehabilitation.

Indian Affairs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

As recently as 1953, thirty per cent of Indian school-age children were unable to obtain an education. Through Republican efforts, this fall, for the first time in history, every eligible Indian child will be able to attend an elementary school. Having accomplished this, we will now accelerate our efforts to open up both secondary and higher education opportunities for every qualified Indian youth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

As a result of a stepped-up health program there has been a marked decrease in death rates from tuberculosis and in the infant mortality rate. Also substantial progress has been made in the modernization of health facilities. We pledge continued progress in this area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

We are opposed to precipitous termination of the federal Indian trusteeship responsibility, and pledge not to support any termination plan for any tribe which has not approved such action.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

Despite noteworthy accomplishments, stubborn and deep-seated problems stand in the way of achieving the national objective of a decent home in a suitable environment for every American. Recognizing that the federal government must help provide the economic climate and incentives which make this objective obtainable, the Republican Party will vigorously support the following steps, all designed to supplement and not supplant private initiative.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

Continued effort to clear slums, and promote rebuilding, rehabilitation, and conservation of our cities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

New programs to stimulate development of specialized types of housing, such as those for the elderly and for nursing homes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

A program of research and demonstration aimed at finding ways to reduce housing costs, including support of efforts to modernize and improve local building codes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

Adequate authority for the federal housing agencies to assist the flow of mortgage credit into private housing, with emphasis on homes for middle- and lower-income families and including assistance in urban residential areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

A stepped-up program to assist in urban planning, designed to assure far-sighted and wise use of land and to coordinate mass transportation and other vital facilities in our metropolitan areas.

Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

There has been a five-fold increase in government-assisted medical research during the last six years, We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.617

Continued federal support for a sound research program aimed at both the prevention and cure of diseases, and intensified efforts to secure prompt [p.618] and effective application of the results of research. This will include emphasis on mental illness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

Support of international health research programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

We face serious personnel shortages in the health and medical fields. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

Federal help in new programs to build schools of medicine, dentistry, and public health and nursing, and financial aid to students in those fields.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

We are confronted with major problems in the field of environmental health. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

Strengthened federal enforcement powers in combatting water pollution and additional resources for research and demonstration projects. Federal grants for the construction of waste disposal plants should be made only when they make an identifiable contribution to clearing up polluted streams.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

Federal authority to identify, after appropriate hearings, air pollution problems and to recommend proposed solutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

Additional resources for research and training in the field of radiological medicine.

Protection of Consumers

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

In safeguarding the health of the nation the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration's initiative has resulted in doubling the resources of the Food and Drug Administration and in giving it new legal weapons. More progress has been made during this period in protecting consumers against harmful food, drugs, and cosmetics than in any other time in our history. We will continue to give strong support to this consumer-protection program.

Civil Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

This nation was created to give expression, validity and purpose to our spiritual heritage—the supreme worth of the individual. In such a nation—a nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal—racial discrimination has no place. It can hardly be reconciled with a Constitution that guarantees equal protection under law to all persons. In a deeper sense, too, it is immoral and unjust. As to those matters within reach of political action and leadership, we pledge ourselves unreservedly to its eradication.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

Equality under law promises more than the equal right to vote and transcends mere relief from discrimination by government. It becomes a reality only when all persons have equal opportunity, without distinction of race, religion, color or national origin, to acquire the essentials of life—housing, education and employment. The Republican Party—the party of Abraham Lincoln—from its very beginning has striven to make this promise a reality. It is today, as it was then, unequivocally dedicated to making the greatest amount of progress toward the objective.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

We recognize that discrimination is not a problem localized in one area of the country, but rather a problem that must be faced by North and South alike. Nor is discrimination confined to the discrimination against Negroes. Discrimination in many, if not all, areas of the country on the basis of creed or national origin is equally insidious. Further we recognize that in many communities in which a century of custom and tradition must be overcome heartening and commendable progress has been made.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

The Republican Party is proud of the civil rights record of the Eisenhower Administration. More progress has been made during the past eight years than in the preceding 80 years. We acted promptly to end discrimination in our nation's capital. Vigorous executive action was taken to complete swiftly the desegregation of the armed forces, veterans' hospitals, navy yards, and other federal establishments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

We supported the position of the Negro school children before the Supreme Court. We believe the Supreme Court school decision should be carried out in accordance with the mandate of the Court.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

Although the Democratic-controlled Congress watered them down, the Republican Administration's recommendations resulted in significant and effective civil rights legislation in both 1957 and 1960—the first civil rights statutes to be passed in more than 80 years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

Hundreds of Negroes have already been registered to vote as a result of Department of Justice action, some in counties where Negroes did not vote before. The new law will soon make it possible for thousands and thousands of Negroes previously disenfranchised to vote.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.618

By executive order, a committee for the elimination of discrimination in government employment has been reestablished with broadened [p.619] authority. Today, nearly one-fourth of all federal employees are Negro.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

The President's Committee on Government Contracts, under the chairmanship of Vice President Nixon, has become an impressive force for the elimination of discriminatory employment practices of private companies that do business with the government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Other important achievements include initial steps toward the elimination of segregation in federally-aided housing; the establishment of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, which enforces federal civil rights laws; and the appointment of the bi-partisan Civil Rights Commission, which has prepared a significant report that lays the groundwork for further legislative action and progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

The Republican record is a record of progress—not merely promises. Nevertheless, we recognize that much remains to be done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Each of the following pledges is practical and within realistic reach of accomplishment. They are serious—not cynical—pledges made to result in maximum progress.

1. Voting. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Continued vigorous enforcement of the civil rights laws to guarantee the right to vote to all citizens in all areas of the country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Legislation to provide that the completion of six primary grades in a state accredited school is conclusive evidence of literacy for voting purposes.

2. Public Schools. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

The Department of Justice will continue its vigorous support of court orders for school desegregation. Desegregation suits now pending involve at least 39 school districts. Those suits and others already concluded will affect most major cities in which school segregation is being practiced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

It will use the new authority provided by the Civil Rights Act of 1960 to prevent obstruction of court orders.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

We will propose legislation to authorize the Attorney General to bring actions for school desegregation in the name of the United States in appropriate cases, as when economic coercion or threat of physical harm is used to deter persons from going to court to establish their rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Our continuing support of the President's proposal, to extend federal aid and technical assistance to schools which in good faith attempted to desegregate.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

We oppose the pretense of fixing a target date 3 years from now for the mere submission of plans for school desegregation. Slow-moving school districts would construe it as a three-year moratorium during which progress would cease, postponing until 1963 the legal process to enforce compliance. We believe that each of the pending court actions should proceed as the Supreme Court has directed and that in no district should there be any such delay.

3. Employment. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Continued support for legislation to establish a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the excellent work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Appropriate legislation to end the discriminatory membership practices of some labor union locals, unless such practices are eradicated promptly by the labor unions themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Use of the full-scale review of existing state laws, and of prior proposals for federal legislation, to eliminate discrimination in employment now being conducted by the Civil Rights Commission, for guidance in our objective of developing a Federal-State program in the employment area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Special consideration of training programs aimed at developing the skills of those now working in marginal agricultural employment so that they can obtain employment in industry, notably in the new industries moving into the South.

4. Housing. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Action to prohibit discrimination in housing constructed with the aid of federal subsidies.

5. Public Facilities and Services. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Removal of any vestige of discrimination in the operation of federal facilities or procedures which may at any time be found.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Opposition to the use of federal funds for the construction of segregated community facilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Action to ensure that public transportation and other government authorized services shall be free from segregation.

6. Legislative Procedure. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.619

Our best efforts to change present Rule 22 of the Senate and other appropriate Congressional procedures that often make unattainable proper [p.620] legislative implementation of constitutional guarantees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

We reaffirm the constitutional right to peaceable assembly to protest discrimination in private business establishments. We applaud the action of the businessmen who have abandoned discriminatory practices in retail establishments, and we urge others to follow their example.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

Finally we recognize that civil rights is a responsibility not only of states and localities; it is a national problem and a national responsibility. The federal government should take the initiative in promoting inter-group conferences among those who, in their communities, are earnestly seeking solutions of the complex problems of desegregation—to the end that closed channels of communication may be opened, tensions eased, and a cooperative solution of local problems may be sought.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

In summary, we pledge the full use of the power, resources and leadership of the federal government to eliminate discrimination based on race, color, religion or national origin and to encourage understanding and good will among all races and creeds.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

Immigration has historically been a great factor in the growth of the United States, not only in numbers but in the enrichment of ideas that immigrants have brought with them. This Republican Administration has given refuge to over 32,000 victims of Communist tyranny from Hungary, ended needless delay in processing applications for naturalization, and has urged other enlightened legislation to liberalize existing restrictions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

Immigration has been reduced to the point where it does not provide the stimulus to growth that it should, nor are we fulfilling our obligation as a haven for the oppressed. Republican conscience and Republican policy require that:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

The annual number of immigrants we accept be at least doubled.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

Obsolete immigration laws be amended by abandoning the outdated 1920 census data as a base and substituting the 1960 census.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

The guidelines of our immigration policy be based upon judgment of the individual merit of each applicant for admission and citizenship.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

We have set forth the program of the Republican Party for the government of the United States. We have written a Party document, as is our duty, but we have tried to refrain from writing a merely partisan document. We have no wish to exaggerate differences between ourselves and the Democratic Party; nor can we, in conscience, obscure the differences that do exist. We believe that the Republican program is based upon a sounder understanding of the action and scope of government. There are many things a free government cannot do for its people as well as they can do them for themselves. There are some things no government should promise or attempt to do. The functions of government are so great as to bear no needless enlargement. We limit our proposals and our pledges to those areas for which the government of a great republic can reasonably be made responsible. To the best of our ability we have avoided advocating measures that would go against the grain of a free people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

The history and composition of the Republican Party make it the natural instrument for eradicating the injustice and discrimination in this country. We Republicans are fortunate in being able to contend against these evils, without having to contend against each other for the principle.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

We believe that we see, so far as men can see through the obscurity of time and trouble, the prudent course for the nation in its hour of trial. The Soviet Union has created another of the new situations of peril which has been the Communist record from the beginning and will continue to be until our strategy for victory has succeeded. The speed of technological change makes it imperative that we measure the new situations by their special requirements and accelerate as appropriate our efforts in every direction, economic and military and political to deal with them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.620

As rapidly as we perfect the new generations of weapons we must arm ourselves effectively and without delay. In this respect the nation stands now at one of the new points of departure. We must never allow our technology, particularly in nuclear and propulsion fields, to lag for any reason until such time as we have dependable and honest safeguards of inspection and control. We must take steps at once to secure our position in this regard and at the same time we must intensify our efforts to develop better safeguards in the field of disarmament.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.621

[p.621] The free nations of the world must ever be rallied to the cause and be encouraged to join together in more effective alliances and unions strong enough to meet all challenges and sustain the common effort. It is urgent that we innovate to keep the initiative for our free cause.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1960, p.621

We offer toil and sweat, to ward off blood and tears. We advocate an immovable resistance against every Communist aggression. We argue for a military might commensurate with our universal tasks. We end by declaring our faith in the Republic and in its people, and in the deathless principles of right from which it draws its moral force.[p.641]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1964

Democratic Platform of 1964

One Nation, One People

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.641

America is One Nation, One People. The welfare, progress, security and survival of each of us reside in the common good—the sharing of responsibilities as well as benefits by all our people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.641

Democracy in America rests on the confidence that people can be trusted with freedom. It comes from the connection that we will find in freedom a unity of purpose stronger than all our differences.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.641

We have drawn upon that unity when the forces of ignorance, hate, and fear fired an assassin's bullet at the nation's heart, incited violence in our land, and attacked the outposts of freedom around the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.641

Because of this unity, those who traffic in fear, hate, falsehood, and violence have failed to undermine our people's deep love of truth and quiet faith in freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.641

Our program for the future is to make the national purpose—the human purpose of us all—fulfill our individual needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.641

Accordingly, we offer this platform as a covenant of unity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

[p.642] We invite all to join us who believe that narrow partisanship takes too small account of the size of our task, the penalties for failure and the boundless rewards to all our people for success.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

We offer as the goal of this covenant peace for all nations and freedom for all peoples.

Peace

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Peace should be the first concern of all governments as it is the prayer of all men.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

At the start of the third decade of the nuclear age, the preservation of peace requires the strength to wage war and the wisdom to avoid it. The search for peace requires the utmost intelligence, the clearest vision, and a strong sense of reality.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Because for four years our nation has patiently demonstrated these qualities and persistently used them, the world is closer to peace today than it was in 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

In 1960, freedom was on the defensive. The Communists—doubting both our strength and our will to use it—pressed forward in Southeast Asia, Latin America, Central Africa and Berlin.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson set out to remove any question of our power or our will. In the Cuban crisis of 1962 the Communist offensive shattered on the rock of President Kennedy's determination—and our ability—to defend the peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Two years later, President Johnson responded to another Communist challenge, this time in the Gulf of Tonkin. Once again power exercised with restraint repulsed Communist aggression and strengthened the cause of freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Responsible leadership, unafraid but refusing to take needless risk, has turned the tide in freedom's favor. No nation, old or new, has joined the Communist bloc since Cuba during the preceding Republican Administration. Battered by economic failures, challenged by recent American achievements in space, torn by the Chinese-Russian rift, and faced with American strength and courage—international Communism has lost its unity and momentum.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

By the end of 1960, military strategy was being shaped by the dictates of arbitrary budget ceilings instead of the real needs of national security. There were, for example, too few ground and air forces to fight limited war, although such wars were a means to continued Communist expansion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Since then, and at the lowest possible cost, we have created a balanced, versatile, powerful defense establishment, capable of countering aggression across the entire spectrum of conflict, from nuclear confrontation to guerrilla subversion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

We have increased our intercontinental ballistic missiles and Polaris missiles from fewer than 100 to more than 1,000, more than four times the force of the Soviet Union. We have increased the number of combat ready divisions from 11 to 16.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Until such time as there can be an enforceable treaty providing for inspected and verified disarmament, we must, and we will, maintain our military strength, as the sword and shield of freedom and the guarantor of peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Specifically, we must and we will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Continue the overwhelming supremacy of our Strategic Nuclear Forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Strengthen further our forces for discouraging limited wars and fighting subversion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Maintain the world's largest research and development effort, which has initiated more than 200 new programs since 1961, to ensure continued American leadership in weapons systems and equipment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Continue the nationwide Civil Defense program as an important part of our national security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Pursue our examination of the Selective Service program to make certain that it is continued only as long as it is necessary and that we meet our military manpower needs without social or economic injustice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Attract to the military services the highest caliber of career men and women and make certain they are adequately paid and adequately housed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Maintain our Cost Reduction Program, to ensure a dollar's worth of defense for every dollar spent, and minimize the disruptive effects of changes in defense spending.

Building the Peace

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

As citizens of the United States, we are determined that it be the most powerful nation on earth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

As citizens of the world, we insist that this power be exercised with the utmost responsibility.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.642

Control of the use of nuclear weapons must remain solely with the highest elected official in the country—the President of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Through our policy of never negotiating from [p.643] fear but never fearing to negotiate, we are slowly but surely approaching the point where effective international agreements providing for inspection and control can begin to lift the crushing burden of armaments off the backs of the people of the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

In the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, signed now by over 100 nations, we have written our commitment to limitations on the arms race, consistent with our security. Reduced production of nuclear materials for weapons purposes has been announced and nuclear weapons have been barred from outer space.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Already the air we and our children breathe is freer of nuclear contamination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

We are determined to continue all-out efforts through fully-enforceable measures to halt and reverse the arms race and bring to an end the era of nuclear terror.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

We will maintain our solemn commitment to the United Nations, with its constituent agencies, working to strengthen it as a more effective instrument for peace, for preventing or resolving international disputes, and for building free nations through economic, technical, and cultural development. We continue to oppose the admission of Red China to the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

We believe in increased partnership with our friends and associates in the community which spans the North Atlantic. In every possible way we will work to strengthen our ties and increase our cooperation, building always more firmly on the sure foundation of the NATO treaty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

We pledge unflagging devotion to our commitments to freedom from Berlin to South Vietnam. We will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Help the people of developing nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America raise their standards of living and create conditions in which freedom and independence can flourish.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Place increased priority on private enterprise and development loans as we continue to improve our mutual assistance programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Work for the attainment of peace in the Near East as an urgent goal, using our best efforts to prevent a military unbalance, to encourage arms reductions and the use of national resources for internal development and to encourage the re-settlement of Arab refugees in lands where there is room and opportunity. The problems of political adjustment between Israel and the Arab countries can and must be peacefully resolved and the territorial integrity of every nation respected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Support the partnership of free American Republics in the Alliance for Progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Move actively to carry out the Resolution of the Organization of American States to further isolate Castroism and speed the restoration of freedom and responsibility in Cuba.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Support our friends in and around the rim of the Pacific, and encourage a growing understanding among peoples, expansion of cultural exchanges, and strengthening of ties.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Oppose aggression and the use of force or the threat of force against any nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Encourage by all peaceful means the growing independence of the captive peoples living under Communism and hasten the day that Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latavia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania and the other captive nations will achieve full freedom and self-determination. We deplore Communist oppression of Jews and other minorities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Encourage expansion of our economic ties with other nations of the world and eliminate unjustifiable tariff and non-tariff barriers, under authority of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Expand the Peace Corps.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

Use even more of our Food for Peace.

The Conquest of Space

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

In four vigorous years we have moved to the forefront of space exploration. The United States must never again settle for second place in the race for tomorrow's frontiers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

We will continue the rapid development of space technology for peaceful uses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

We will encourage private industry to increase its efforts in space research.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

We will continue to ensure that any race in space is won for freedom and for peace.

The Leadership We Offer

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.643

The complications and dangers in our restless, constantly changing world require of us consummate understanding and experience. One rash act, one thoughtless decision, one unchecked reaction—and cities could become smoldering ruins and farms parched wasteland.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

The leadership we offer has already been tested [p.644] in the crucible of crisis and challenge. To this Nation and to all the world we reaffirm President Johnson's resolve to "... use every resource at the command of the Government. . . and the people . . . to find the road to peace."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

We offer this platform as a guide for that journey.

Freedom and Well Being

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

There can be full freedom only when all of our people have opportunity for education to the full extent of their ability to learn, followed by the opportunity to employ their learning in the creation of something of value to themselves and to the nation.

The Individual

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

Our task is to make the national purpose serve the human purpose: that every person shall have the opportunity to become all that he or she is capable of becoming.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

We believe that knowledge is essential to individual freedom and to the conduct of a free society. We believe that education is the surest and most profitable investment a nation can make.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

Regardless of family financial status, therefore, education should be open to every boy or girl in America up to the highest level which he or she is able to master.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

In an economy which will offer fewer and fewer places for the unskilled, there must be a wide variety of educational opportunities so that every young American, on leaving school, will have acquired the training to take a useful and rewarding place in our society.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

It is increasingly clear that more of our educational resources must be directed to pre-school training as well as to junior college, college and post-graduate study.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

The demands on the already inadequate sources of state and local revenues place a serious limitation on education. New methods of financial aid must be explored, including the channeling of federally collected revenues to all levels of education, and, to the extent permitted by the Constitution, to all schools. Only in this way can our educational programs achieve excellence throughout the nation, a goal that must be achieved without interfering with local control and direction of education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

In order to insure that all students who can meet the requirements for college entrance can continue their education, we propose an expanded program of public scholarships, guaranteed loans, and work-study grants.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

We shall develop the potential of the Armed Forces for training young men who might otherwise be rejected for military service because their work skills are underdeveloped.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

The health of the people is important to the strength and purpose of our country and is a proper part of our common concern.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

In a nation that lacks neither compassion nor resources, the needless suffering of people who cannot afford adequate medical care is intolerable:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

We will continue to fight until we have succeeded in including hospital care for older Americans in the Social Security program, and have insured adequate assistance to those elderly people suffering from mental illness and mental retardation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

We will go forward with research into the causes and cures of disease, accidents, mental illness and mental retardation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

We will further expand our health facilities, especially medical schools, hospitals, and research laboratories.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

America's veterans who served their Nation so well must, in turn, be served fairly by a grateful Nation. First-rate hospitals and medical care must be provided veterans with service-connected injuries and disabilities, and their compensation rates must insure an adequate standard of living. The National Service Life Insurance program should be reopened for those who have lost their insurance coverage, and an equitable and just pension system must help meet the need of those disabled veterans and their survivors who require financial assistance.

Democracy of Opportunity

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

The variety of our people is the source of our strength and ought not to be a cause of disunity or discord. The rights of all our citizens must be protected and all the laws of our land obeyed if America is to he safe for democracy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 deserves and requires full observance by every American and fair, effective enforcement if there is any default.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.644

Resting upon a national consensus expressed by the overwhelming support of both parties, this new [p.645] law impairs the rights of no American; it affirms the rights of all Americans. Its purpose is not to divide, but to end division; not to curtail the opportunities of any, but to increase opportunities for all; not to punish, but to promote further our commitment to freedom, the pursuit of justice, and a deeper respect for human dignity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

We reaffirm our belief that lawless disregard for the rights of others is wrong—whether used to deny equal rights or to obtain equal rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

We cannot and will not tolerate lawlessness. We can and will seek to eliminate its economic and social causes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

True democracy of opportunity will not be served by establishing quotas based on the same false distinctions we seek to erase, nor can the effects of prejudice be neutralized by the expedient of preferential practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

The immigration laws must be revised to permit families to be reunited, to welcome the persecuted and oppressed, and to eliminate the discriminatory provisions which base admission upon national origins.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

We will support legislation to carry forward the progress already made toward full equality of opportunity for women as well as men.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

We will strive to eliminate discrimination against older Americans, especially in their employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Ending discrimination based on race, age, sex, or national origin demands not only equal opportunity but the opportunity to be equal. We are concerned not only with people's right to be free, but also with their ability to use their freedom. We will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Carry the War on Poverty forward as a total war against the causes of human want.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Move forward with programs to restore those areas, such as Appalachia, which the Nation's progress has by-passed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Help the physically handicapped and mentally disadvantaged develop to the full limit of their capabilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Enhance the security of older Americans by encouraging private retirement and welfare programs, offering opportunities like those provided for the young under the Economic Opportunities Act of 1964, and expanding decent housing which older citizens can afford.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Assist our Indian people to improve their standard of living and attain self-sufficiency, the privileges of equal citizenship, and full participation in American life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

The Social Security program, initiated and developed under the National leadership of the Democratic Party and in the face of ceaseless partisan opposition, contributes greatly to the strength of the Nation. We must insure that those who have contributed to the system shall share in the steady increase in our standard of living by adjusting benefit levels.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

We hold firmly to the conviction, long embraced by Democratic Administrations, that the advancing years of life should bring not fear and loneliness, but security, meaning, and satisfaction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

We will encourage further support for the arts, giving people a better chance to use increased leisure and recognizing that the achievements of art are an index of the greatness of a civilization.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

We will encourage the advance of science and technology—for its material rewards, and for its contribution to an understanding of the universe and ourselves.

The Economy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

The American free enterprise system is one of the great achievements of the human mind and spirit. It has developed by a combination of the energetic efforts of working men and women, bold private initiative, the profit motive and wise public policy, until it is now the productive marvel of mankind.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

In spite of this, at the outset of 1961, America was in the depths of the fourth postwar recession.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Since then, in 42 months of uninterrupted expansion under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, we have achieved the longest and strongest peace-time prosperity in modern history:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Almost four million jobs have been added to the economy—almost 1 1/2 million since last December.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Workers' earnings and corporate profits are at the highest level in history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

Prices have been more stable than in any other industrial nation in the free world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

This did not just happen. It has come about because we have wisely and prudently used our increasing understanding of how the economy works.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.645

It is the national purpose, and our commitment, to continue this expansion of the American economy toward its potential, without a recession, with [p.646] continued stability, and with an extension of the benefits of this growth and prosperity to those who have not fully shared in them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

This will require continuation of flexible and innovative fiscal, monetary, and debt management policies, recognizing the importance of low interest rates.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

We will seek further tax reduction—and in the process we need to remove inequities in our present tax laws. In particular we should carefully review all our excise taxes and eliminate those that are obsolete. Consideration should be given to the development of fiscal policies which would provide revenue sources to hard-pressed state and local governments to assist them with their responsibilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

Every penny of Federal spending must be accounted for in terms of the strictest economy, efficiency and integrity. We pledge to continue a frugal government, getting a dollar's value for a dollar spent, and a government worthy of the citizen's confidence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

Our goal is a balanced budget in a balanced economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

Our enviable record of price stability must be maintained—through sound fiscal and monetary policies and the encouragement of responsible private wage and price policies. Stability is essential to protect our citizens—particularly the retired and handicapped—from the ravages of inflation. It is also essential to maintain confidence in the American dollar; this confidence has been restored in the past four years through sound policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

Radical changes in technology and automation contribute to increased productivity and a higher standard of living. They must not penalize the few while benefiting the many. We maintain that any man or woman displaced by a machine or by technological change should have the opportunity, without penalty, to another job. Our common responsibility is to see that this right is fulfilled.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

Full employment is an end in itself and must be insisted upon as a priority objective.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

It is the national purpose, and our commitment, that every man or woman who is willing and able to work is entitled to a job and to a fair wage for doing it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

The coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act must be extended to all workers employed in industries affecting interstate commerce, and the minimum wage level and coverage increased to assure those at the bottom of the economic scale a fairer share in the benefits of an ever-rising standard of American living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

Overtime payment requirements must be increased to assure maximum employment consistent with business efficiency. The matter of the length of work periods should be given continuing consideration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

The unemployment insurance program must be basically revised to meet the needs of the unemployed and of the economy, and to assure that this program meets the standards the nation's experience dictates.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

Agricultural and migratory workers must be given legal protection and economic encouragement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

We must develop fully our most precious resource—our manpower. Training and retraining programs must be expanded. A broad-gauge manpower program must be developed which will not only satisfy the needs of the economy but will also give work its maximum meaning in the pattern of human life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

We will stimulate as well as protect small business, the seedbed of free enterprise and a major source of employment in our economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

The antitrust laws must be vigorously enforced. Our population, which is growing rapidly and becoming increasingly mobile, and our expanding economy are placing greater demands upon our transportation system than ever before. We must have fast, safe, and economic modes of transportation. Each mode should be encouraged to develop in accordance with its maximum utility, available at the lowest cost under the principles of fair competition. A strong and efficient American Flag merchant marine is essential to peace-time commerce and defense emergencies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

The industrial democracy of free, private collective bargaining and the security of American trade unions must be strengthened by repealing Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The present inequitable restrictions on the right to organize and to strike and picket peaceably must also be eliminated.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.646

In order to protect the hard earned dollars of American consumers, as well as promote their basic consumer rights, we will make full use of existing authority, and continue to promote efforts on behalf of consumers by industry, voluntary organizations, [p.647] and state and local governments. Where protection is essential, we will enact legislation to protect the safety of consumers and to provide them with essential information. We will continue to insist that our drugs and medicines are safe and effective, that our food and cosmetics are free from harm, that merchandise is labeled and packaged honestly and that the true cost of credit is disclosed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

It is the national purpose, and our commitment to increase the freedom and effectiveness of the essential private forces and processes in the economy.

Rural America

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

The roots of our economy and our life as a people lie deep in the soil of America's farm land. Our policies and programs must continue to recognize the significant role of agricultural and rural life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

To achieve the goals of higher incomes to the farm and ranch, particularly the family-sized farm, lower prices for the consumer, and lower costs to the government, we will continue to carry forward this three-dimensional program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

1. Commodity Programs to strengthen the farm income structure and reach the goal of parity of income in every aspect of American agriculture. We will continue to explore and develop new domestic and foreign markets for the products of our farms and ranches.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

2. Consumer Programs including expansion of the Food Stamp Program and the school lunch and other surplus food programs, and acceleration of research into new industrial uses of farm products, in order to assure maximum use of and abundance of wholesome foods at fair prices here and abroad. We will also study new low-cost methods and techniques of food distribution for the benefit of our housewives to better feed their families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

3. Community Programs and agricultural cooperatives to assure rural America decent housing, economic security and full partnership in the building of the great society. We pledge our continued support of the rural telephone program and the Rural Electrification Administration, which are among the great contributions of the Democratic Party to the well-being and comfort of rural America.

The Nation's Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

America's bountiful supply of natural resources has been one of the major factors in achieving our position of world leadership, in developing the greatest industrial machine in the world's history, and in providing a richer and more complete life for every American. But these resources are not inexhaustible. With our vastly expanding population—an estimated 325 million people by the end of the century—there is an ever-increasing responsibility to use and conserve our resources wisely and prudently if we are to fulfill our obligation to the trust we hold for future generations. Building on the unsurpassed conservation record of the past four years, we shall:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

Continue the quickened pace of comprehensive development of river basins in every section of the country, employing multi-purpose projects such as flood control, irrigation and reclamation, power generation, navigation, municipal water supply, fish and wildlife enhancement and recreation, where appropriate to realize the fullest possible benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

Provide the people of this nation a balanced outdoor recreation program to add to their health and well-being, including the addition or improved management of national parks, forests, lake shores, seashores and recreation areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

Preserve for us and our posterity through the means provided by the Wilderness Act of 1964 millions of acres of primitive and wilderness areas, including countless beautiful lakes and streams. Increase our stock of wildlife and fish. Continue and strengthen the dynamic program inaugurated to assure fair treatment for American fishermen and the preservation of fishing rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

Continue to support balanced land and forest development through intensive forest management on a multiple-use and sustained yield basis, reforestation of burned land, providing public access roads, range improvement, watershed management, concern for small business operations and recreational uses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

Unlock the resources of the sea through a strong oceanography program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.647

Continue the attack we have launched on the polluted air that envelops our cities and on eliminating the pollution of our rivers and streams.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Intensify our efforts to solve the critical water [p.648] problems of many sections of this country by desalinization.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Sustain and promote strong, vigorous domestic minerals, metals, petroleum and fuels industries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Increase the efficient use of electrical power through regional inter-ties and more extensive use of high voltage transmission.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Continue to promote the development of new and improved methods of generating electric power, such as the recent important gains in the field of atomic energy and the Passamaquoddy tidal power project.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Preserve the T.V.A., which has played such an instrumental role in the revitalization of the area it serves and which has been the inspiration for regional development programs throughout the world.

The City

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

The vitality of our cities is essential to the healthy growth of American civilization. In the next 40 years urban populations will double, the area of city land will double and we will have to construct houses, highways and facilities equal to all those built since this country was first settled.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Now is the time to redouble our efforts, with full cooperation among local, state and federal governments, for these objectives:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

The goal of our housing program must be a decent home for every American family.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Special effort must be made in our cities to provide wholesome living for our young people. We must press the fight against narcotics and, through the war against poverty, increase educational and employment opportunities, turning juvenile delinquents into good citizens and tax-users into tax payers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

We will continue to assist broad community and regional development, urban renewal, mass transit, open space and other programs for our metropolitan areas. We will offer such aid without impairing local Administration through unnecessary Federal interference.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Because our cities and suburbs are so important to the welfare of all our people, we believe a department devoted to urban affairs should be added to the President's cabinet.

The Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

We, the people, are the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

The Democratic Party believes, as Thomas Jefferson first stated that "the care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of good government:"

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

The government's business is the people's business. Information about public affairs must continue to be freely available to the Congress and to the public.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

Every person who participates in the government must be held to a standard of ethics which permits no compromise with the principles of absolute honesty and the maintenance of undivided loyalty to the public interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

The Congress of the United States should revise its rules and procedures to assure majority rule after reasonable debate and to guarantee that major legislative proposals of the President can be brought to a vote after reasonable consideration in committee.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

We support home rule for the District of Columbia. The seat of our government shall be a workshop for democracy, a pilot-plant for freedom, and a place of incomparable beauty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

We also support a constitutional amendment giving the District voting representation in Congress and, pending such action, the enactment of legislation providing for a non-voting delegate from District of Columbia to the House of Representatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

We support the right of the people of the Virgin Islands to the fullest measure of self-government, including the right to elect their Governor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

The people of Puerto Rico and the people of the United States enjoy a unique relationship that has contributed greatly to the remarkable economic and political development of Puerto Rico. We look forward to the report on that relationship by a commission composed of members from Puerto Rico and the United States, and we are confident that it will contribute to the further enhancement of Puerto Rico and the benefit that flows from the principles of self-determination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.648

The Democratic Party holds to the belief that government in the United States—local, state and federal—was created in order to serve the people. Each level of government has appropriate powers and each has specific responsibilities. The first responsibility of government at every level is to protect the basic freedoms of the people. No government at any level can properly complain of [p.649] violation of its power, if it fails to meet its responsibilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

The federal government exists not to grow larger, but to enlarge the individual potential and achievement of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

The federal government exists not to subordinate the states, but to support them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

All of us are Americans. All of us are free men. Ultimately there can be no effective restraint on the powers of government at any level save as Americans exercising their duties as citizens insist upon and maintain free, democratic processes of our constitutional system.

One Nation, One People

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

On November 22, 1963, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was shot down in our land.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

We honor his memory best—and as he would wish—by devoting ourselves anew to the larger purposes for which he lived.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

Of first priority is our renewed commitments to the values and ideals of democracy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

We are firmly pledged to continue the Nation's march towards the goals of equal opportunity and equal treatment for all Americans regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

We cannot tolerate violence anywhere in our land—north, south, east or west. Resort to lawlessness is anarchy and must be opposed by the Government and all thoughtful citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

We must expose, wherever it exists, the advocacy of hatred which creates the clear and present danger of violence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

We condemn extremism, whether from the Right or Left, including the extreme tactics of such organizations as the Communist Party, the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

We know what violence and hate can do. We have seen the tragic consequences of misguided zeal and twisted logic.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

The time has come now for all of us to understand and respect one another, and to seek the unity of spirit and purpose from which our future greatness will grow—for only as we work together with the object of liberty and justice for all will the peace and freedom of each of us be secured.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

These are the principles which command our cause and strengthen our effort as we cross the new frontier and enter upon the great society.

An Accounting of Stewardship, 1961—1964

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

One hundred and twenty-four years ago, in 1840, the Democratic National Convention meeting in Baltimore adopted the first platform in the history of a national political party. The principles stated in that platform are as valid as ever:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

"Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

One hundred and twenty years later, in 1960, our nation had grown from 26 to 50 states, our people from 17 million to 179 million.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

That year, in Los Angeles, the Democratic National Convention adopted a platform which reflected, in its attention to 38 specific subjects, the volume of unfinished business of the American people which had piled up to the point of national crisis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

The platform declared that as a Party we would put the people's business first, and stated in plain terms how we proposed to get on with it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

Four year have passed, and the time has come for the people to measure our performance against our pledges.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

We welcome the comparison; we seek it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

For the record is one of four years of unrelenting effort, and unprecedented achievement—not by a political party, but by a people.

The Record

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

In 1960, we proposed to—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

"Recast our military capacity in order to provide forces and weapons of a diversity, balance, and mobility sufficient in quantity and quality to deter both limited and general aggression." Since January 1961, we have achieved:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

A 150% increase in the number of nuclear war-heads and a 200% increase in total megatonnage available in the Strategic Alert Forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

A 60% increase in the tactical nuclear strength in Western Europe.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

A 45% increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.649

A 15,000 man increase in the strength of the Marine Corps.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

[p.650] A 75% increase in airlift capability.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

A 100% increase in ship construction to modernize our fleet.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

A 44% increase in the number of tactical fighter squadrons.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

An 800% increase in the special forces trained to deal with counter-insurgency threats. In 1960, we proposed to create—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

"Deterrent military power such that the Soviet and Chinese leaders will have no doubt that an attack on the United States would surely be followed by their own destruction."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Since 1961, we have increased the intercontinental ballistic missiles and Polaris missiles in our arsenal from fewer than 100 to more than 1,000.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Our Strategic Alert Forces now have about 1,100 bombers, including 550 on 15-minute alert, many of which are equipped with decoy missiles and other penetration aids to assure that they will reach their targets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

In 1960, we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

"Continuous modernization of our forces through intensified research and development, including essential programs slowed down, terminated, suspended, or neglected for lack of budgetary support."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Since 1961, we have—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Increased funds for research and development by 50% over the 1957-60 level.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Added 208 major new research and development projects including 77 weapons programs with costs exceeding $10 million each, among which are the SR-71 long-range, manned, supersonic strategic military reconnaissance aircraft, the NIKE-X anti-ballistic missile system, the A7A navy attack aircraft, and the F-111 fighter-bomber and a new main battle tank.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Increased, by more than 1,000%, the funds for the development of counter-insurgency weapons and equipment, from less than $10 million to over $103 million per year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

In 1960, we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

"Balanced conventional military forces which will permit a response graded to the intensity of any threats of aggressive force." Since 1961, we have—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Increased the regular strength of the Army by 100,000 men, and the numbers of combat-ready Army divisions from 11 to 16.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Increased the number of tactical fighter squadrons from 55 to 79 and have substantially increased the procurement of tactical fighters.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Trained over 100,000 officers in counter-insurgency skills necessary to fight guerilla and anti-guerilla warfare, and increased our special forces trained to deal with counter-insurgency by 800%.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Acquired balanced stocks of combat consumables for all our forces so that they can engage in combat for sustained periods of time.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

In reconstructing the nation's defense establishment, the Administration has insisted that the services be guided by these three precepts: Buy only what we need.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Buy only at the lowest sound price.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

Reduce operating costs through standardization, consolidation, and termination of unnecessary operations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

As a result, our expanded and reconstituted defense force has cost billions of dollars less than it would have cost under previous inefficient and un-businesslike methods of procurement and operation. These savings amounted to more than $1 billion in the fiscal year 1963, and to $2.5 billion in the fiscal year just completed. Furthermore, under the cost reduction program we have established, we will be saving $4.6 billion each year, every year, by Fiscal Year 1968.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

We have successfully met the challenges of Berlin and Cuba, and attacks upon our Naval forces on the high seas, thus decreasing the prospect of further such challenges and brightening the outlook for peace.

Arms Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

In 1960, we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

"A national peace agency for disarmament planning and research to muster the scientific ingenuity, coordination, continuity, and seriousness of purpose which are now lacking in our arms control efforts."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

In 1961, the United States became the first nation in the world to establish an "agency for peace"—the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.650

This agency is charged by law with the development of a realistic arms control and disarmament policy to promote national security and provide an impetus towards a world free from the threat of war. Working closely with the senior military leaders of the Department of Defense, [p.651] the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has enabled the United States to lead the world in a new, continuous, hard-headed and purposeful discussion, negotiation and planning of disarmament. In 1960, we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

"To develop responsible proposals that will help break the deadlock on arms control."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

In the aftermath of the Cuban crisis the United States pressed its advantage to seek a new breakthrough for peace, On June 10, 1963, at American University, President Kennedy called on the Soviet leadership to join in concrete steps to abate the nuclear arms race. After careful negotiations experienced American negotiators reached agreement with the Russians on a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty—an event that will be marked forever in the history of mankind as a first step on the difficult road of arms control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

One hundred and six nations signed or acceded to the treaty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

In the United States it was supported by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and ratified in the Senate by an 80-20 vote.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

To insure the effectiveness of our nuclear development program in accord with the momentous Test Ban Treaty, the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended, and the Administration has undertaken:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

A comprehensive program of underground testing of nuclear explosives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

Maintenance of modern nuclear laboratory facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

Preparations to test in the atmosphere if essential to national security, or if the treaty is violated by the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

Continuous improvement of our means for detecting violations and other nuclear activities elsewhere in the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

In 1960, we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

"To the extent we can secure the adoption of effective arms control agreements, vast resources will be freed for peaceful use."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

In January and April 1964, President Johnson announced cutbacks in the production of nuclear materials: twenty percent in plutonium production and forty percent in enriched uranium. When the USSR followed this United States initiative with a similar announcement, the President welcomed the response as giving hope "that the world may yet, one day, live without the fear of war."

Instruments of Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

In 1960, we proposed that—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

"American foreign policy in all its aspects must be attuned to our world of change.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

"We will recruit officials whose experience, humanity and dedication fit them for the task of effectively representing America abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

"We will provide a more sensitive and creative direction to our overseas information program."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

Since 1961, the Department of State has had its self-respect restored, and has been vitalized by more vigorous recruitment and more intensive training of foreign service officers representing all elements of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

Forty days after taking office President Kennedy established the Peace Corps. The world did not change overnight. Neither will it ever be quite the same again. The foreign minister of one large Asian nation has called the Peace Corps "the most powerful idea in recent times."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

One hundred thousand Americans have volunteered for the Peace Corps. Nine thousand have served in a total of 45 countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

Nearly every country to which volunteers have been sent has asked for more. Two dozen new countries are on the waiting list.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

Volunteer organizations on the Peace Corps model are already operating in 12 countries and there has been a great expansion of volunteer service in many others.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

An International Secretariat for Volunteer Service is working in 32 economically advanced and developing nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

The United States Information Agency has been transformed into a powerful, effective and respected weapon of the free world. The new nations of the world have come to know an America that is not afraid to tell the truth about itself—and so can be believed when it tells the truth about Communist imperialism.

World Trade

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

In 1960, we said—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

"... We shall expand world trade in every responsible way.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.651

"Since all Americans share the benefits of this policy, its costs should not be the burden of a few. We shall support practical measures to case the necessary adjustments of industries and communities [p.652] which may be unavoidably hurt by increases in imports.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

"Our government should press for reduction of foreign barriers on the sale of the products of American industry and agriculture."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

This pledge was fulfilled in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

The Trade Expansion Act of 1962, gives the President power to negotiate a 50 percent across-the-board cut in tariff barriers to take place over a five-year period.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

Exports have expanded over 10 percent—by over $2 billion—since 1961.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

Foreign trade now provides jobs for more than 4 million workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

Negotiations now underway will permit American businessmen and farmers to take advantage of the greatest trading opportunity in history—the rapidly expanding European market.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

The Trade Expansion Act provides for worker training and moving allowances, and for loans, tax rebates and technical assistance for businesses if increased imports resulting from concessions granted in trade agreements result in unemployment or loss of business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

Where American agriculture or industrial products have been unfairly treated in order to favor domestic products, prompt and forceful action has been taken to break down such barriers. These efforts have opened new United States export opportunities for fruits and vegetables, and numerous other agricultural and manufactured products to Europe and Japan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

The Long Term Cotton Textile Agreement of 1962 protects the textile and garment industry against disruptive competition from imports of cotton textiles. The Cotton Act of 1964 enables American manufacturers to buy cotton at the world market price, so they can compete in selling their products at home and abroad.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

In 1960, we proposed to—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

"Adjust our immigration, nationality and refugee policies to eliminate discrimination and to enable members of scattered families abroad to be united with relatives already in our midst.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

"The national-origins quota system of limiting immigration contradicts the founding principles of this nation. It is inconsistent with our belief in the rights of men."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

The immigration law amendments proposed by the Administration, and now before Congress, by abolishing the national-origin quota system, will eliminate discrimination based upon race and place of birth and will facilitate the reunion of families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

The Cuban Refugee Program begun in 1961 has resettled over 81,000 refugees, who are now self-supporting members of 1,800 American communities. The Chinese Refugee Program, begun in 1962, provides for the admission to the United States of 12,000 Hong Kong refugees from Red China.

The Underdeveloped World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

"To the non-Communist nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America: We shall create with you working partnerships based on mutual respect and understanding" and "will revamp and refocus the objectives, emphasis and allocation of our foreign assistance programs."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

In 1961, the administration created the Agency for International Development, combining the three separate agencies that had handled foreign assistance activities into an orderly and efficient instrument of national policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

Since 1961, foreign aid has been conducted on a spartan, cost conscious basis, with emphasis on self-help, reform and performance as conditions of American help.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

These new policies are showing significant returns.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

Since the beginning of the Marshall Plan in 1948, U. S. economic assistance has been begun and ended in 17 countries. In 14 other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the transition to economic self-support is well under way, and U. S. assistance is now phasing out. In the 1965 AID program, 90 percent of economic assistance will go to just 25 countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

In 1960, only 41 percent of aid-financed commodities were purchased in America. In 1964, under AID, 85 percent of all aid-financed commodities were U. S. supplied.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

The foreign aid appropriation of $8.5 billion for fiscal year 1965 represents the smallest burden on U. S. resources that has been proposed since foreign aid began after World War II.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.652

Since 1961, the United States has insisted that our allies in Europe and Japan must share responsibility [p.653] in the field of foreign assistance, particularly to their former colonies. They have responded with major programs. Several nations now contribute a larger share of their gross national production to foreign assistance than does the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

The Alliance for Progress, launched at the Conference of Punta del Este in Uraguay in 1961, has emerged as the greatest undertaking of social reform and international cooperation in the history of the Western Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

The American republics agreed to work together "To make the benefits of economic progress available to all citizens of all economic and social groups through a more equitable distribution of national income, raising more rapidly the income and standard of living of the needier sectors of the population, at the same time that a higher proportion of the national product is devoted to investment."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

The results so far:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

Major tax reform legislation has been adopted in eight countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

Agrarian reform legislation has been introduced in twelve countries, and agricultural credit, technical assistance and resettlement projects are going forward in sixteen countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

Fifteen countries have self-help housing programs, and savings and loan legislation has been adopted by nine countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

Private or public development banks have been established or are being established in eight countries, providing new sources of capital for the small businessman.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

Education budgets have risen by almost 13 percent a year, and five million more children are going to school. U. S. aid has helped build 23,000 schoolrooms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

A Latin American school lunch program is feeding 10 million children at least one good meal every day, and the program will reach 12 million by the end of the year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

The Alliance for Progress has immeasurably strengthened the collective will of the nations of the Western Hemisphere to resist the massive efforts of Communist subversion that conquered Cuba in 1959 and then headed for the mainland. In 1960, we urged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

"... Continued economic assistance to Israel and the Arab peoples to help them raise their living standards.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

"We pledge our best efforts for peace in the Middle East by seeking to prevent an arms race while guarding against the dangers of a military imbalance resulting from Soviet arms shipments."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

In the period since that pledge was made the New East has come closer to peace and stability than at any time since World War II.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

Economic and technical assistance to Israel and Arab nations continues at a high level, although with more and more emphasis on loans as against grants. The United States is determined to help bring the revolution in the technology of desalinization to the aid of the desert regions of this area.

The Atlantic Community

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

In 1960, we said—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

"To our friends and associates in the Atlantic Community: We propose a broader partnership that goes beyond our common fears to recognize the depth and sweep of our common political, economic, and cultural interests."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

In 1961, the United States ratified the conventions creating the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, a body made up of ourselves, Canada and 18 European States which carries forward on a permanent basis the detailed cooperation and mutual assistance that began with the Marshall Plan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

Since 1961, we have progressed in the building of mutual confidence, unity, and strength. NATO has frequently been used for consultation on foreign policy issues. Strong Atlantic unity emerged in response to Soviet threats in Berlin and in Cuba. Current trade negotiations reflect the value of the Trade Expansion Act and the utility of arrangements for economic cooperation. NATO military forces are stronger in both nuclear and conventional weapons.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

The United States has actively supported the proposal to create a multilateral, mix-manned, seaborne nuclear missile force which could give all NATO countries a direct share in NATO's nuclear deterrent without proliferating the number of independent, national nuclear forces.

The Communist World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

In 1960, we said—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.653

"To the rulers of the Communist World: We confidently accept your challenge to competition in every field of human effort.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

[p.654] "We believe your Communist ideology to be sterile, unsound, and doomed to failure . . .

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

"... We are prepared to negotiate with you whenever and wherever there is a realistic possibility of progress without sacrifice of principle.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

"But we will use all the will, power, resources, and energy at our command to resist the further encroachment of Communism on freedom—whether at Berlin, Formosa or new points of pressure as yet undisclosed."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Following the launching of Sputnik in 1957, the Soviet Union began a world-wide offensive. Russian achievements in space were hailed as the forerunners of triumph on earth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Now, seven years later, the Communist influence has failed in its efforts to win Africa. Of the 31 African nations formed since World War II, not one has chosen Communism.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Khrushchev had to back down on his threat to sign a peace treaty with East Germany. Access to West Berlin remains free.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

In Latin America, the Alliance for Progress has begun to reduce the poverty and distress on which Communism breeds.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

In Japan, where anti-American riots in 1960 prevented a visit from the President, relations with the United States have been markedly improved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

In the United Nations the integrity of the office of Secretary General was preserved despite the Soviet attack on it through the Troika proposal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

When Red China attacked India, the U. S. promptly came to India's aid with modern infantry supplies and equipment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

On the battlefield of the Cold War one engagement after another has been fought and won.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Frustrated in its plans to nibble away at country after country, the Soviet Union conceived a bold stroke designed to reverse the trend against it. With extreme stealth Soviet intermediate range and medium range offensive missiles were brought into Cuba in 1962.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Shortly after the missiles arrived in Cuba, and before any of them became operational, they were discovered and photographed by U. S. reconnaissance flights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

The U. S. response was carefully planned and prepared, and calmly, deliberately, but effectively executed. On October 22, President Kennedy called on the Soviet Union to dismantle and remove the weapons from Cuba. He ordered a strict quarantine on Cuba enforced by the U. S. Navy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

The Organization of American States acted swiftly and decisively by a unanimous vote of 20 to 0 to authorize strong measures, including the use of force, to ensure that the missiles were withdrawn from Cuba and not re-introduced.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

At the end of a tense week Khrushchev caved in before this demonstration of Western power and determination. Soviet ships, closely observed by U. S. pilots, loaded all the missiles and headed back to Russia. U. S. firmness also compelled withdrawal of the IL-28 bombers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

A turning point of the Cold War had been reached.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

The record of world events in the past year reflects the vigor and successes of U. S. policy:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Berlin, October-November 1963. Communist efforts to interfere with free Western access to Berlin were successfully rebuffed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Venezuela, March 1964. Despite the threats and terror tactics of Castro-inspired agitators, over 90 percent of the people voted in the election that chose President Leoni to succeed Romulo Betancourt—the first democratic succession in that office in Venezuela in Venezuela's history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Panama, 1964. Patient negotiation achieved a resumption of diplomatic relations, which had been severed after the riots in January; President Johnson achieved a dignified and an honorable solution of the crisis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Vietnam, August 1964. Faced with sudden unprovoked attacks by Communist PT boats on American destroyers on the high sea, President Johnson ordered a sharp immediate retaliation on the hostile vessels and their supporting facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Speaking on that occasion, the President said: "Aggression—deliberate, willful and systematic aggression has unmasked its face to the world. The world remembers—the world must never forget—that aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

"We of the United States have not forgotten.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

"That is why we have answered this aggression with action."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Cuba, 1961-1964. Cuba and Castro have been virtually isolated in the Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Only 2 out of 20 OAS countries maintain diplomatic relations with Cuba.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.654

Cuban trade with the Free World has dropped sharply from the 1958 level.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

[p.655] Free world shipping to Cuba has fallen sharply. Isolation of Cuba by air has tightened greatly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

Hundreds of thousands of Cubans have left the island or have indicated their desire to come to the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

The Castro regime has been suspended from participation in the OAS.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

The Cuban economy is deteriorating: the standard of living is 20 percent below pre-Castro levels, with many items rationed; industrial output is stagnant; sugar production is at the lowest level since the 1940's.

The United Nations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

"To our fellow members of the United Nations: we shall strengthen our commitments in this, our great continuing institution for conciliation and the growth of a world community."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

Over the past four years the Administration has fulfilled this pledge as one of the central purposes of foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

During that time the United States has supported—and frequently led—efforts within the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

—to strengthen its capacity as peacekeeper and peacemaker—with the result that the UN remained on guard on armistice lines in Korea, Kashmir and the Middle East; preserved peace in the Congo, West New Guinea and Cyprus; provided a forum for the U. S. during crises in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Tonkin; began to develop a flexible call-up system for emergency peace-keeping forces; and moved toward a revival of the Security Council as the primary organ for peace and security without loss of the residual powers of the General Assembly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

—to discover and exploit areas of common interest for the reduction of world dangers and world tensions—with the result that the orbiting of weapons of mass destruction has been banned and legal principles adopted for the use of outer space; projects of scientific cooperation in meteorology, oceanography, Antarctic exploration and peaceful uses of atomic energy, have been promoted; and the search for further moves toward arms control have been pursued to supplement the limited test ban treaty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

—to further the work of the United Nations in improving the lot of mankind—with the result that the Decade of Development has been launched; the World Food Program undertaken; aid to children extended; projects to promote economic and social progress in the developing world have been expanded; and the impact of technology and world trade upon development has been explored.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

—to maintain the integrity of the organization—its Charter and its Secretariat—with the result that the Troika proposal was defeated; the functions of the Secretary-General have been kept intact; the authority of the General Assembly to levy assessments for peacekeeping has been sustained despite attempted financial vetoes by Communist and other members.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

In fulfilling its pledge to the United Nations, the Administration has helped to strengthen peace, to promote progress, and to find areas of international agreement and cooperation.

Economic Growth

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

In 1960, we said—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

"The new Democratic Administration will confidently proceed to unshackle American enterprise and to free American labor, industrial leadership, and capital, to create an abundance that will outstrip any other system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

"We Democrats believe that our economy can and must grow at an average rate of 5 percent annually, almost twice as fast as our average annual rate since 1953. We pledge ourselves to policies that will achieve this goal without inflation."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

In January 1961, the nation was at the bottom of the fourth recession of the postwar period—the third in the eight-year period, 1953-60. More men and women were out of work than at any time since the Great Depression of the 1930's. In February 1961, the unemployment rate was 6.8 percent, with a total of 5,705,000 unemployed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

Today we are in the midst of the longest peace-time expansion in our history, during the past 42 months of unbroken economic expansion:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

Our economic growth rate has risen now to over 5 percent—twice the average rate for the 1953-60 period.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

3,900,000 jobs have been added to the economy, and the unemployment rate was down in July 1964 to 4.9 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.655

The Gross National Product has risen by $120 billion in less than four years! No nation in peace-time history has ever added so much to its wealth in so short a time.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

[p.656] The average manufacturing worker's weekly earnings rose from $89 in January 1961, to $103 in July 1964—an increase of over 15 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Industrial production has increased 28 percent; average operating rates in manufacturing have risen from 78 percent of capacity to 87 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Profits after taxes have increased 62 percent—from an annual rate of $19.2 billion in early 1961 to an estimated $31.2 billion in early 1964.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Total private investment has increased by 43 percent—from an annual rate of $61 billion in early 1961 to $87 billion in the spring of 1964.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

There are a million and a half more Americans at work today than there were a year ago.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Our present prosperity was brought about by the enterprise of American business, the skills of the American work force, and by wise public policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

The provision in the Revenue Act of 1962 for a credit for new investment in machinery and equipment, and the liberalization of depreciation allowance by administrative ruling, resulted in a reduction of $2.5 billion in business taxes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

The Revenue Act of 1964 cut individual income taxes by more than $9 billion, increasing consumer purchasing power by that amount; and corporate taxes were cut another $2.5 billion, with the effect of increasing investment incentives. Overall individual Federal income taxes were cut an average of 19 percent; taxpayers earning $3,000 or less received an average 40 percent cut.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

The Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961 provided $800 million to 2.8 million jobless workers who had exhausted their benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 has meant a $227 million Federal investment in economically hard-hit areas, creating 110,000 new jobs in private enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

The Accelerated Public Works Act of 1962 added $900 million for urgently needed State and local government construction projects.

An End to Tight Money

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

In 1960, we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

"As the first step in speeding economic growth, a Democratic president will put an end to the present high interest, tight money policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

"This policy has failed in its stated purpose—to keep prices down. It has given us two recessions within five years, bankrupted many of our farmers, produced a record number of business failures, and added billions of dollars in unnecessary higher interest charges to government budgets and the cost of living."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Since 1961, we have maintained the free flow of credit so vital to industry, home buyers, and State and local governments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Immediately, in February 1961, the Federal Housing Agency interest rate was cut from 5 3/4% percent to 5 1/2 percent. It is now down to 5 1/4 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Today's home buyer will pay about $1,700 less for FHA-insured financing of a 3O-year $15,000 home mortgage than he would have had he taken the mortgage in 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Today after 42 months of expansion, conventional home mortgage rates are lower than they were in January 1961, in the midst of a recession. So are borrowing costs for our States and municipalities, and for long-term corporate issues.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Short-term interest rates have been brought into reasonable balance with interest rates abroad, reducing or eliminating incentives to place short-term funds abroad and thus reducing gold outflow.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

We have prudently lengthened the average maturity of the Federal debt, in contrast to the steady shortening that characterized the 1950's.

Control of Inflation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

In 1960, we asserted—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

"The American consumer has a right to fair prices. We are determined to secure that right.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

"A fair share of the gains from increasing productivity in many industries should be passed on to the consumer through price reductions."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Today, after 42 months of economic expansion, wholesale prices are lower than they were in January 1961, in the midst of a recession! The Wholesale Price Index was 101.0 in January 1961; in July 1964, it is 100.4.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

The Consumer Price Index, which measures the price of goods and services families purchase, has been brought back to stability, averaging now less than 1.3% increase per year—as compared, for example, with an increase rate about three times this large in the European common market countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.656

Since January 1961, the increase in average after-tax family income has been twice the increase in prices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

The Administration has established guideposts [p.657] for price and wage movements alike, based primarily on productivity developments, and designed to protect the economy against inflation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In the single year, 1960, the overall balance of payments deficit reached $3.9 billion, and we lost $1.7 billion in gold. Now for 1964, the prospective balance of payments deficit has been cut to $2 billion, and the gold outflow has ceased.

Full Employment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In 1960, we reaffirmed our—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

"support of full employment as a paramount objective of national policy."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In July 1964, total employment in the United States rose to the historic peak of 72,400,000 jobs. This represents an increase of 3,900,000 jobs in 42 months.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In the past twelve months, total civilian employment has increased by 1,600,000 jobs, and nonfarm employment by 1,700,000. Most of this job expansion has occurred in the past eight months.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In July 1964, the jobless total was one-half million below a year ago, and was at its lowest July level since 1959.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In July, 1964, the overall unemployment rate was 4.9%—compared with 6.5% in January 1961; and the jobless rate for men who are heads of families was down to 2.7%.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

There have been more than a million full-time jobs added to the private profit sector of the economy in the past 12 months. This is the largest increase in any one-year period in the past decade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

We have brought ourselves now within reach of the full employment objective.

Aid to Depressed Areas

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In 1960, we recognized that—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

"General economic measures will not alone solve the problems of localities which suffer some special disadvantage. To bring prosperity to these depressed areas and to enable them to make their full contribution to the national welfare, specially directed action is needed."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

The Area Redevelopment Administration was created in 1961 to help depressed areas organize their human and material resources for economic growth. Since its establishment, the ARA has:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

Approved 512 financial assistance projects involving a Federal investment of $243.5 million.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

Created, in partnership with local government, private workers and other investors, 118,000 new jobs in private enterprise,

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

Provided retraining programs, with tuition and subsistence, for 37,327 jobless workers, equipping them with new skills to fill available jobs in their areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In 1961, Congress authorized $900 million for the Accelerated Public Works Program to speed construction of urgently needed public facilities and increase employment in areas which had failed to recover from previous recessions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

Between October 1962, when the first appropriations were made available, and April 1, 1964, 7,762 projects, involving an estimated 2,500,000 man-months of employment, were approved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

In early 1961, there were 101 major areas in the United States in which unemployment was 6 percent or more, discounting seasonal or temporary factors. By July 1964, this number had been cut two-thirds, to a total of 35.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

The concept of "depressed areas" has been broadened in these 3 1/2 years to include clear recognition of the inequity and waste of poverty wherever it exists, and in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 the nation has declared, in historic terms, a War on Poverty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

Title I of the Economic Opportunity Act creates the Job Corps, Work-Training programs, and Work-Study programs to provide useful work for about 400,000 young men and women. Job Corps volunteers will receive work and vocational training, part of which will involve conservation work in rural areas. The Work-Training, or Neighborhood Youth Corps program, is open to young persons living at home, including those who need jobs in order to remain in school. The Work-Study programs will enable youth from poor families to earn enough income to enable them to attend college.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

Title II of the Act authorized $340 million for the Community Action programs to stimulate urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty through programs designed especially to meet local needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.657

Title III provides for special programs to combat poverty in rural areas, including loans up to $1,500 for low income farmers, and loans up to $2,500 for families, to finance non-agricultural enterprises which will enable such families to supplement their incomes. This section of the law provides funds for housing, sanitation education, [p.658] and day care of children of migrant farm workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

Title IV of the Act provides for loans up to $25,000 for small businesses to create jobs for the long-term unemployed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

Title V of the Act provides constructive work experience and other needed training to persons who are unable to support or care for themselves or their families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

The Report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, submitted to President Johnson in April 1964, proposed a wide-ranging development program. The Appalachian Redevelopment Act, now before Congress, provides for more than $1.1 billion investment in needed basic facilities in the area, together with a regional organization to help generate the full development potential of the human and material resources of this mountain area.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

Registration and regulation of migrant labor crew chiefs has been provided to require that crew chiefs or labor brokers, who act on behalf of domestic migrant labor and operate across state lines, shall be registered, show financial responsibility, and meet certain requirements as to moral character and honest dealing with their clients.

Discrimination in Employment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

In 1960, we insisted that—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

"The right to a job requires action to break down artificial and arbitrary barriers to employment based on age, race, sex, religion, or national origin."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

The great Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the strongest and most important law against discrimination in employment in the history of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

It states unequivocally that "It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer . . . an employment agency . . . or a labor organization" to discriminate against any person because of his or her "race, color, religion, sex, or national origin."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

On March 6, 1961, President Kennedy issued an Executive Order establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to combat racial discrimination in the employment policies of Government agencies and private firms holding Government contracts. Then-Vice President Johnson, in his capacity as Chairman of the new Committee, assumed personal direction of this program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

As a consequence of the enforcement of the Executive Order, not only has discrimination been eliminated in the Federal Government, but strong affirmative measures have been taken to extend meaningful equality of opportunity to compete for Federal employment to all citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

The private employers of 8,076,422 men and women, and trade unions with 12,500,000 members, have signed public agreements establishing non-discriminatory practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 guarantees equal pay to women doing the same work as men, by requiring employers who are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act to pay equal wages for equal work, regardless of the sex of their workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

Executive Order 11141, issued by President Johnson on February 12, 1964, establishes for the first time in history a public policy that "contractors and subcontractors engaged in the performance of Federal contracts shall not, in connection with the employment, advancement, or discharge of their employees, or in connection with the terms, conditions, or privileges of their employment, discriminate against persons because of their age..."

Collective Bargaining

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

"an affirmative labor policy which will encourage free collective bargaining through the growth and development of free and responsible unions."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

These have been good years for labor-management relations. Time lost from strikes is at the lowest point in history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

The President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy, made up of distinguished leaders of business and trade unions, has spoken out consistently in favor of creative and constructive solutions to common problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

Executive Order 10988, issued by President Kennedy on January 17, 1962, extended the rights of union recognition to Federal employees—a goal which some employee organizations had been trying to reach for three quarters of a century.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.658

In the spring of 1964, under President Johnson's personal leadership, the five-year-old railroad dispute that would have resulted in a critical nation-wide strike, was at last ended—by free collective bargaining. A cause many thought lost was won; industrial self-government was saved from a disastrous setback.[p.659]

Planning for Automation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

In 1960, we proposed to—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

"provide the government leadership necessary to insure that the blessings of automation do not become burdens of widespread unemployment. For the young and the technologically displaced workers, we will provide the opportunity for training and retraining that equips them for jobs to be filled."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 provides for the training or retraining of unemployed or underemployed people, particularly those threatened or displaced by technological advances. The 1963 amendments to the Act emphasize the problem of youth employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

In the two years of the administration of this program, training projects for 240,471 persons have been approved, and more than 54,000 persons have completed their training.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Under the Manpower Development and Training Act an active manpower policy is being developed to keep the nation ahead of the problems of automation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Congress has now enacted, in August 1964, legislation creating a National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress to undertake a searching inquiry into the problems created by automation, and means by which they can be prevented or solved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

In its own activities, the Federal Government has taken full account of human considerations in instituting technological developments.

Minimum Wages

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

"To raise the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and to extend coverage to several million workers not now covered."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

The Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments of 1961 raised the minimum wage to $1.25 over a three-year period, and extended the coverage of the Act to 3.6 million additional workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

The Administration has proposed further amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, which are now before the Congress, and which would extend minimum wage coverage to near three quarters of a million workers in laundry, and dry cleaning establishments. Overtime coverage would be extended to an additional 2.6 million workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

It has proposed a Fringe Benefit amendment to the Bacon-Davis law to provide that the cost of fringe benefits should be included in the definition of "prevailing wage" under the Bacon-Davis law, so that wage rates required in government construction contracts will be in accord with prevailing practice.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

In 1960, we said—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

"In every way we will seek to help the men, women, and children whose livelihood comes from the soil to achieve better housing, education, and decent earnings and working conditions."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

This is the record:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Total net farm income in 1961-63 averaged nearly a billion dollars a year higher than in 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Total net income per farm was 18 percent higher in 1963 than in 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Farm purchasing power, or gross farm income, rose from $37.9 billion in 1960 to nearly $42 billion in 1963.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Percent of family income spent for food today has declined. In 1960, 20 percent of disposable family income was spent for food. This has now been reduced to less than 19 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Grain surpluses have been brought down to manageable levels; wheat surpluses this year will be the lowest since 1958, and feed grains have been reduced from 80 to 70 million tons.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Reduction of wheat and feed grain surpluses from their 1960 levels to present levels has resulted in an accumulated savings of about a quarter of a billion dollars in storage, transportation, interest and other costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Total farm exports have increased 35 percent in 4 years, and have reached a record high in fiscal 1964 of $6.1 billion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Credit resources administered by the Farmers Home Administration are up 141 percent over 1960, and are averaging now $687 million a year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.659

Commodity programs to strengthen the farm income structure and reach the goal of parity of income in every aspect of American agriculture. We also cite the parity program providing American cotton to American factories and processes at the same price at which they are exported.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

The Rural Areas Development program has [p.660] helped create an estimated 125,000 new jobs, and more than 12,000 projects in the process of approval will provide new employment for as many as 200,000 persons.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

Participation in the Agricultural Conservation Program has increased 20 percent since 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

More than 20,000 farmers have received technical help to develop recreation as an income-making "crop" on land which had been producing surpluses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

Over 600 rural Communities have been aided in providing modern water services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

During the winter of 1964, a special lunch program was instituted for 315 schools and 12,000 children in rural areas where families have extremely low incomes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

Since January 1, 1961, $1.1 billion in electric loans has been made by the Rural Electrification Administration, to rural electric cooperatives, or some $350 million more than in the previous 3 1/2 years. Improved service, as a result, has meant customer savings of $7.5 million a year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

American farmers, in 1964, have protected crop investments totaling $500.5 million with Federal All-Risk Crop Insurance—more than double the amount of insurance in force three years ago, and an all-time record.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

Soil and water conservation activities in the past 3 1/2 years have shown a constant upward trend in their contributions to the physical, social and economic welfare of rural areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

289 new small upstream watershed projects were authorized.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

8,000 local soil and water conservation districts have updated their long-range programs to reflect the broadened concepts of economic development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

The Great Plains Conservation Program has been extended for 10 years and 36 counties have been added to the program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

In June 1964, Congress authorized the creation of a National Commission on Food Marketing to investigate the operation of the food industry from producer to consumer.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

On January 24, 1961, President Kennedy established by executive order, the Food for Peace program to utilize America's agricultural abundance "to promote the interests of peace . . . and to play an important role in helping to provide a more adequate diet for peoples all around the world."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

In the last 3 1/2 years, over $5 billion worth of surplus farm commodities went overseas under Public Law 480 programs. This is one and one-half billion dollars more than during the previous 3 1/2 years.

Small Business

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

"Action to aid small business in obtaining credit and equity capital at reasonable rates.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

"Protection of the public against the growth of monopoly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

"A more equitable share of government contracts to small and independent business."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

Through liberalizing amendments to the Small Business Investment Act in 1961 and 1964, and special tax considerations, the investment of equity capital and long term loan funds in small businesses has been greatly accelerated by privately owned and operated small business investment companies licensed under that Act. Moreover, since January 1961, over 21,000 small businesses have obtained SBA business loans, totalling over $1.14 billion, as a result of liberalized and simplified procedures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

The Federal Trade Commission has stepped up its activities to promote free and fair competition in business, and to safeguard the consuming public against both monopolistic and deceptive practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

The reorganized Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice has directed special emphasis to price fixing, particularly on consumer products, by large companies who distribute through small companies. These include eye glasses, salad oil, flour, cosmetics, swimsuits, bread, milk, and even sneakers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

Since January 1961, some 166,000 government contracts, worth $6.2 billion have been set aside for small business. In the preceding 3 1/2 years there were 77,838 contracts set aside, with a worth of $2.9 billion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

HOUSING

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

In 1960 we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.660

"To make possible the building of 2,000,000 homes a year in wholesome neighborhoods, the home building industry should be aided by special mortgage assistance, with low interest rates, long-term mortgage periods and reduced down payments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

"There will still be need for a substantial low- [p.661] rent public housing program authorizing as many units as local communities require and are prepared to build."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

The Housing Act of 1961 provides many of the necessary new and improved tools for providing housing for low and moderate income families, and for housing for the elderly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

For the 3 1/2 year period ending June 30, 1964, some 5.3 million new units of public and private housing have been built at a cost of approximately $65 billion. The construction rate has risen above 1.5 million units a year, with an annual output of over $20 billion, and we are moving close now to the goal of 2 million a year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

Since January 1961, nearly 400 local housing authorities have been formed to provide housing for low income families. More than 100,000 new units have been approved for construction, at an annual rate about three times that of 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

The annual rate of grant assistance for Urban Renewal has risen from $262 million per year (1956 through 1961 ) to a rate of better than $630 million during the past 12 months.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

in the past 3 1/2 years, more than 750 new urban renewal transactions have been approved, equal to nearly 90 percent of the number approved for the entire period from 1949 to 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

Cities with community urban renewal programs jumped from a cumulative total of seven in December 1960 to 118 by mid-1964.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

To house families whose income is not quite low enough to qualify for public housing, a new rental housing program providing a "below market" interest rate (currently 3 7/8%) insured by FHA, has been made available. Mortgage purchase funds have been allocated for about 78,000 such rental units.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

Reflecting the fuller recognition of the special equities and needs of older people:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

FHA mortgage insurance written on housing projects for the elderly since 1961 has provided more than 3 times as many units as were being provided prior to that time.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

Low rent public housing under Federal assistance is being provided senior citizens at an annual rate more than twice that for 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

Direct loan authorizations for housing for the elderly increased from $50 million in 1961 to $275 million in 1963.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

Maximum loan amounts have been increased to 100% of development cost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

The Housing Act of 1961 expanded and strengthened the Federal program in this area.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

The Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962 moved us another long step forward.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

Applications for the provision of nursing homes increased from 80 in January 1961 to more than 580 by the middle of 1964, involving more than 50,000 beds for community nursing homes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

Assistance has been given for more than 1,000 college housing projects including housing for more than 290,000 students and faculty, plus dining halls and other school facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

The 1963 Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing assures that the benefits of Federal housing programs and assistance are available without discrimination as to race, color, creed or national origin.

Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

In 1960, we proposed to—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

"Provide medical care benefits for the aged as part of the time-tested social security system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

"Step up medical research on the major killers and crippling diseases.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

"Expand and improve the Hill-Burton hospital construction program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

"Federal aid for construction, expanding and modernizing schools of medicine, dentistry, nursing and public health.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

"Greatly increased federal support for psychiatric research and training and community mental health programs."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

More health legislation has been enacted during the past 8 1/2 years than during any other period in American history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

The Community Health Services and Facilities Act of 1961 has made possible 149 projects for testing and demonstrating new or improved services in nursing homes, home care services, central information and referral centers; and providing additional personnel to serve the chronically ill and aged. It has also provided additional federal funds for the construction of nursing homes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.661

The Hill-Burton Amendments of 1964, extend the program of Federal grants for construction of hospitals, public health centers, long-term facilities, rehabilitation facilities and diagnostic or treatment centers for five additional years. For the first time provision is made for the modernization and renovation of hospitals and health facilities. Funds for the construction of nursing homes [p.662] and other long-term care facilities are substantially increased.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Construction Act of 1963, authorized grants of $150,000,000 to States for constructing community Mental Health Centers, which emphasize the new approach to the care of the mentally ill, centered on care and treatment in the patients' home communities. Thirty-six States have already budgeted more than 75% of their share of Federal funds for planning these new systems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The Maternal and Child Health and Mental Retardation Planning Amendments of 1963, along with the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Construction Act of 1963, authorized a broad program to prevent, treat, and ameliorate mental retardation. The program provides States and communities needed research, manpower developments, and facilities for health, education rehabilitation, and vocational services to the retarded.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

As part of the Federal Government's program to employ the mentally retarded in suitable Federal jobs, the State rehabilitation agencies are certifying persons as qualified for specific suitable Federal jobs. A rising number of placements already made in Federal installations over the country constitutes an encouraging start.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The current need for another 200,000 qualified teachers for the estimated 6 million handicapped children of school age, has been recognized in legislation authorizing grants in aid for the training of professional personnel.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

Other legislation provides funds for training teachers of the deaf.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

A 1962 amendment to the Public Health Act authorizes a new program of project grants to help meet critical health needs of domestic migratory workers and their families through establishment of family health service clinics.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

Forty-nine projects in 24 States have received grants to assist an estimated 300,000 migrant workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

One out of every ten migrant laborers is estimated to have received some health services through these projects.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, authorized in 1962, is now supporting research and training in eight major areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The National Institute of General Medical Sciences, also authorized in 1962, gives recognition to the significance of research training in the sciences basic to medicine. Two thousand research projects are currently being supported.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

A $2 million Radiological Health Grant Program was established in 1962 to provide matching grants to assist States in assuming responsibility for adequate radiation control and protection. During Fiscal Year 1964, forty-nine States and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands participated.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

After two years of scientific evaluation of research and findings, the Report of the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health was released in January 1964, calling attention to the health hazards of smoking. An information clearinghouse and a public education program directed toward preventing young people from acquiring the smoking habit are being developed.

A Program for the Aging

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

In 1960, we proposed to—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

"End the neglect of our older citizens. They deserve lives of usefulness, dignity, independence, and participation. We shall assure them not only health care, but employment for those who want to work, decent housing, and recreation."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The Social Security Act Amendments of 1961 broadened benefits to 5.3 million persons, increased minimum benefits for retired workers from $33 to $40 per month, permitted men as well as women to begin collecting reduced benefits at age 62.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The Social Security program now provides $1.3 billion in benefits each month to 19.5 million persons. One out of every ten Americans receives a Social Security check every month.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act Amendments of 1962 put "enforcement teeth" into this measure, protecting workers' assets in pension programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

The Housing Act of 1961 increased the scope of Federal housing aids for the elderly by raising from $50 million to $125 million the authorization for low-interest-rate direct loans. In 1962, this was raised further to $225 million and in 1963 to $275 million.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.662

Insurance written by the Federal Housing Administration for mortgage insurance for the elderly [p.663] since 1961 provides three times as many units as during the preceding Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

Low rent public housing under Federal assistance has been provided senior citizens at an annual rate more than twice that for 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

The Community Health Services and Facilities Act of 1961 raised the ceiling on appropriations for the construction of nursing homes under the Hill-Burton legislation from $10 million to $20 million; and authorized $10 million per year for a 5-year program of special project grants for the development of new or improved methods of providing health services outside the hospital for the chronically ill or aged.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

Executive Order 11114, issued by President Johnson on February 12, 1964, establishes for the first time the policy of non-discrimination in employment based on age by Federal contractors.

Welfare

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

In 1960, we proposed to—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

"Permit workers who are totally and permanently disabled to retire at any age, removing the arbitrary requirement that the worker be 50 years of age.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

"Amend the law so that after six months of total disability, a worker will be eligible for disability benefits, with restorative services to enable the worker to return to work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

"Continued support of legislation for the rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons and improvement of employment opportunities for them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

"Persons in need who are inadequately protected by social insurance are cared for by the states and local communities under public assistance programs. The Federal Government, which now shares the cost of aid to some of these, should share in all, and benefits should be made available without regard to residence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

"Uniform minimum standards throughout the nation for coverage, duration, and amount of unemployment insurance benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

"Legislation which will guarantee to women equality of rights under the law, including equal pay for equal work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

"The Child Welfare Program and other services already established under the Social Security Act should be expanded. Federal leadership is required in the nationwide campaign to prevent and control juvenile delinquency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

"A federal bureau of inter-group relations to help solve problems of discrimination in housing, education, employment and community opportunities in general. The bureau would assist in the solution of problems arising from the resettlement of immigrants and migrants within our own country, and in resolving religious, social and other tensions where they arise."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

The 1961 Public Assistance Amendments, extended aid for the first time to families with dependent children in which the parent is unemployed. Currently, 18 States have adopted this program. Aid is being provided to about 75,000 families with nearly 280,000 children.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

The food stamp program is providing improved purchasing powers and a better diet for families and persons receiving general assistance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

The 1962 Public Welfare amendments provide the authority and financial resources for a new approach to the problems of prolonged dependency and some of the special needs of children.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

Under these enactments and related provisions: 49 States have now qualified for increased Federal financial aid to provide help to families with economic and social problems, and to assist families dependent on public assistance back to economic independence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

9 pilot projects have been initiated to help children stay in school.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

41 demonstration projects have been designed to improve public assistance operations and to find ways of helping low-income families and individuals to become independent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

18,000 unemployed fathers in needy families are currently on community work and training projects.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

Three million children are now covered by the program of aid to families with dependent children; and under the 1962 amendments these children receive, in addition to financial assistance, other needed help toward normal growth and development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

46 States now have approved plans for day care services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

Grants for research and demonstrations in child welfare were first awarded in 1962, and 62 projects have since been approved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.663

Starting for the first time in 1963, grants for training child welfare workers have been made to 58 institutions of higher learning.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

[p.664] Approximately 453,000 older persons received medical assistance under the Kerr-Mills program in fiscal year 1964.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

The Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1961 provided 13 additional weeks of benefits to the long-term unemployed. 2.8 million jobless workers received $800 million in assistance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

The Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 made possible the establishment of training centers at 12 universities. By the end of fiscal year 1964, the program will have reached 12,500 trainees for work in delinquency prevention and control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the work of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, which reported to the President that same year, were events of historic importance in the struggle for equal opportunity and full partnership for women. The inclusion of women in the employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 makes equality in employment at long last the law of the land.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

Title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 establishes a Community Relations Service "to provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin..."

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

"We believe that America can meet its educational obligations only with generous federal financial support, within the traditional framework of local control. The assistance will take the form of federal grants to States for educational purposes they deem most pressing, including classroom construction and teachers' salaries. It will include aid for the construction of academic facilities as well as dormitories at colleges and universities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

"We pledge further federal support for all phases of vocational education for youth and adults; for libraries and adult education; for realizing the potential of educational television; and for exchange of students and teachers with other nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

"As part of a broader concern for young people we recommend establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps, to give underprivileged young people a rewarding experience in a healthful environment."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 provides $1.2 billion for college construction over a three-year period. Over 2,000 institutions are eligible to benefit from its provisions in helping them meet current enrollment increases of 350,000 students each year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

The Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963 will increase the number of professional health personnel through construction grants for health teaching facilities, and through low-interest student loans to assist up to 10,000 students of medicine, dentistry, or osteopathy to pay for their high-cost education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 authorizes a $956 million increase in Federal support for vocational education over the next five fiscal years —1964 through 1968. It is estimated that 7,000,000 students will be enrolled in vocational education in 1968, an increase of about 3,000,000 over present annual enrollment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

Legislation approved in 1963, which increased authorization for loans to needy students for college education, will mean that in the coming school year approximately 280,000 students will be borrowing about $142 million from the loan funds to help pay for their higher education, as compared with 115,450 students borrowing $50,152,000 in 1960.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

In the last three fiscal years, there have been grants of $153.1 million in Federal funds to the States for purchases of equipment and materials, and remodeling classrooms to strengthen instruction in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

A $32 million program of grants to help establish non-commercial educational television stations was approved in 1962. Thirty-seven grants have been approved, totaling $6.1 million—18 for new stations and 19 for expansion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.664

The Library Services and Construction Act of 1964 broadened Federal aid to cover urban as well as rural areas, and to provide construction grants in addition to other library services. The new legislation increased the authorization for Federal aid to develop libraries from $7.5 million to the present level of $25 million and included a new program of assistance for public library construction, with an appropriation for Fiscal Year 1965 of $30 million.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

[p.665] The Youth Conservation Corps envisioned by the 1960 proposal is provided for under Title I of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

In 1960, we said—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

"A thin layer of earth, a few inches of rain, and a blanket of air makes human life possible on our planet."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

"Sound public policy must assure that these essential resources will be available to provide the good life for our children and future generations."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

After the 1960 election President Kennedy and President Johnson implemented this platform by a whole series of new conservation policies and programs, some of which emanated from the first White House Conference on Conservation called by any President since the 1908 conference called by President Theodore Roosevelt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

During this Administration two historic conservation measures were enacted. These were:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

The Wilderness Bill and the Land and Water Conservation Fund Bill which will together do more to help conserve outdoor America than any legislation passed in a generation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

In addition to this landmark legislation new emphasis has been placed on science as the modern midwife of conservation, and new impetus has been given across the board in the conservation of natural resources.

In the field of water conservation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

Twenty-one new major water resources projects have been authorized or started in the West;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

A high-water mark has been achieved in the annual level of national investment in water resource projects;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

The saline water conversion effort has been quadrupled, and should achieve a dramatic cost-breakthrough during the next Administration.

In electric power

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

Ending 16 years of argument, a bold plan was developed under President Johnson's personal leadership to interconnect the electric power systems of the Pacific Northwest and the Southwest, thus providing benefits for power users in 11 Western States; under this plan, construction will soon begin on the first direct current long-distance lines in the United States, stretching all the way from the Columbia River to Los Angeles—and a new era of public and private power cooperation will commence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

Federal hydroelectric generating capacity has been increased by 2,600,000 kilowatts, and 5,150,000 kilowatts of non-Federal capacity has been licensed by the Federal Power Commission.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

3,350 miles of vital transmission lines have been added to Federal systems and about 25,000 miles of new transmission lines have also been built by non-Federal power systems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

The FPC has conducted a National Power Survey to encourage both public and private power companies to join in power pools which are bringing lower cost electricity to consumers throughout the nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

The world's largest atomic electric power plant (at Hanford, Washington) was funded and will soon be generating as much power as two Bonneville dams.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

Federal REA loans have made it possible to open up the lignite coal fields of the Dakotas, and to exploit the coal fields of Western Colorado.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

In addition, the Congress authorized the Delaware Basin Compact to permit the multi-purpose development of that river, and the Senate ratified the Columbia River Treaty which enables the joint U.S.-Canadian development of the full potential of that great river to begin later this year.

In outdoor recreation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

The Congress created three superb new national seashores at Cape Cod (Massachusetts), Padre Island (Texas) and Point Reyes (California).

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

Pioneering a new park concept, Ozark Rivers National Riverway (Missouri) was established as the first river preservation national park in the Nation, and 12 other major new additions to the Park System were recommended for action by future Congresses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

A Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was created. As a vital part of the war on poverty, during the next year, 20 thousand young Americans will set to work in conservation camps across the land tackling the big backlog of work in the land and water areas owned by all of the people.

In the conservation and development of mineral resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.665

Research helped coal production surge upward, and there were initiated a series of action steps [p.666] (including activation of the huge Rifle, Colorado, research center) which will lead to the orderly development of the vast oil shale resources of the Colorado plateau.

For wildlife

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

Enactment of the Wetlands Bill of 1961 made it possible to create more new Waterfowl Refuges (27) than during any previous four-year period in our history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Clean Air Act of 1963 is already providing the first full-scale attack on the air pollution problems that blight living conditions in so many of our cities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

Enactment of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1961 launched the first massive attack on this conservation problem which has already resulted in 1,300 municipal waste treatment plans and the approval of projects that have improved the water quality in 18,000 miles of streams that provide water for 22 million people.

Cities and Their Suburbs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

In 1960, we declared—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

"A new Democratic administration will expand Federal programs to aid urban communities to clear their slums, dispose of their sewage, educate their children, transport suburban commuters to and from their jobs, and combat juvenile delinquency."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Housing Act of 1961 marked the beginning of a new era of Federal commitment to the problems of a nation in which three-fourths of the population has come to live in urban areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

Under that Act, funds available for urban planning grants were increased by $55 million and a new $50 million Federal grant program to assist localities in the acquisition of permanent open space land to be used as parks and playgrounds was established.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Housing Act of 1961 and the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 authorized public facilities loans of $600 million.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 launched a broad attack on youth problems by financing demonstration projects, training personnel in delinquency work, and providing technical assistance for community youth programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

"Federal aid for comprehensive metropolitan

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

transportation programs, including bus and rail mass transit, commuter railroads as well as highway programs and construction of civil airports."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Housing Act of 1961 launched the first efforts to help metropolitan and other urban areas solve their mass transportation problems; 75 million in loans and demonstration grants were provided to States and localities to construct and improve mass transportation systems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 establishes a new long-range program for this purpose and authorizes $375 million in Federal grants, over 3 years, for capital construction and improvement which local transit systems cannot otherwise finance.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

In 1960, we observed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

"Over the past seven years we have watched the steady weakening of the Nation's transportation system, and we noted the need for a national transportation policy.'"

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The National Transportation policy was enunciated in the first Presidential message ever to be sent to the Congress dealing solely with transportation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Highway Act of 1961 resolved the lagging problem of financing the 41,000 mile interstate highway program, and the finished construction rate has almost doubled.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Federal Maritime Commission has been established as an independent agency to guard against prejudice or discrimination harmful to the growth of U. S. World Trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The Maritime Administration, U. S. Department of Commerce, was set up to give its full attention to promoting a vigorous policy of strengthening and modernizing our merchant fleet. Seventy big modern cargo and cargo-passenger ships have been added to the U.S. merchant fleet. The Savannah, the world's first nuclear-powered merchant ship, is now on her first foreign voyage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

The far-reaching decision has been made that the United States will design and build a supersonic air transport plane—and thereby maintain our leadership position in international aviation. Congress has provided $60 million for the development of detailed designs. Twenty airlines already have placed orders.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.666

On August 13, President Johnson signed a new highway bill to provide better primary and secondary [p.667] highways on a 50/50 basis with the states. In addition, it will support needed efforts to improve forest highways, public land roads and national park roads.

Science

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

In 1960, we declared—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

"We will recognize the special role of our Federal Government in support of basic and applied research," mentioning in particular Space, Atomic Energy, and Oceanography.

Space

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Since 1961, the United States has pressed vigorously forward with a 10-year, $35-billion national space program for clear leadership in space exploration, space use, and all important aspects of space science and technology.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Already this program has enabled the United States to challenge the early Soviet challenge in space booster power and to effectively counter the Soviet bid for recognition as the world's leading nation in science and technology.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

In the years 1961-1964, the United States has Successfully flown the Saturn I rocket, putting into orbit the heaviest payloads of the space age to date.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Moved rapidly forward with much more powerful launch vehicles, the Saturn IB and the Saturn V. The Saturn IB, scheduled to fly in 1966, will be able to orbit a payload of 16 tons; and Saturn V, scheduled to fly in 1967 or 1968, will be able to orbit 120 tons or send 45 tons to the moon or 35 tons to Mars or Venus.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Mastered the difficult technology of using liquid hydrogen as a space rocket fuel in the Centaur upper stage rocket and the Saturn I second stage—assuring American leadership in space science and manned space flight in this decade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Successfully completed six manned space flights in Project Mercury, acquiring 54 hours of space flight experience.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Successfully flight-tested the two-man Gemini spacecraft and Titan II space rocket so that manned Gemini flights can begin late in 1964 or early in 1965.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Developed the three-man Apollo spacecraft which will be able to spend up to two months in earth orbit, operate out to a quarter of a million miles from earth, and land our first astronaut-explorers on the moon.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Taken all actions to conduct a series of manned space flights in the Gemini and Apollo programs which will give the United States some 5,000 man-hours of flight experience in earth orbit, develop U. S. capabilities for rendezvous and joining of spacecraft in orbit, and prove out man's ability to perform valuable missions during long stays in space.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Made man's first close-up observations of another planet during the highly successful Mariner II fly-by of Venus.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Obtained the first close-up pictures of the moon, taken and relayed to earth by Ranger VII.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Initiated an ambitious long-range program for scientific investigations in space utilizing large, versatile spacecraft called Orbiting Observatories for geophysical, solar and stellar studies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Operated the world's first weather satellites (Tiros).

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Set up, under the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, the Communications Satellite Corporation, which is well on the way to establishing a global satellite communications system to provide reliable, low-cost telephone, telegraph, and television services to all parts of the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

In short, the United States has matched rapid progress in manned space flight with a balanced program for scientific investigations in space, practical uses of space, and advanced research and technological pioneering to assure that the new challenges of space in the next decade can also be met, and U. S. leadership maintained.

Atomic Energy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

The number of civilian nuclear power plants has increased from 3 to 14 since January 1961; and now the advent of economic nuclear power provides utilities a wider choice of competitive power sources in many sections of the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

The world's largest nuclear power reactor, the Atomic Energy Commission's Production Reactor near Richland, Washington, achieved a controlled, self-sustained nuclear reaction on December 31, 1963.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

The first deep-sea anchored, automatic weather station powered by nuclear energy has gone into unattended operation in the Gulf of Mexico, and the first lighthouse powered by nuclear energy flashes now in Chesapeake Bay.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.667

Nuclear energy was extended to space for the first time in 1961. Compact nuclear generators [p.668] supplied part of the power for instruments in two satellites, and in 1963 provided all of the power needs of two other satellites.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

Vigorous support has been given to basic research in atomic energy. The world's highest energy accelerator, the AGS, has come into productive operation.

Oceanography

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

For the first time in history the United States is building a fleet expressly designed for oceanographic research. Since 1961, 29 ships have been completed or are currently under construction. Shoreside facilities and training programs have been established as part of a major government-wide effort, begun in 1961, to capture the enormous potential rewards of research in this area which until now have been almost as remote and inaccessible as space itself.

Government Operations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

"We shall reform the processes of government in all branches—executive, legislative, and judicial. We will clean out corruption and conflicts of interest, and improve government services."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

This Administration has brought the personnel, morale, ethics, and performance of the Federal service to a point of high excellence. To accomplish this transformation it made improvements in a broad range of activities affecting the operation of the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

The conflict of interest laws were strengthened by the first major revision in a century. The comprehensive new law eliminates ambiguities and inconsistencies in existing laws, and increases the range of government matters in which conflict of interest is prohibited. In addition, President Kennedy issued an Executive Order which established more rigid standards of conduct for Federal officials and employees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

The regulatory agencies were made more effective by reorganization programs and by the appointment of highly-qualified officials, dedicated to protecting the public interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

The Department of Justice has cracked down effectively on organized crime under new anti-racketeering statutes, has uncovered and prosecuted important foreign spies, and has made progress toward more effective procedures for protecting the rights of poor defendants to bail and counsel.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

Federal Employee Organizations, many of which have existed for over half a century, were at last extended formal recognition under Executive Order 10988, issued by President Kennedy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

The Federal Pay Raise Act of 1964 updated the pay structure for Federal employees on a basis of equal salary rates for comparable levels of work in private industry. Completing the reforms initiated in the Act of 1962, it provided for long-needed increases in salary for top level Government administrators upon whom major responsibility for program results must rest. In President Johnson's words, this law established a basis for a standard of "brilliance" and "excellence" in the Federal Government.

Congressional Procedures

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

In 1960, we urged action—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

"To improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

In 1961, the House Rules Committee was enlarged from 12 to 15 members, making it more representative of the views of the majority, and thereby enabling much important legislation to be reported to the floor for a vote by the entire House membership.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

In 1964, for the first time in history, the Senate voted to limit debate on a civil rights measure, thus permitting the Civil Rights Act to come to a vote, and thereby to be enacted.

Consumers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

In 1960, we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

"Effective Government representation and protection" for consumers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

In 1962, President Kennedy became the first Chief Executive to send a message to Congress on consumer matters.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

This Executive action was closely followed by the creation of a Consumer Advisory Council.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

In 1964, President Johnson appointed the first Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, and created a new President's Committee on Consumer Interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

The Kefauver-Harris Drug Amendments of 1962 were the most far-reaching improvements in the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act since 1938. Under these amendments:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.668

Effective legal tools were provided to insure greater safety in connection with the manufacture, distribution and use of drugs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

[p.669] Vital safeguards were added for drug research and manufacture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Interstate distribution of new drugs for testing was barred until an adequate plan of investigation was made available to the Food and Drug Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Domestic drug manufacturing establishments will now be required to register annually and be inspected by the FDA at least once a year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

The Administration has vigorously supported Truth-in-Lending, Truth-in-Packaging, and Truth-in-Securities bills.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

The titles of these bills explain their objectives. Together, they form a triple armor of protection: for buyers of packaged goods, from prevailing deceptive practices; for borrowers of money, from hidden and unscrupulous interest and carrying charges; and for investors in securities from unfair practices threatening to vital savings. The first two bills are still awaiting Congressional action; the third is now a law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

The upward spiral in the price of natural gas which took place in the decade of the 1950's has been halted by vigorous regulatory action of the Federal Power Commission and the nation's 36 million consumers of natural gas have benefited from rate reductions and refunds in excess of $600 million. Natural gas moving largely in interstate pipelines now supplies almost a third of the nation's energy requirements. Regulation to insure its availability in ample supply and at reasonable prices is an important consumer protection function which is now being effectively discharged.

Veterans Affairs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

In 1960, we proposed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

"Adequate compensation for those with service-connected disabilities," and "pensions adequate for a full and dignified life for disabled and distressed veterans and for needy survivors of deceased veterans."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Since 1961, we have achieved:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Increased disability payments for veterans with service-connected disabilities. In the first year alone, this increase provided veterans with additional payments of about $98 million.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

An increase of about 10 percent a month in the compensation for widows, children, and parents of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

An increase from $112 to $150 a month in the dependency and indemnity compensation payable to widows of veterans who died of service-connected disabilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Increased compensation benefits to veterans disabled by blindness, deafness, and kidney disorders, and increased benefits to widows and orphans of veterans whose deaths were service-connected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

In 1960, we endorsed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

"Expanded programs of vocational rehabilitation for disabled veterans, and education for orphans of servicemen."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Since 1961, vocational rehabilitation and training has enabled thousands of GI's to choose occupations and acquire valuable training. For the first time, veterans with peacetime service-connected disabilities have been afforded vocational rehabilitation training. In addition, vocational rehabilitation was extended to blinded World War II and Korean conflict veterans, and war orphans' educational assistance was extended in behalf of certain reservists called to active duty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

In 1960, we stated—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

"The quality of medical care furnished to the disabled veterans has deteriorated .... We shall work for all increased availability of facilities for all veterans in need and we shall move with particular urgency to fulfill the need for expanded domiciliary and nursing-home facilities."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Since 1961, we have—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Approved the construction of new, modern hospitals, a number of which are being built near medical schools to improve veterans' care and research.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Added more full-time doctors to the VA staff, bringing it to an all-time high of nearly 5,000.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Provided hospital and medical care, including out-patient treatment, to peacetime ex-servicemen for service-connected disabilities on the same basis furnished war veterans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Stepped up medical research programs, which have made outstanding contributions to American medicine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

"We shall continue the veterans home loan guarantee and direct loan programs and education benefits patterned after the GI Bill of Rights."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.669

Since 1961, legislation has extended veterans home loans for both World War II and Korean conflict veterans. The GI Bill of Rights for Korean [p.670] veterans was also extended for the benefit of certain reservists called to active duty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

Despite this considerably increased activity, the Veterans Administration has reduced its operating costs.

American Indians

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

"Prompt adoption of a program to assist Indian tribes in the full development of their human and natural resources and to advance the health, education and economic well-being of Indian citizens while preserving their cultural heritage."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

In these 3 1/2 years:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

New classrooms have been provided for more than 7,000 Indian children; summer educational programs have been expanded tenfold so they now serve more than 20,000 students; and a special institute to train artistically gifted Indian youth has been established.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

Indian enrollment in vocational training programs has been doubled.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

For the first time in history, Federal low-rent housing programs have been launched on Indian reservations, and more than 3,100 new housing units have now been authorized.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

Industrial plants offering employment opportunities for thousands of Indians are being opened on Indian reservations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

Accelerated Public Works projects on 89 reservations in 21 States have provided nearly 30,000 man-months of employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

The Vocational Education Act and the Adult Indian Vocational Training Act have been amended to provide improved training for Indians.

The Arts

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

In 1960, we observed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

"The arts flourish where there is freedom and where individual initiative and imagination are encouraged."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

No single quality of the new Administration was more immediately evident to the Nation and the world than the recognition it gave to American artists.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

President Kennedy early created an advisory commission to assist in the growth and development of the arts, and the Administration secured amendments to the Educational and Cultural Exchange Act to improve the quality and effectiveness of the international educational and cultural exchange programs. This past year, the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts was established to stimulate widespread interest in the arts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

On Washington's Birthday 1963, President Kennedy, by Executive Order, created a new Presidential Medal of Freedom as the highest civil honor conferred by the President in peace time upon persons who have made distinctive contributions to the security and national interest of the United States, to world peace, or to cultural activities. Henceforth, those men and women selected by the President for the Medal will be announced annually on the Fourth of July and will be presented with medals at an appropriate White House ceremony.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

In his address to the University of Michigan in May 1964, President Johnson proposed that we begin to build the Great Society first of all in the cities of America, restoring the beauty and dignity which urban centers have lost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

That same month the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue presented to him a sweeping proposal for the reconstruction of the center of the City of Washington. The proposal has been hailed as "a blueprint for glory . . . a realistic and far-seeing redevelopment scheme that may be Washington's last chance to save its 'Avenue of Presidents.'"

Civil Liberties

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

In 1960, we reaffirmed—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

"Our dedication to the Bill of Rights. Freedom and civil liberties, far from being incompatible with security, are vital to our national strength."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

The era of fear and suspicion brought on by accusations, true and false, of subversive activities and security risks has passed. The good sense of the American people, and the overwhelming loyalty of our citizenry have combined to restore balance and calm to security activities, without in any way diminishing the scope or effectiveness of those activities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.670

The Administration has jealously guarded the right of each American to protect his good name. Except in those instances where the national security is overriding, confrontation of the accuser is now required in all loyalty hearings. Individuals [p.671] whose loyalty is being questioned must also be notified of the charges in sufficient time for them to prepare their defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

The Criminal Justice Act of 1964, now before the President for signature, will for the first time in history ensure that poor defendants in criminal cases will have competent legal counsel in defending themselves in Federal courts.

Fiscal Responsibility

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

In 1960, we promised—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

"We shall end the gross waste in Federal expenditures which needlessly raises the budgets of many Government agencies."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

Since 1961, we have moved boldly and directly to eliminate waste and duplication wherever it occurs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

For example, the Department of Defense has embarked on a far-reaching program to realize savings through improvements in its efficiency and management. This program has already produced savings of more than $1 billion in Fiscal Year 1963 and $2.5 billion in the Fiscal Year just completed. By 1964, it is expected that the program will produce yearly savings of over $4 billion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

At the close of the past Fiscal Year Federal employment had been reduced by 22,000 over the total one year earlier. The 1965 budget calls for lower expenditures than in the preceding year—only the second time such a feat has been accomplished in the past 10 years. In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

"We shall collect the billions in taxes which are owed to the Federal Government but are not now collected."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

To handle additional work in income tax collection, 3,971 new employees were added to the Internal Revenue Service by the Congress in fiscal 1961; 2,817 new positions were added in fiscal 1963; and about 1,000 more in fiscal 1964. The additional revenue which these employees will produce will far exceed the cost of their employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

"We shall close the loopholes in the tax laws by which certain privileged groups legally escape their fair share of taxation."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

The Revenue Acts of 1962 and 1964 eliminated more loopholes than all the revenue legislation from 1941 to 1962 combined. They raised $1.7 billion annually in new revenue, nine times the sum raised in this manner during the 1953-60 period. These bills sharply limited expense account abuses, special preferences to U. S. firms and individuals operating abroad, escapes from taxation through personal holding companies and many other unjustified advantages.

Civil Rights

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

In 1960, we pledged—

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

"We shall... seek to create an affirmative new atmosphere in which to deal with racial divisions and inequalities which threaten both the integrity of our democratic faith and the proposition on which our Nation was founded—that all men are created equal."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

That pledge was made from the deepest moral conviction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

It was carried out on the same basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

From the establishment of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the chairmanship of the then Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, on March 6, 1961 to this moment, the efforts of the Administration to provide full and equal civil rights for all Americans have never relaxed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

The high point of achievement in this effort was reached with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the greatest civil rights measure in the history of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

This landmark of our Democracy bars discrimination in the use of public accommodations, in employment, and in the administering of Federally-assisted programs. It makes available effective procedures for assuring the right to vote in Federal elections, directs Federal technical and financial assistance to local public school systems in desegregation, and strengthens the Civil Rights Commission. This comprehensive legislation resolves many of the festering conflicts which had been a source of irritating uncertainty, and smooths the way for favorable resolution of these problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.671

We have also insisted upon non-discrimination in apprenticeship, and have made free, unsegregated access a condition for Federal financial assistance to public libraries, programs for training of teachers of the handicapped, counseling, guidance [p.672] and foreign language institutes, adult civil defense classes, and manpower development and training programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

In supporting construction of Hill-Burton hospitals, mental retardation and community health facilities, we have required non-discrimination in admission and provision of services and granting of staff privileges.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

We have been equally firm in opposing any policy of quotas or "discrimination in reverse," and all other arbitrary or irrelevant distinctions in American life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

This, then, is the accounting of our stewardship. The 1960 platform was not directed to any one sector or group of Americans with particular interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

It proclaimed, rather, the Rights of Man.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

The platform asserted the essential fact of that moment in our history—that the next administration to take office would face as never before the "responsibility and opportunity to call forth the greatness of the American people."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

That responsibility was met; that opportunity was seized, The years since have been times of towering achievement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

We are proud to have been a part of this history. The task of leadership is to lead, and that has been our purpose. But the achievements of the nation over this period outreach the contribution of any party; they are the work of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

In the 1,000 days of John F. Kennedy, in the eventful and culminating months of Lyndon B. Johnson, there has been born a new American greatness.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1964, p.672

Let us continue.[p.677]

Republican Platform of 1964

"For the People" Section One

For a Free People

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

Humanity is tormented once again by an age-old issue—is man to live in dignity and freedom under God or be enslaved—are men in government to serve, or are they to master, their fellow men?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

It befalls us now to resolve this issue anew—perhaps this time for centuries to come. Nor can we evade the issue here at home. Even in this Constitutional Republic, for two centuries the beacon of liberty the world over, individual freedom retreats under the mounting assault of expanding centralized power. Fiscal and economic excesses, too long indulged, already have eroded and threatened the greatest experiment in self-government mankind has known.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

We Republicans claim no monopoly of love of freedom. But we challenge as unwise the course the Democrats have charted; we challenge as dangerous the steps they plan along the way; and we deplore as self-defeating and harmful many of the moves already taken.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

Dominant in their council are leaders whose words extol human liberty, but whose deeds have persistently delimited the scope of liberty and sapped its vitality. Year after year, in the name of benevolence, these leaders have sought the enlargement of Federal power. Year after year, in the guise of concern for others, they have lavishly expended the resources of their fellow citizens. And year after year freedom, diversity and individual, local and state responsibility have given way to regimentation, conformity and subservience to central power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

We Republicans hold that a leadership so misguided weakens liberty in America and the world. We hold that the glittering enticements so invitingly proffered the people, at their own expense, will inevitably bring disillusionment and true disappointment in place of promised happiness. Such leaders are Federal extremists—impulsive in the use of national power, improvident in the management of public funds, thoughtless as to the long-term effects of their acts on individual freedom and creative, competitive enterprise. Men so recklessly disposed cannot be safely entrusted with authority over their fellow citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

To Republicans, liberty is still today man's most precious possession. For every citizen, and for the generations to come, we Republicans vow that it shall be preserved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

In substantiation of this belief the Republican Party submits this platform. To the American people it is our solemn bond.

To Stay Free

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

The shape of the future is our paramount concern. Much of today's moral decline and drift—much of the prevailing preoccupation with physical and material comforts of life—much of today's crass political appeals to the appetites of the citizenry—can be traced to a leadership grown demagogic and materialistic through indifference to national ideals rounded in devoutly held religious faith. The Republican Party seeks not to renounce this heritage of faith and high purpose; rather, we are determined to reaffirm and reapply it. So doing, these will be our guides:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

1. Every person has the right to govern himself, to fix his own goals, and to make his own way with a minimum of governmental interference.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

2. It is for government to foster and maintain an environment of freedom encouraging every individual to develop to the fullest his God-given powers of mind, heart and body; and, beyond this, government should undertake only needful things, rightly of public concern, which the citizen cannot himself accomplish.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

We Republicans hold that these two principles must regain their primacy in our government's relations, not only with the American people, but also with nations and peoples everywhere in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.677

3. Within our Republic the Federal Government should act only in areas where it has Constitutional authority to act, and then only in respect to proven needs where individuals and local or state governments will not or cannot adequately perform. Great power, whether governmental or private, political or economic, must be so checked, balanced and restrained and, where necessary, so [p.678] dispersed as to prevent it from becoming a threat to freedom any place in the land.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

4. It is a high mission of government to help assure equal opportunity for all, affording every citizen an equal chance at the starting line but never determining who is to win or lose. But government must also reflect the nation's compassionate concern for those who are unable, through no fault of their own, to provide adequately for themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

5. Government must be restrained in its demands upon and its use of the resources of the people, remembering that it is not the creator but the steward of the wealth it uses; that its goals must ever discipline its means; and that service to all the people, never to selfish or partisan ends, must be the abiding purpose of men entrusted with public power.

Deeds Not Words

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

The future we pledge, then, for freedom, by faithful adherence to these guides. Let the people compare these guides with those of the Democratic Party, then test, not the words of the two Parties, but their performance during the past four years of Democratic control. Let the people ask:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

Is the Republic stronger today or wiser than when the present Administration took office four years ago?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

Is its guardianship of freedom more respected at home and throughout the world?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

For these four years the leaders of the Democratic Party have been entrusted with the nation's executive power and overwhelmingly in control of the Congress. The question must be asked: Have these leaders successfully advanced the purposes of this mightiest nation mankind has known?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

Tragically, in each instance, the answer must be "no."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

Let the Democratic Party stand accused.

Section Two

Failures of Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

This Democratic Administration has been, from its beginning, not the master but the prisoner of major events. The will and dependability of its leadership, even for the defense of the free world, have come to be questioned in every area of the globe.

Disregard of Allies

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

This Administration has neglected to consult with America's allies on critical matters at critical times, leading to lack of confidence, lack of respect and disintegrating alliances.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

It has permitted an erosion of NATO force and unity, alienating most of its member nations by negotiating with the common foe behind their backs. It has offered concessions to the Communists while according our allies little understanding, patience, or cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

This Administration has created discord and distrust by failing to develop a nuclear policy for NATO.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

It has provoked crises of confidence with our oldest friends, including England and France, by bungling such major projects as Skybolt and NATO's nuclear needs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

It has allowed other great alliances—SEATO and CENTO—also to deteriorate, by failing to provide the leadership required for their revitalization and by neglecting their cooperation in keeping the peace.

Weakness Before Communism

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

This Administration has sought accommodations with Communism without adequate safeguards and compensating gains for freedom. It has alienated proven allies by opening a "hot line" first with a sworn enemy rather than with a proven friend, and in general pursued a risky path such as began at Munich a quarter century ago.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

It has misled the American people and forfeited a priceless opportunity to win concessions for freedom by mishandling sales of farm commodities to Communists. At first it disavowed any intent to subsidize prices or use credit; later it demanded such authority and forced the Democrats in Congress to acquiesce. At first it hinted at concessions for freedom in return for wheat sold to Russia; later it obtained no concessions at all. At first it pledged not to breach restraints on trade with Communist countries in other parts of the world; later it stimulated such trade itself, and thus it encouraged trade with Cuba by America's oldest friends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.678

This Administration has collaborated with Indonesian imperialism by helping it to acquire territory belonging to the Netherlands and control over the Papuan people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has abetted further Communist takeover in [p.679] Laos, weakly accepted Communist violations of the Geneva Agreement, which the present Administration perpetrated, and increased Soviet influence in Southeast Asia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has encouraged an increase of aggression in South Vietnam by appearing to set limits on America's willingness to act—and then, in the deepening struggle, it has sacrificed the lives of American and allied fighting men by denial of modern equipment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

This Administration has permitted the shooting down of American pilots, the mistreatment of American citizens, and the destruction of American property to become hallmarks of Communist arrogance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has stood by as a wire barricade in Berlin became a wall of shame, defacing that great city, humiliating every American, and disgracing free men everywhere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has turned its back on the captive peoples of Eastern Europe, abandoning their cause in the United Nations and in the official utterances of our government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

This Administration has forever blackened our nation's honor at the Bay of Pigs, bungling the invasion plan and leaving brave men on Cuban beaches to be shot down. Later the forsaken survivors were ransomed, and Communism was allowed to march deeper into Latin America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has turned a deaf ear to pleas from throughout the Western Hemisphere for decisive American leadership to seal off subversion from the Soviet base just off our shore.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has increased the long-term troubles for America by retreating from its pledge to obtain on-the-spot proof of the withdrawal of Soviet offensive weapons from Cuba.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It left vacant for many critical months the high posts of ambassador in Panama and with the Organization of American States, and thus it failed to anticipate and forestall the anti-American violence that burst forth in Panama.

Undermining the United Nations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

This Administration has failed to provide forceful, effective leadership in the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has weakened the power and influence of this world organization by failing to demand basic improvements in its procedures to guard against its becoming merely a forum of anti-Western insult and abuse.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has refused to insist upon enforcement of the United Nations' rules governing financial support though such enforcement is supported by an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has shouldered virtually the full costs of the United Nations' occupation of the Congo, only to have the ousted leadership asked back when United Nations forces had withdrawn.

Forsaking America's Interests

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

This Administration has subsidized various forms of socialism throughout the world, to the jeopardy of individual freedom and private enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has proved itself inept and weak in international trade negotiations, allowing the loss of opportunities historically open to American enterprise and bargaining away markets indispensable to prosperity of American farms.

Failure of National Security Planning

Losing a Critical Lead

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

This Administration has delayed research and development in advanced weapons systems and thus confronted the American people with a fearsome possibility that Soviet advances, in the decade of the 1970's, may surpass America's present lead. Its misuse of "cost effectiveness" has stifled the creativity of the nation's military, scientific and industrial communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has failed to originate a single new major strategic weapons system after inheriting from a Republican Administration the most powerful military force of all time. It has concealed a lack of qualitative advance for the 1970's by speaking of a quantitative strength which by then will be obsolete. It has not demonstrated the foresight necessary to prepare a strategic strength which in future years will deter war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

It has endangered security by downgrading efforts to prepare defenses against enemy ballistic missiles. It has retarded our own military development for near and outer space, while the enemy's development moves on.

Invitations to Disaster

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.679

This Administration has adopted policies which will lead to a potentially fatal parity of power with Communism instead of continued military superiority for the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

It has permitted disarmament negotiations to [p.680] proceed without adequate consideration of military judgment-a procedure which tends to bring about, in effect, a unilateral curtailment of American arms rendered the more dangerous by the Administration's discounting known Soviet advances in nuclear weaponry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

It has failed to take minimum safeguards against possible consequences of the limited nuclear test ban treaty, including advanced underground tests where permissible and full readiness to test elsewhere should the need arise.

Distortions and Blackouts

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

This Administration has adopted the policies of news management and unjustifiable secrecy, in the guise of guarding the nation's security; it has shown a contempt of the right of the people to know the truth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

This Administration, while claiming major defense savings, has in fact raised defense spending by billions of dollars a year, and yet has short-changed critical areas.

Undermining Morale

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

This Administration has weakened the bonds of confidence and understanding between civilian leaders and the nation's top military professionals. It has bypassed seasoned military judgment in vital national security policy decisions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

It has permitted non-military considerations, political as well as spurious economic arguments, to reverse professional judgment on major weapons and equipment such as the controversial TFX, the X-22, and the nuclear carrier.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

In sum, both in military and foreign affairs, the Democratic record all the world around is one of disappointment and reverses for freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

And this record is no better at home.

Failures at Home

Inability to Create Jobs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

This Administration has failed to honor its pledges to assure good jobs, full prosperity and a rapidly growing economy for all the American people:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

—failing to reduce unemployment to four percent, falling far short of its announced goal every single month of its tenure in office; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

—despite glowing promises, allowing a disheartening increase in long-term and youth unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

This Administration has failed to apply Republican-initiated retraining programs where most needed particularly where they could afford new economic opportunities to Negro citizens. It has preferred, instead, divisive political proposals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

It has demonstrated its inability to measure up to the challenge of automation which, wisely guided, will enrich the lives of all people. Administration approaches have been negative and unproductive, as for example the proposed penalties upon the use of overtime. Such penalties would serve only to spread existing unemployment and injure those who create jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

It has failed to perform its responsibility under Republican amendments to the Manpower Training Act. It has neglected, for example, the basic requirement of developing a dictionary of labor skills which are locally, regionally and nationally in short supply, even though many thousands of jobs are unfilled today for lack of qualified applicants.

Failing the Poor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

This Administration has refused to take practical free enterprise measures to help the poor. Under the last Republican Administration, the percentage of poor in the country dropped encouragingly from 28% to 21%. By contrast, the present Administration, despite a massive increase in the Federal bureaucracy, has managed a mere two percentage point reduction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

This Administration has proposed a so-called war on poverty which characteristically overlaps, and often contradicts, the 42 existing Federal poverty programs. It would dangerously centralize Federal controls and bypass effective state, local and private programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

It has demonstrated little concern for the acute problems created for the poor by inflation. Consumer prices have increased in the past three and a half years by almost 5%, amounting in effect to a 5% national sales tax on the purchases of a family living on fixed income.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.680

Under housing and urban renewal programs, notably in the Nation's Capital, it has created new slums by forcing the poor from their homes to make room for luxury apartments, while neglecting the vital need for adequate relocation assistance.[p.681]

Retarding Enterprises

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

This Administration has violently thrust Federal power into the free market in such areas as steel prices, thus establishing precedents which in future years could critically wound free enterprise in the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has so discouraged private enterprise that the annual increase in the number of businesses has plummeted from the Republican level of 70,000 a year to 47,000 a year.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has allowed the rate of business failures to rise higher under its leadership than in any period since depression days.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has aggravated the problems of small business by multiplying Federal record-keeping requirements and has hurt thousands of small businessmen by forcing up their costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

This Administration has curtailed, through such agencies as the National Labor Relations Board, the simple, basic right of Americans voluntarily to go into or to go out of business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has failed to stimulate new housing and attract more private capital into the field. In the past three years it has fallen short by 1,500,000 units of meeting its pledge of 2,000,000 new homes each year.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has sought to weaken the patent system which is so largely responsible for America's progress in technology, medicine and science.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has required private electric power companies to submit to unreasonable Federal controls as a condition to the utilization of rights-of-way over public lands. It has sought to advance, without Congressional authorization, a vastly expensive nationwide electrical transmission grid.

Betrayal of the Farmer

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

This Administration has refused, incredibly, to honor the clear mandate of American wheat farmers, in the largest farm referendum ever held, to free them of rigid Federal controls and to restore their birthright to make their own management decisions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has strangled the Republican rural development program with red tape and neglected its most essential ingredient, local initiative.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has broken its major promises to farm people, dropping the parity ratio to its lowest level since 1939. It has dumped surplus stocks so as to lower farm income and increase the vicious cost-price squeeze on the farmer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has evidenced hostility toward American livestock producers by proposals to establish mandatory marketing quotas on all livestock, to fine and imprison dairy farmers failing to maintain Federally-acceptable records, and to establish a subsidized grazing cropland conversion program. It has allowed imports of beef and other meat products to rise to an all-time high during a slump in cattle prices which was aggravated by government grain sales.

Neglect of Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

This Administration has delayed the expeditious handling of oil shale patent applications and the early development of a domestic oil shale industry. It has allowed the deterioration of the domestic mining and petroleum industries including displacement of domestic markets by foreign imports. It has failed to protect the American fishing industry and has retreated from policies providing equitable sharing of international fishing grounds.

Fiscal Irresponsibility

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

This Administration has misled the American people by such budget manipulations as crowding spending into the previous fiscal year, presenting a proposal to sell off $2.3 billion in government assets as a cot in spending, and using bookkeeping devices to make expenditures seem smaller than they actually are.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has, despite pledges of economy, burdened this nation with four unbalanced budgets in a row, creating deficits totaling $26 billion, with still more debt to come, reflecting a rate of sustained deficit spending unmatched in peacetime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has failed to establish sensible priorities for Federal fluids. In consequence, it has undertaken needlessly expensive crash programs, as for example accelerating a trip to the moon, to the neglect of other critical needs such as research into health and the increasingly serious problems of air and water pollution and urban crowding.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

This Administration has continued to endanger retirement under Social Security for millions of citizens; it has attempted to overload the System with costly, unrelated programs which ignore the dangers of overly regressive taxation and the unfairness of forcing the poor to finance such programs for the rich.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.681

It has demanded the elimination of a substantial portion of personal income tax deductions for [p.682] charitable and church contributions, for real property taxes paid by home owners, and for interest payments. The elimination of these deductions would impose great hardship upon millions of our citizens and discourage the growth of some of the finest organizations in America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

This Administration has impeded investigations of suspected wrongdoing which might implicate public officials in the highest offices in the land. It has thus aroused justifiable resentment against those who use the high road of public service as the low road to illicitly acquired wealth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

It has permitted the quality and morale of the postal system to deteriorate and drastically restricted its services. It has made the Post Office almost inaccessible to millions of working people, reduced the once admired Parcel Post System to a national laughing stock—and yet it is intimated that Americans may soon have to pay 8¢ for a first-class postage stamp.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

It has resisted personal income tax credits for education, always preferring the route leading to Federal control over our schools. Some leading Democrats have even campaigned politically in favor of such tax credits while voting against them in Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

Contrary to the intent of the Manpower Training Act, it has sought to extend Department of Labor influence over vocational education.

Discord and Discontent

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

This Administration has exploited interracial tensions by extravagant campaign promises, without fulfillment, playing on the just aspirations of the minority groups, encouraging disorderly and lawless elements, and ineffectually administering the laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

It has subjected career civil servants and part-time Federal employees, including employees of the Agriculture Department, to political pressures harmful to the integrity of the entire Federal service. It has weakened veterans' preference in Federal jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

It has made Federal intervention, even on the Presidential level, a standard operating practice in labor disputes, thus menacing the entire system of free collective bargaining.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

It has resorted to police state tactics, using the great power of Federal Departments and agencies, to compel compliance with Administration desires, notably in the steel price dispute. The Department of Justice, in particular, has been used improperly to achieve partisan political, economic, and legislative goals. This abuse of power should be the subject of a Congressional investigation.

Weakening Responsibility

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

This Administration has moved, through such undertakings as its so-called war on poverty, accelerated public works and the New Communities Program in the 1964 housing proposal, to establish new Federal offices duplicating existing agencies, bypassing the state capitals, thrusting aside local government, and siphoning off to Washington the administration of private citizen and community affairs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

It has undermined the Federally assisted, State-operated medical and hospital assistance program, while using—and abusing—Federal authority to force a compulsory hospital program upon the people and the Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

This enumeration is necessarily incomplete. It does not exhaust the catalog of misdeeds and failures of the present Administration. And let the nation realize that the full impact of these many ill-conceived and ill-fated activities of the Democratic Administration is yet to come.

Section Three

The Republican Alternative

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

We Republicans are not content to record Democratic misdeeds and failures. We now offer policies and programs new in conception and dynamic in operation. These we urge to recapture initiative for freedom at home and abroad and to rebuild our strength at home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

Nor is this a new role. Republican Presidents from Abraham Lincoln to Dwight D. Eisenhower stand as witness that Republican leadership is steadfast in principle, clear in purpose and committed to progress. The many achievements of the Eisenhower Administration in strengthening peace abroad and the well-being of all at home have been unmatched in recent times. A new Republican Administration will stand proudly on this record.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.682

We do not submit, in this platform, extravagant promises to be cynically cast aside after election day. Rather, we offer examples of Republican initiatives in areas of overriding concern to the whole nation—North, South, East and West-which befit a truly national party. In the interest of brevity, we do not repeat the commitments of [p.683] the 1960 Republican Platform, "Building a Better America," and the 1962 "Declaration of Republican Principle and Policy." We incorporate into this Platform as pledges renewed those commitments which are relevant to the problems of 1964.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

These, then, will be our guides, and these our additional pledges, in meeting the nation's needs.

Faith in the Individual

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

1. We Republicans shall first rely on the individual's right and capacity to advance his own economic well-being, to control the fruits of his efforts and to plan his own and his family's future; and, where government is rightly involved, we shall assist the individual in surmounting urgent problems beyond his own power and responsibility to control. For instance, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—enlargement of employment opportunities for urban and rural citizens, with emphasis on training programs to equip them with needed skills; improved job information and placement services; and research and extension services channeled toward helping rural people improve their opportunities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—tax credits and other methods of assistance to help needy senior citizens meet the costs of medical and hospital insurance;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—a strong, sound system of Social Security, with improved benefits to our people;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—continued Federal support for a sound research program aimed at both the prevention and cure of diseases, and intensified efforts to secure prompt and effective application of the results of research. This will include emphasis on mental illness, drug addiction, alcoholism, cancer, heart disease and other diseases of increasing incidence;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—revision of the Social Security laws to allow higher earnings, without loss of benefits, by our elderly people;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—full coverage of all medical and hospital costs for the needy elderly people, financed by general revenues through broader implementation of Federal-State plans, rather than the compulsory Democratic scheme covering only a small percentage of such costs, for everyone regardless of need;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—adoption and implementation of a fair and adequate program for providing necessary supplemental farm labor for producing and harvesting agricultural commodities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—tax credits for those burdened by the expenses of college education;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—vocational rehabilitation, through cooperation between government—Federal and State—and industry, for the mentally and physically handicapped, the chronically unemployed and the poverty-stricken;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—incentives for employers to hire teenagers, including broadening of temporary exemptions under the minimum wage law;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—to repeal the Administration's wheat certificate "bread-tax" on consumers, so burdensome to low-income families and overwhelmingly rejected by farmers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—revision of present non-service-connected pension programs to provide increased benefits for low income pensioners, with emphasis on rehabilitation, nursing homes and World War I veterans;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—re-evaluation of the armed forces' manpower procurement programs with the goal of replacing involuntary inductions as soon as possible by an efficient voluntary system, offering real career incentives;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—enactment of legislation, despite Democratic opposition, to curb the flow through the mails of obscene materials which has flourished into a multimillion dollar obscenity racket;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—support of a Constitutional amendment permitting those individuals and groups who choose to do so to exercise their religion freely in public places, provided religious exercises are not prepared or prescribed by the state or political subdivision thereof and no person's participation therein is coerced, thus preserving the traditional separation of church and state;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—full implementation and faithful execution of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and all other civil rights statutes, to assure equal rights and opportunities guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—improvements of civil rights statutes adequate to changing needs of our times;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—such additional administrative or legislative actions as may be required to end the denial, for whatever unlawful reason, of the right to vote;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—immigration legislation seeking to re-unite families and continuation of the "Fair Share" Refugee Program;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.683

—continued opposition to discrimination based on race, creed, national origin or sex. We recognize that the elimination of any such discrimination is a matter of heart, conscience, and education, as well as of equal rights under law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

[p.684] In all such programs, where Federal initiative is properly involved to relieve or prevent misfortune or meet overpowering need, it will be the Republican way to move promptly and energetically, and wherever possible to provide assistance of a kind enabling the individual to gain or regain the capability to make his own way and to have a fair chance to achieve his own goals. In all matters relating to human rights it will be the Republican way fully to implement all applicable laws and never to lose sight of the intense need for advancing peaceful progress in human relations in our land. The Party of Abraham Lincoln will proudly and faithfully live up to its heritage of equal rights and equal opportunities for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

In furtherance of our faith in the individual, we also pledge prudent, responsible management of the government's fiscal affairs to protect the individual against the evils of spendthrift government—protecting most of all the needy and fixed-income families against the cruelest tax, inflation—and protecting every citizen against the high taxes forced by excessive spending, in order that each individual may keep more of his earnings for his own and his family's use. For instance, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—a reduction of not less than five billion dollars in the present level of Federal spending;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—an end to chronic deficit financing, proudly reaffirming our belief in a balanced budget;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—further reduction in individual and corporate tax rates as fiscal discipline is restored;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—repayments on the public debt;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—maintenance of an administrative, legislative and regulatory climate encouraging job-building enterprise to help assure every individual a real chance for a good job;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—wise, firm and responsible conduct of the nation's foreign affairs, backed by military forces kept modern, strong and ready, thereby assuring every individual of a future promising peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

In all such matters it will be the Republican way so to conduct the affairs of government as to give the individual citizen the maximum assurance of a peaceful and prosperous future, freed of the discouragement and hardship produced by wasteful and ineffectual government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

In furtherance of our faith in the individual, we also pledge the maximum restraint of Federal intrusions into matters more productively left to the individual. For instance, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—to continue Republican sponsorship of practical Federal-State-local programs which will effectively treat the needs of the poor, while resisting, direct Federal handouts that erode away individual self-reliance and self-respect and perpetuate dependency;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—to continue the advancement of education on all levels, through such programs as selective aid to higher education, strengthened State and local tax resources, including tax credits for college education, while resisting the Democratic efforts which endanger local control of schools;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—to help assure equal opportunity and a good education for all, while opposing Federally-sponsored "inverse discrimination," whether by the shifting of jobs, or the abandonment of neighborhood schools, for reasons of race;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—to provide our farmers, who have contributed so much to the strength of our nation, with the maximum opportunity to exercise their own management decisions on their own farms, while resisting all efforts to impose upon them further Federal controls;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—to establish realistic priorities for the concentration of Federal spending in the most productive and creative areas, such as education, job training, vocational rehabilitation, educational research, oceanography, and the wise development and use of natural resources in the water as well as on land, while resisting Democratic efforts to spend wastefully and indiscriminately;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—to open avenues of peaceful progress in solving racial controversies while discouraging lawlessness and violence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

In all such matters, it will be the Republican way to assure the individual of maximum freedom as government meets its proper responsibilities, while resisting the Democratic obsession to impose from above, uniform and rigid schemes for meeting varied and complex human problems.

Faith in the Competitive System

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

2. We Republicans shall vigorously protect the dynamo of economic growth—free, competitive enterprise—that has made America the envy of the world. For instance, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.684

—removal of the wartime Federal excise taxes, favored by the Democratic Administration, on pens, pencils, jewelry, cosmetics, luggage, handbags, wallets and toiletries;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—assistance to small business by simplifying [p.685] Federal and State tax and regulatory requirements, fostering the availability of longer term credit at fair terms and equity capital for small firms, encouraging strong State programs to foster small business, establishing more effective measures to assure a sharing by small business in Federal procurement, and promoting wider export opportunities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—an end to power-grabbing regulatory actions, such as the reach by the Federal Trade Commission for injunctive powers and the ceaseless pressing by the White House, the Food and Drug Administration and Federal Trade Commission to dominate consumer decisions in the market place;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—returning the consumer to the driver's seat as the chief regulator and chief beneficiary of a free economy, by resisting excessive concentration of power, whether public or private;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—a drastic reduction in burdensome Federal paperwork and overlapping regulations, which weigh heavily on small businessmen struggling to compete and to provide jobs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—a determined drive, through tough, realistic negotiations, to remove the many discriminatory and restrictive trade practices of foreign nations;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—greater emphasis on overseas sales of surplus farm commodities to friendly countries through long-term credits repayable in dollars under the Republican Food for Peace program;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—dedication to freedom of expression for all news media, to the right of access by such media to public proceedings, and to the independence of radio, television and other news-gathering media from excessive government control;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—improvement, and full and fair enforcement, of the anti-trust statutes, coupled with long-overdue clarification of Federal policies and interpretations relating thereto in order to strengthen competition and protect the consumer and small business;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—constant opposition to any form of unregulated monopoly, whether business or labor;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—meaningful safeguards against irreparable injuries to any domestic industries by disruptive surges of imports, such as in the case of beef and other meat products, textiles, oil, glass, coal, lumber and steel;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—enactment of law, such as the Democratic Administration vetoed in the 88th Congress, requiring that labels of imported items clearly disclose their foreign origin;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—completely reorganize the National Labor Relations Board to assure impartial protection of the rights of the public, employees and employers, ending the defiance of Congress by the present Board;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—the redevelopment of an atmosphere of confidence throughout the government and across the nation, in which vigorous competition can flourish.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

In all such matters it will be the Republican way to support, not harass—to encourage, not restrain—to build confidence, not threaten—to provide stability, not unrest—to speed genuine growth, not conjure up statistical fantasies and to assure that all actions of government apply fairly to every element of the nation's economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

In furtherance of our faith in the competitive system, we also pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—a continual re-examination and reduction of government competition with private business, consistent with the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—elimination of excessive bureaucracy;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—full protection of the integrity of the career governmental services, military and civilian, coupled with adequate pay scales;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—maximum reliance upon subordinate levels of government and individual citizens to meet the nation's needs, in place of establishing even more Federal agencies to burden the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

In all such matters relating to Federal administration it will be the Republican way to provide maximum service for each tax dollar expended, watchfully superintend the size and scope of Federal activities, and assure an administration always fair, efficient and cooperatively disposed toward every element of our competitive system.

Faith in Limited Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

3. We Republicans shall insist that the Federal Government have effective but limited powers, that it be frugal and efficient, and that it fully meet its Constitutional responsibilities to all the American people. For instance, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—restoration of collective bargaining responsibility to labor and management, minimizing third party intervention and preventing any agency of government from becoming an advocate for any private economic interest;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.685

—development of truly voluntary commodity programs for commercial agriculture, including payments in kind out of government-owned surpluses, [p.686] diversion of unneeded land to conservation uses, price supports free of political manipulation in order to stimulate and attain fair market prices, together with adequate credit facilities and continued support of farm-owned and operated cooperatives including rural electric and telephone facilities, while resisting all efforts to make the farmer dependent, for his economic survival, upon either compensatory payments by the Federal Government or upon the whim of the Secretary of Agriculture;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—full cooperation of all governmental levels and private enterprise in advancing the balanced use of the nation's natural resources to provide for man's multiple needs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—continuing review of public-land laws and policies to assure maximum opportunity for all beneficial uses of the public lands; including the development of mineral resources;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—comprehensive water-resource planning and development, including projects for our growing cities, expanded research in desalinization of water, and continued support of multi-purpose reclamation projects;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—support of sustained yield management of our forests and expanded research for control of forest insects, disease, and forest fires;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—protection of traditional domestic fishing grounds and other actions, including tax incentives, to encourage modernization of fishing vessels, and improve processing and marketing practices;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—continued tax support to encourage exploration and development of domestic sources of minerals and metals, with reasonable depletion allowances;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—stabilization of present oil programs, private development of atomic power, increased coal research and expansion of coal exports;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—a replanning of the present space program to provide for a more orderly, yet aggressively pursued, step-by-step development, remaining alert to the danger of overdiversion of skilled personnel in critical shortage from other vital areas such as health, industry, education and science;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

In furtherance of our faith in limited, frugal and efficient government we also pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—credit against Federal taxes for specified State and local taxes paid, and a transfer to the States of excise and other Federal tax sources, to reinforce the fiscal strength of State and local governments so that they may better meet rising school costs and other pressing urban and suburban problems such as transportation, housing, water systems and juvenile delinquency;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—emphasis upon channeling more private capital into sound urban development projects and private housing;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—critical re-examination and major overhaul of all Federal grant-in-aid programs with a view to channeling such programs through the States, discontinuing those no longer required and adjusting others in a determined effort to restore the unique balance and creative energy of the traditional American system of government;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—revitalization of municipal and county governments throughout America by encouraging them, and private citizens as well, to develop new solutions of their major concerns through a streamlining and modernizing of state and local processes of government, and by a renewed consciousness of their ability to reach these solutions, not through Federal action, but through their own capabilities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—support of a Constitutional amendment, as well as legislation, enabling States having bicameral legislatures to apportion one House on bases of their choosing, including factors other than population;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—complete reform of the tax structure, to include simplification as well as lower rates to strengthen individual and business incentives;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—effective budgetary reform, improved Congressional appropriation procedures, and full implementation of the anti-deficiency statute;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—a wide-ranging reform of other Congressional procedures, including the provision of adequate professional staff assistance for the minority membership on Congressional Committees, to insure that the power and prestige of Congress remain adequate to the needs of the times;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.686

—high priority for the solution of the nation's balance of payment difficulties to assure unquestioned confidence in the dollar, maintenance of the competitiveness of American products in domestic and foreign markets, expansion of exports, stimulation of foreign tourism in the United States, greater foreign sharing of mutual security burdens abroad, a drastic reorganization and redirection of the entire foreign aid effort, gradual reductions in overseas U.S. forces as manpower can be replaced by increased firepower; and strengthening of the [p.687] international monetary system without sacrifice of our freedom of policy making.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

In all such matters it will be the Republican way to achieve not feigned but genuine savings, allowing a reduction of the public debt and additional tax reductions while meeting the proper responsibilities of government. We pledge an especially determined effort to help strengthen the ability of State and local governments to meet the broad range of needs facing the nation's urban and suburban communities.

Section Four

Freedom Abroad

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

The Republican commitment to individual freedom applies no less abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

America must advance freedom throughout the world as a vital condition of orderly human progress, universal justice, and the security of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

The supreme challenge to this policy is an atheistic imperialism-Communism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

Our nation's leadership must be judged by—indeed, American independence and even survival are dependent upon—the stand it takes toward Communism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

That stand must be: victory for freedom. There can be no peace, there can be no security, until this goal is won.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

As long as Communist leaders remain ideologically fixed upon ruling the world, there can be no lesser goal. This is the supreme test of America's foreign policy. It must not be defaulted. In the balance is human liberty everyplace on earth.

Reducing the Risks of War

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

A dynamic strategy aimed at victory pressing always for initiatives for freedom, rejecting always appeasement and withdrawal-reduces the risk of nuclear war. It is a nation's vacillation, not firmness, that tempts an aggressor into war. It is accommodation, not opposition, that encourages a hostile nation to remain hostile and to remain aggressive.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

The road to peace is a road not of fawning amiability but of strength and respect. Republicans judge foreign policy by its success in advancing freedom and justice, not by its effect on international prestige polls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

In making foreign policy, these will be our guidelines:

Trusting Ourselves and Our Friends

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

1. Secrecy in foreign policy must be at a minimum, public understanding at a maximum. Our own citizens, rather than those of other nations, should be accorded primary trust.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

2. Consultation with our allies should take precedence over direct negotiations with Communist powers. The bypassing of our allies has contributed greatly to the shattering of free world unity and to the loss of free world continuity in opposing Communism.

Communism's Course

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

3. We reject the notion that Communism has abandoned its goal of world domination, or that fat and well fed Communists are less dangerous than lean and hungry ones. We also reject the notion that the United States should take sides in the Sino-Soviet rift.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

Republican foreign policy starts with the assumption that Communism is the enemy of this nation in every sense until it can prove that its enmity has been abandoned.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

4. We hold that trade with Communist countries should not be directed toward the enhancement of their power and influence but could only be justified if it would serve to diminish their power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

5. We are opposed to the recognition of Red China. We oppose its admission into the United Nations. We steadfastly support free China.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

6. In negotiations with Communists, Republicans will probe tirelessly for reasonable, practicable and trustworthy agreements. However, we will never abandon insistence on advantages for the free world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

7. Republicans will continue to work for the realization of the Open Skies policy proposed in 1955 by President Eisenhower. Only open societies offer real hope of confidence among nations.

Communism's Captives

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.687

8. Republicans reaffirm their long-standing commitment to a course leading to eventual liberation of the Communist dominated nations of Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America, including the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, and its Serbian, Croatian and Slovene peoples, Cuba, mainland China, and many others. [p.688] We condemn the persecution of minorities, such as the Jews, within Communist borders.

The United Nations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

9. Republicans support the United Nations. However, we will never rest in our efforts to revitalize its original purpose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

We will press for a change in the method of voting in the General Assembly and in the specialized agencies that will reflect population disparities among the member states and recognize differing abilities and willingness to meet the obligations of the Charter. We will insist upon General Assembly acceptance of the International Court of Justice advisory opinion, upholding denial of the votes of member nations which refuse to meet properly levied assessments, so that the United Nations will more accurately reflect the power realities of the world. Further to assure the carrying out of these recommendations and to correct the above abuses, we urge the calling of an amending convention of the United Nations by the year 1967.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

Republicans will never surrender to any international group the responsibility of the United States for its sovereignty, its own security, and the leadership of the free world.

NATO: The Great Shield

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

10. Republicans regard NATO as indispensable for the prevention of war and the protection of freedom. NATO's unity and vitality have alarmingly deteriorated under the present Administration. It is a keystone of Republican foreign policy to revitalize the Alliance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

To hasten its restoration, Republican leadership will move immediately to establish an international commission, comprised of individuals of high competence in NATO affairs, whether in or out of government, to explore and recommend effective new ways to strengthen alliance participation and fulfillment.

Freedom's Further Demands

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

11. To our nation's associates in SEATO and CENTO, Republicans pledge reciprocal dedication of purpose and revitalized interest. These great alliances, with NATO, must be returned to the forefront of foreign policy planning. A strengthened alliance system is equally necessary in the Western Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

This will remain our constant purpose: Republicans will labor tirelessly with free men everywhere and in every circumstance toward the defeat of Communism and victory for freedom.

The Geography of Freedom

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

12. In diverse regions of the world, Republicans will make clear to any hostile nation that the United States will increase the costs and risks of aggression to make them outweigh hopes for gain. It was just such a communication and determination by the Eisenhower Republican Administration that produced the 1953 Korean Armistice, The same strategy can win victory for freedom and stop further aggression in Southeast Asia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

We will move decisively to assure victory in South Vietnam. While confining the conflict as closely as possible, America must move to end the fighting in a reasonable time and provide guarantees against further aggression. We must make it clear to the Communist world that, when conflict is forced with America, it will end only in victory for freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

We will demand that the Berlin Wall be taken down prior to the resumption of any negotiations with the Soviet Union on the status of forces in, or treaties affecting, Germany.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

We will reassure our German friends that the United States will not accept any plan for the future of Germany which lacks firm assurance of a free election on reunification.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

We will urge the immediate implementation of the Caracas Declaration of Solidarity against international Communist intervention endorsed in 1954 by the Organization of American States during the Eisenhower Administration, which Declaration, in accordance with the historic Monroe Doctrine, our nation's official policy since 1823, opposes domination of any of our neighbor-nations by any power outside this Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.688

We will vigorously press our OAS partners to join the United States in restoring a free and independent government in Cuba, stopping the spread of Sino-Soviet subversion, forcing the withdrawal of the foreign military presence now in Latin America, and preventing future intrusions. We Republicans will recognize a Cuban government in exile; we will support its efforts to regain the independence of its homeland; we will assist Cuban freedom fighters in carrying on guerrilla [p.689] warfare against the Communist regime; we will work for an economic boycott by all nations of the free world in trade with Cuba; and we will encourage free elections in Cuba after liberty and stability are restored.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will consider raising the economic participation of the Republic of Panama in the operation of the Panama Canal and assure the safety of Americans in the area. We will reaffirm this nation's treaty rights and study the feasibility of a substitute, sea-level canal at an appropriate location including the feasibility of nuclear excavation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

Republicans will make clear to all Communists now supporting or planning to support guerrilla and subversive activities, that henceforth there will be no privileged sanctuaries to protect those who disrupt the peace of the world. We will make clear that blockade, interception of logistical support, and diplomatic and economic pressure are appropriate United States counters to deliberate breaches of the peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will make clear to all Communist leaders everywhere that aggressive actions, including those in the German air corridors, will be grounds for re-evaluation of any and all trade or diplomatic relations currently to Communism's advantage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will take the cold war offensive on all fronts, including, for example, a reinvigorated USIA. It will broadcast not our weaknesses but our strengths. It will mount a psychological warfare attack on behalf of freedom and against Communist doctrine and imperialism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

Republicans will recast foreign aid programs. We will see that all will serve the cause of freedom. We will see that none bolster and sustain anti-American regimes; we will increase the use of private capital on a partnership basis with foreign nationals, as a means of fostering independence and mutual respect but we assert that property of American Nationals must not be ex-propriated by any foreign government without prompt and adequate compensation as contemplated by international law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

Respecting the Middle East, and in addition to our reaffirmed pledges of 1960 concerning this area, we will so direct our economic and military assistance as to help maintain stability in this region and prevent an imbalance of arms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

Finally, we will improve the efficiency and coordination of the foreign service, and provide adequate allowance for foreign service personnel.

The Development of Freedom

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

13. Freedom's wealth must never support freedom's decline, always its growth. America's tax revenues derived from free enterprise sources must never be employed in support of socialism. America must assist young and underdeveloped nations. In the process, however, we must not sacrifice the trust of old friends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

Our assistance, also, must be conditional upon self-help and progress toward the development of free institutions. We favor the establishment in underdeveloped nations of an economic and political climate that will encourage the investment of local capital and attract the investment of foreign capital.

Freedom's Shield—and Sword

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

Finally, Republicans pledge to keep the nation's sword sharp, ready, and dependable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will maintain a superior, not merely equal, military capability as long as the Communist drive for world domination continues. It will be a capability of balanced force, superior in all its arms, maintaining flexibility for effective performance in the rapidly changing science of war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

Republicans will never unilaterally disarm America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will demand that any arms reduction plan worthy of consideration guarantee reliable inspection. We will demand that any such plan assure this nation of sufficient strength, step by step, to forestall and defend against possible violations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will take every step necessary to carry forward the vital military research and development programs. We will pursue these programs as absolutely necessary to assure our nation of superior strength in the 1970's.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will revitalize research and development programs needed to enable the nation to develop advanced new weapons systems, strategic as well as tactical.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will include the fields of anti-submarine warfare, astronautics and aeronautics, special guerrilla forces, and such other defense systems required to keep America ready for any threat.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.689

We will fully implement such safeguards as our security requires under the limited nuclear test ban treaty. We will conduct advanced tests in permissible areas, maintain facilities to test elsewhere in case of violations, and develop to the fullest [p.690] our ability to detect Communist transgressions. Additionally, we will regularly review the status of nuclear weaponry under the limited nuclear test ban to assure this nation's protection. We shall also provide sensible, continuing reviews of the treaty itself.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.690

We will end "second-best" weapons policies. We will end the false economies which place price ahead of the performance upon which American lives may depend. Republicans will bring an end once again to the "peak and valley" defense planning, so costly in morale and strength as well as in dollars. We will prepare a practical civil defense program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.690

We will restore the morale of our armed forces by upgrading military professionalism, and we will allow professional dissent while insuring that strong and sound civilian authority controls objective decision-making.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.690

We will return the Joint Chiefs of Staff to their lawful status as the President's principal military advisors. We will insure that an effective planning and operations staff is restored to the National Security Council.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.690

We will reconsecrate this nation to human liberty, assuring the freedom of our people, and rallying mankind to a new crusade for freedom all around the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.690

We Republicans, with the help of Almighty God, will keep those who would bury America aware that this nation has the strength and also the will to defend its every interest. Those interests, we shall make clear, include the preservation and expansion of freedom—and ultimately its victory—everyplace on earth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1964, p.690

We do not offer the easy way. We offer dedication and perseverance, leading to victory. This is our Platform. This is the Republican way.[p.718]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1968

Democratic Platform of 1968

The Terms of Our Duty

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

America belongs to the people who inhabit it, The source of the nation's strength is the people's freedom to be the source of the laws governing them. To uphold this truth, when Thomas Jefferson and James Madison brought the Democratic Party to birth 175 years ago, they bound it to serve the people and their government as a united whole.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

Today, in our 175th anniversary year, the Democratic Party in national convention assembled, again renews the covenant of our birth. We affirm the binding force of our inherited duty to serve the people and their government. We here, therefore, account for what we have done in the Democratic years since 1961. We here state what we will do when our party is again called to lead the nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

In America and in the world over, strong forces for change are on the move. Systems of thought have been jarred, ways of life have been uprooted, institutions are under siege. The governed challenge those who govern.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

We are summoned, therefore, to a fateful task—to ensure that the turmoil of change will prove to be the turmoil of birth instead of decay. We cannot stand still until we are overtaken by events. We dare not entrust our lives to the blind play of accident and force. By reflection and choice, we must make the impulse for change the agent of orderly progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

There is no alternative.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

In the world around us, people have patiently lived with hopes long deferred, with grievances long endured. They are now impatient with patience. Their demands for change must not only be heard, they must be answered.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

This is the reality the world as a whole faces. In America itself, now, and not later, is the right time to strengthen the fabric of our society by making justice and equity the cornerstones of order. Now, and not later, is the right time to uphold the rule of law by securing to all the people the natural rights that belong to them by virtue of their being human. Now, and not later, is the right time to unfurl again the flag of human patriotism and rededicate ourselves under it, to the cause of peace among nations. Now, and not later, is the right time to reclaim the strength spent in quarrels over the past and to apply that strength to America's future. Now is the right time to proceed with the work of orderly progress that will make the future become what we want it to be.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

It has always been the object of the Democratic Party to march at the head of events instead of waiting for them to happen. It is our resolve to do that in the years ahead—just as we did in the Democratic years since 1961 when the nation was led by two Democratic Presidents and four Democratic Congresses.

This We Have Done

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

Our pride in the achievements of these Democratic years in no way blinds us to the large and unfinished tasks which still lie ahead. Just as we know where we have succeeded, we know where our efforts still fall short of our own and the nation's hopes. And we candidly recognize that the cost of trying the untried, of ploughing new ground, is bound to be occasional error. In the future, as in the past, we will confront and correct such errors as we carry our program forward.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.718

In this, we are persuaded that the Almighty judges in a different scale those who err in warmly striving to promote the common good, and those who are free from error because they risked nothing at all and were icily indifferent to good and evil alike. We are also persuaded of something else. What we have achieved with the means at hand—the social inventions we have [p.719] made since 1961 in all areas of our internal life, and the initiatives we have pressed along a broad front in the world arena—gives us a clear title of right to claim that we know how to move the nation forward toward the attainment of its highest goals in a world of change.

The Economy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

In presenting first the record of what we have achieved in the economic life of the American people, we do not view the economy as being just dollar signs divorced from the flesh and blood concerns of the people. Economics, like politics, involves people and it means people. It means for them the difference between what they don't want and what they do want. It means the difference between justice or injustice, health or sickness, better education or ignorance, a good place to live or a rat infested hovel, a good job or corrosive worry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

In the Democratic years since 1961, under the leadership of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, we managed the national economy in ways that kept the best aspirations of people in clear view, and brought them closer to fulfillment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

The case was different in the 1950's, when the Republicans held the trust of national leadership. In those years, the American economy creaked and groaned from recurrent recessions. One wasteful recession came in 1954, another in 1958, and a third in 1960. The loss in national production from all three recessions and from a sluggish rate of growth—a loss that can fairly be called the GOP-gap—was a staggering $175 billion, computed in today's prices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

The Democratic Party, seeing the Republican inertia and the dangers it led to, promised to get America moving again. President Kennedy first made that promise for us, and we kept it. We brought an end to recurring recessions, each one of which had followed closer on the heels of the last. Full cooperation between our government officials and all sectors of American life led to new public policies which unlocked the creative power of America's free enterprise system. The magnificent response of all the people comprising that system made the world stand in awe of the results.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

Since 1961, we have seen:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

A 90-month period of recession-free prosperity, the longest and strongest period of sustained economic growth in American history;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

A slash in the unemployment rate from 7 to under 4 percent;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

An increase of nearly 40 percent in real wages and salaries and nearly one-third in the average person's real income;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

And, on the eight year average, a reduction in the rate levels of the individual income tax.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

America's private enterprise system flourished as never before in these years of Democratic leadership. Compared with the preceding eight Republican years, private enterprise in the Democratic 1960's grew twice as fast, profits increased twice as rapidly, four times as many jobs were created, and thirteen million Americans—or one-third of those in poverty in 1960—have today established its bondage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

Democrats, however, were not satisfied. We saw—and were the first to see—that even sustained prosperity does not eliminate hard-core unemployment. We were the first to see that millions of Americans would never share in America's abundance unless the people as a whole, through their government, acted to supplement what the free enterprise could do.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

So, under the leadership of President Johnson, this nation declared war on poverty—a war in which the government is again working in close cooperation with leaders of the free enterprise system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

It would compromise the integrity of words to claim that the war on poverty and for equal opportunity has been won. Democrats are the first to insist that it has only begun—while 82 percent of the House Republicans and 69 percent of the Senate Republicans voted against even beginning it at all. Democrats know that much more remains to be done. What we have done thus far is to test a series of pilot projects before making them bigger, and we have found that they DO work. Thus:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

The new pre-school program known as Head Start has proven its effectiveness in widening the horizons of over two million poor children and their parents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.719

The new programs known as the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, enrolling close cooperation between the government and private enterprise, have helped nearly two million unskilled boys and girls—most of them drop-outs [p.720] from school—get work in the community and in industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

The new program known as Upward Bound has helped thousands of poor but talented young men and women prepare themselves for college.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

The new structure of neighborhood centers brings modern community services directly to the people who need them most.

The People

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

We emphasize that the coldly stated statistics of gains made in the war on poverty must be translated to mean people, in all their yearnings for personal fulfillment. That is true as well of all other things in the great outpouring of constructive legislation that surpassed even the landmark years of the early New Deal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Education is one example. From the beginning of our Party history, Democrats argued that liberty and learning must find in each other the surest ground for mutual support. The inherited conviction provided the motive force behind the educational legislation of the 1960's that we enacted:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Because of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, local education has been enriched to the benefit of over 13 million young Americans;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Because of the Higher Education Act of 1965, new college classrooms, laboratories and libraries have been built to assure that higher education will not be the monopoly of the few but the right of the many;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Because of federal assistance to students, the doors to college have been opened for over a million young men and women coming from families with modest means—so that about one out of every five college students is now pursuing his higher education with some kind of federal help;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Because Democrats are convinced that the best of all investments is in the human resources represented by the youth of America, we brought about a four-fold increase in the federal investment in education since 1960. The level now approaches $12 billion annually.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

As it promoted better education, so did Democratic leadership promote better health for all.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

The program of mercy and justice known as health care for the aged, which President Truman originally proposed and Presidents Kennedy and Johnson fought for, finally became law in the summer of 1965. Because of it, more than seven million older citizens each year are now receiving modern medical care in dignity—no longer forced to depend on charity, no longer a burden on relatives, no longer in physical pain because they cannot afford to pay for the healing power of modern medicine. Virtually all older Americans, the well and the sick alike, are now protected, their lives more secure, their afflictions eased.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

To deal with other aspects of the nation's health needs, measures were enacted in the Democratic years representing an almost fourfold increase in the government's investment in health. Programs were enacted to cope with the killing diseases of heart, cancer and stroke; to combat mental retardation and mental illness; to increase the manpower supply of trained medical technicians; to speed the construction of new hospitals.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Democrats in the Presidency and in the Congress have led the fight to erase the stain of racial discrimination that tarnished America's proudly announced proposition that all men are created equal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

We knew that racial discrimination was present in every section of the country. We knew that the enforcement of civil rights and general laws is indivisible. In this conviction, Democrats took the initiative to guarantee the right to safety and security of the person, the right to all the privileges of citizenship, the right to equality of opportunity in employment, and the right to public services and accommodations and housing. For example:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Because of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, all men born equal in the eyes of their Creator are by law declared to be equal when they apply for a job, or seek a night's lodging or a good meal;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Because of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the right to the ballot box—the right on which all other rights depend—has been reinforced by law;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

Because of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, all families will have an equal right to live where they wish.

The Nation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.720

The frontier on which most Americans live is the vertical frontier of the city. It is a frontier [p.721] whose urgent needs hold a place of very high priority on the national agenda—and on the agenda of the Democratic Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

Democrats recognize that the race to save our cities is a race against the absolute of time itself. The blight that threatens their future takes many forms. It is the physical decay of homes and neighborhoods. It is poverty and unemployment. It is broken homes and social disintegration. It is crime. It is congestion and pollution. The Democratic program attacked all of these forms of blight—and all at once.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

Since we know that the cities can be saved only by the people who live there, Democrats have invigorated local effort through federal leadership and assistance. In almost every city, a community action agency has mounted a many-sided assault on poverty. Through varied neighborhood organizations, the poor themselves are tackling their own problems and devising their own programs of self-help. Under Model Cities legislation, enacted in 1966, seventy-five cities are now launching the most comprehensive programs of economic, physical, and social development ever undertaken—and the number of participating cities will be doubled soon. In this effort, the residents of the areas selected to become the model neighborhoods are participating fully in planning their future and deciding what it will be.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

In a series of housing acts beginning in 1961, Democrats have found ways to encourage private enterprise to provide modern, decent housing for low-income and moderate-income families. The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 is the most far-reaching housing legislation in America's history. Under its terms, the genius of American business will combine with the productivity of American labor to meet a 10-year goal of 26 million new housing units—6 million of them for the poor. The objective is to enable the poor to own their own homes, to rebuild entire neighborhoods, to spur the pace of urban renewal, and to deal more humanely with the problems of displaced people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

To give our cities a spokesman of Cabinet rank, Democrats in 1965 took the lead in creating a Department of Housing and Urban Development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

Democratic Presidents and Congresses have moved with equal vigor to help the people of America's vast hinterland outside the metropolitan centers to join the march of economic progress. Of the 101 major areas classified as "depressed areas" when the Democrats assumed office in 1961, 90 have now solved their problems of excessive unemployment and the others are on their way. The Area Redevelopment Act, the expansion of resource development programs, and the massive effort to restore Appalachia and other lagging regions to economic health assisted the people of these areas in their remarkable progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

In these legislative undertakings of primary concern to people—American people—it is to the credit of some Republicans that they joined the Democratic majority in a common effort. Unfortunately, however, most Republicans sat passively by while Democrats wrote the legislation the nation's needs demanded. Worse, and more often, Republicans did what they could to obstruct and defeat the measures that were approved by Democrats in defiance of hostile Republican votes. Thus:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

In the case of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 73 percent of the Republicans in the House voted to kill it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

In the case of medical care for the aged, 93 percent of the Republicans in the House and 64 percent in the Senate voted to kill it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

In the case of the Model Cities program, 88 percent of the Republicans in the House voted to kill it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

In the case of the program to help Appalachia, 81 percent of House Republicans and 58 percent of Senate Republicans voted to kill it, and 75 percent of House Republicans voted to kill corresponding programs of aid for other depressed regions of the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.721

The same negative attitude was present among Republicans in the 1950's, and one of the results was a crisis in the farm sector of the economy which the Democrats inherited in the 1960's. In the late Republican 1950's, the glut of farm surpluses amounted to over $8 billion, and the taxpayers were forced to pay $1 billion every year in interest and storage charges alone. Democrats, however, set out resolutely to reverse the picture. Democratic farm programs supported farm income, expanded farm exports and domestic consumption, helped farmers adjust their production to the size of the expanded markets, and [p.722] reduced farm surpluses and storage costs to the lowest level since 1952.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

Democrats have also acted vigorously to assure that American science and technology shall continue to lead the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

In atomic energy, in space exploration, in communications, in medicine, in oceanology, in fundamental and applied research in many fields, we have provided leadership and financial aid to the nation's scientists and engineers. Their genius has, in turn, powered our national economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

Other measures affected all Americans everywhere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

Under our constitutional system of federalism, the primary responsibility for law enforcement rests with selected local officials and with governors, but the federal government can and should play a constructive role in support of state and local authorities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

In this conviction, Democratic leadership scented the enactment of a law which extended financial assistance to modernize local police departments, to train law enforcement personnel, and to develop modern police technology. The effect of these provisions is already visible in an improved quality of law enforcement throughout the land.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

Under Democratic leadership, furthermore, the Juvenile Delinquence Prevention and Control Act was passed to aid states and communities to plan and carry out comprehensive programs to prevent and combat youth crime. We have added more personnel to strengthen the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the enforcement of narcotics laws, and have intensified the campaign against organized crime. The federal government has come swiftly to the aid of cities needing help to bring major disturbances under control, and Democratic leadership secured the enactment of a new gun control law as a step toward putting the weapons of wanton violence beyond the reach of criminal and irresponsible hands.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

To purify the air we breathe and the water we drink, Democrats led the way to the enactment of landmark anti-pollution legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

To bring order into the administration of transportation programs and to coordinate transportation policy, Democrats in 1966 established a new Cabinet-level Department of Transportation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

For the consumer, new standards of protection were enacted—truth-in-lending and truth-in-packaging, the Child Safety Act, the Pipeline Safety Act, the Wholesome Meat and Wholesome Poultry Acts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

For America's 100 million automobile drivers, auto and highway safety legislation provided protection not previously known.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

For every American family, unparalleled achievements in conservation meant the development of balanced outdoor recreation programs—involving magnificent new national parks, seashores, and lakeshores—all within an afternoon's drive of 110 million Americans. For the first time, we are beating the bulldozer to the nation's remaining open spaces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

For the sake of all living Americans and for their posterity, the Wilderness Preservation Act of 1964 placed in perpetual trust millions of acres of primitive and wilderness areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

For America's sons who manned the nation's defenses, a new G.I. bill with greatly enlarged equitable benefits was enacted gratefully and proudly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

America's senior citizens enjoyed the large increase in social security since the system was inaugurated during the Democratic Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

For the hungry, our food distribution programs were expanded to provide more than $1 billion worth of food a year for domestic use, giving millions of children, for the first time, enough to eat.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

A new minimum wage law raised paychecks and standards of living for millions, while a new network of training programs enabled more than a million Americans to learn new skills and become productive workers in the labor force.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

A new Immigration Act removed the harsh injustice of the national origins quota system and opened our shores without discrimination to those who can contribute to the growth and strength of America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.722

Many more measures enacted under Democratic leadership could be added to this recital of achievements in our internal life since 1961. But what we could list shares the character of what we have listed. All the measures alike are a witness to our desire to serve the people as a united whole, to chart the way for their orderly progress, to possess their confidence—by striving through our conduct to deserve to possess it.[p.723]

The World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

The conscience of the entire world has been shocked by the brutal and unprovoked Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia. By this act, Moscow has confessed that it is still the prisoner of its fear of freedom. And the Czechoslovakian people have shown that the love of freedom, in their land and throughout Eastern Europe, can never be crushed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

This severe blow to freedom and self-determination reinforces our commitment to the unending quest for peace and security in the world. These dark days should not obscure the solid achievements of the past eight years. Nuclear war has been avoided. West Berlin and Western Europe are still free.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

The blend of American power and restraint, so dramatically demonstrated in the Cuban missile crisis, earned the respect of the world and prepared the way for a series of arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. Long and patient negotiation by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson resulted in the Nuclear Test Ban, Nuclear Non-Proliferation, and Space treaties and the "hot line." These hard-won agreements provide the base for pursuing other measures to reduce the risk of nuclear war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

The unprecedented expansion of the American economy has invigorated the whole free world. Many once skeptical nations, including some communist states, now regard American economic techniques and institutions as a model.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

In Asia the tragic Vietnam war has often blinded us to the quiet and constructive developments which affect directly the lives of over a billion people and the prospects for peace everywhere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

An economically strong and democratic Japan has assumed a more active role in the development of the region. Indonesia has a nationalist, non-communist government seeking to live at peace with its neighbors. Thailand, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Republic of Korea have more stable governments and steadily growing economies. They have been aided by American economic assistance and by the American military presence in the Pacific. They have also been encouraged by a confidence reflecting successive Presidential decisions to assist nations to live in peace and freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

Elsewhere in the developing world, there has been hopeful political and economic progress. Though Castro's Cuba is still a source of subversion, the other Latin American states are moving ahead under the Alliance for Progress. In Africa, many of the new states have chosen moderate leaders committed to peaceful nation-building. They are beginning to cooperate with their neighbors in regional agencies of their own design. And like developing countries on other continents, they are for the first time giving serious attention to agricultural development. This new emphasis on food will buy time to launch effective programs of population control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

In all these constructive changes America, under Democratic leadership, has played a significant role. But we Democrats do not believe in resting on past achievements. We view any success as a down payment on the hard tasks that lie ahead. There is still much to be done at home and abroad and we accept with confidence the challenge of the future.

This We Will Do: Toward a Peaceful World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

In the pursuit of our national objectives and in the exercise of American power in the world, we assert that the United States should:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

Continue to accept its world responsibilities—not turn inward and isolate ourselves from the cares and aspirations of mankind;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

Seek a world of diversity and peaceful change, where men can choose their own governments and where each nation can determine its own destiny without external interference;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

Resist the temptation to try to mold the world, or any part of it, in our own image, or to become the self-appointed policeman of the world;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

Call on other nations, great and small, to contribute a fair share of effort and resources to world peace and development;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

Honor our treaty obligations to our allies; Seek always to strengthen and improve the United Nations and other international peace-keeping arrangements and meet breaches or threatened breaches of the peace according to our carefully assessed interests and resources;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.723

In pursuing these objectives, we will insure that our policies will be subject to constant re [p.724] view so they reflect our true national interests in a changing world.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

The tragic events in Czechoslovakia are a shocking reminder that we live in a dangerous and unpredictable world. The Soviet attack on and invasion of a small country that only yesterday was Moscow's peaceful ally, is an ominous reversal of the slow trend toward greater freedom and independence in Eastern Europe. The reimposition of Soviet tyranny raises the spectre of the darkest days of the Stalin era and increases the risk of war in Central Europe, a war that could become a nuclear holocaust.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

Against this somber backdrop, whose full portent cannot now be seen, other recent Soviet military moves take on even greater significance. Though we have a significant lead in military strength and in all vital areas of military technology, Moscow has steadily increased its strategic nuclear arsenal, its missile-firing nuclear submarine fleet, and its anti-missile defenses. Communist China is providing political and military support for so-called wars of national liberation. A growing nuclear power, Peking has disdained all arms control efforts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

We must and will maintain a strong and balanced defense establishment adequate to the task of security and peace. There must be no doubt about our strategic nuclear capability, our capacity to meet limited challenges, and our willingness to act when our vital interests are threatened.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

To this end, we pledge a vigorous research and development effort. We will also continue to pursue the highly successful efforts initiated by Democratic administrations to save tax dollars by eliminating waste and duplication.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

We face difficult and trying times in Asia and in Europe. We have responsibilities and commitments we cannot escape with honor. But we are not alone. We have friends and allies around the world. We will consult with them and ask them to accept a fair share of the burdens of peace and security.

North Atlantic Community

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

The North Atlantic Community is strong and free. We must further strengthen our ties and be constantly alert to new challenges and opportunities. We support a substantially larger European contribution to NATO.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

Soviet troops have never stepped across the border of a NATO country. By harassment and threat the Kremlin has repeatedly attempted to push the West out of Berlin. But West Berlin is still free. Western Europe is still free. This is a living tribute to the strength and validity of the NATO alliance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

The political differences we have had with some of our allies from time to time should not divert us from our common task of building a secure and prosperous Atlantic community based on the principles of mutual respect and mutual dependence. The NATO alliance has demonstrated that free nations can build a common shield without sacrificing their identity and independence.

Arms Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

We must recognize that vigilance calls for the twin disciplines of defense and arms control. Defense measures and arms control measures must go hand in hand, each serving national security and the larger interests of peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

We must also recognize that the Soviet Union and the United States still have a common interest in avoiding nuclear war and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. We also share a common interest in reducing the cost of national defense. We must continue to work together. We will press for further arms control agreements, insisting on effective safeguards against violations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

For almost a quarter of a century America's pre-eminent military strength, combined with our political restraint, has deterred nuclear war. This great accomplishment has confounded the prophets of doom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.724

Eight years ago the Democratic Party pledged new efforts to control nuclear weapons. We have fulfilled that pledge. The new Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has undertaken and coordinated important research. The sustained initiatives of President Kennedy and President Johnson have resulted in the "hot line" between the White House and the Kremlin, the limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the treaty barring the orbiting of weapons of mass destruction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

Even in the present tense atmosphere, we [p.725] strongly support President Johnson's effort to secure an agreement with the Soviet Union under which both states would refrain from deploying anti-missile systems. Such a treaty would result in the saving of billions of dollars and would create a climate for further arms control measures. We support concurrent efforts to freeze the present level of strategic weapons and delivery systems, and to achieve a balanced and verified reduction of all nuclear and conventional arms.

The Middle East

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

The Middle East remains a powder keg. We must do all in our power to prevent a recurrence of war in this area. A large Soviet fleet has been deployed to the Mediterranean. Preferring short-term political advantage to long-range stability and peace, the Soviet Union has rushed arms to certain Arab states to replace those lost in the Arab-Israeli War of 1967. As long as Israel is threatened by hostile and well-armed neighbors, we will assist her with essential military equipment needed for her defense, including the most advanced types of combat aircraft.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

Lasting peace in the Middle East depends upon agreed and secured frontiers, respect for the territorial integrity of all states, the guaranteed right of innocent passage through all international waterways, a humane resettlement of the Arab refugees, and the establishment of a non-provocative military balance. To achieve these objectives, we support negotiations among the concerned parties. We strongly support efforts to achieve an agreement among states in the area and those states supplying arms to limit the flow of military equipment to the Middle East.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

We support efforts to raise the living standards throughout the area, including desalinization and regional irrigation projects which cut across state frontiers.

Vietnam and Asia

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

Our most urgent task in Southeast Asia is to end the war in Vietnam by an honorable and lasting settlement which respects the rights of all the people of Vietnam. In our pursuit of peace and stability in the vital area of Southeast Asia we have borne a heavy burden in helping South Vietnam to counter aggression and subversion from the North.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

We reject as unacceptable a unilateral withdrawal of our forces which would allow that aggression and subversion to succeed. We have never demanded, and do not now demand, unconditional surrender by the communists.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

We strongly support the Paris talks and applaud the initiative of President Johnson which brought North Vietnam to the peace table. We hope that Hanoi will respond positively to this act of statesmanship.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

In the quest for peace no solutions are free of risk. But calculated risks are consistent with the responsibility of a great nation to seek a peace of reconciliation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

Recognizing that events in Vietnam and the negotiations in Paris may affect the timing and the actions we recommend, we would support our Government in the following steps:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

Bombing: Stop all bombing of North Vietnam when this action would not endanger the lives of our troops in the field; this action should take into account the response form Hanoi.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

Troop Withdrawal: Negotiate with Hanoi an immediate end or limitation of hostilities and the withdrawal from South Vietnam of all foreign forces—both United States and allied forces, and forces infiltrated from North Vietnam.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

Election of Postwar Government: Encourage all parties and interests to agree that the choice of the postwar government of South Vietnam should be determined by fair and safeguarded elections, open to all major political factions and parties prepared to accept peaceful political processes. We would favor an effective international presence to facilitate the transition from war to peace and to assure the protection of minorities against reprisal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.725

Interim Defense and Development Measures: Until the fighting stops, accelerate our efforts to train and equip the South Vietnamese army so that it can defend its own country and carry out cutbacks of U.S. military involvement as the South Vietnamese forces are able to take over their larger responsibilities. We should simultaneously do all in our power to support and encourage further economic, political and social development and reform in South Vietnam, including an extensive land reform program. We support President Johnson's repeated offer to provide a substantial U.S. contribution to the postwar reconstruction of South Vietnam as well as to the economic development of the entire region, [p.726] including North Vietnam. Japan and the European industrial states should be urged to join in this postwar effort.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

For the future, we will make it clear that U.S. military and economic assistance in Asia will be selective. In addition to considerations of our vital interests and our resources, we will take into account the determination of the nations that request our help to help themselves and their willingness to help each other through regional and multilateral cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

We want no bases in South Vietnam; no continued military presence and no political role in Vietnamese affairs. If and when the communists understand our basic commitment and limited goals and are willing to take their chances, as we are, on letting the choice of the post-war government of South Vietnam be determined freely and peacefully by all of the South Vietnamese people, then the bloodshed and the tragedy can stop.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

Japan, India, Indonesia, and most of the smaller Asian nations are understandably apprehensive about Red China because of its nuclear weapons, its support of subversive efforts abroad, and its militant rhetoric. They have been appalled by the barbaric behavior of the Red Guards toward the Chinese people, their callous disregard for human life and their mistreatment of foreign diplomats.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

The immediate prospect that China will emerge from its self-imposed isolation is dim. But both Asians and Americans will have to coexist with the 750 million Chinese on the mainland. We shall continue to make it clear that we are prepared to cooperate with China whenever it is ready to become a responsible member of the international community. We would actively encourage economic, social and cultural exchange with mainland China as a means of freeing that nation and her people from their narrow isolation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

We support continued assistance to help maintain the independence and peaceful development of India and Pakistan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

Recognizing the growing importance of Asia and the Pacific, we will encourage increased cultural and educational efforts, such as those undertaken in multi-racial Hawaii, to facilitate a better understanding of the problems and opportunities of this vast area.

The Developing World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

The American people share the aspirations for a better life in the developing world. But we are committed to peaceful change. We believe basic political rights in most states can be more effectively achieved and maintained by peaceful action than by violence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

In their struggle for political and economic development, most Asian, African, and Latin American states are confronted by grinding poverty, illiteracy and a stubborn resistance to constructive change. The aspirations and frustrations of the people are frequently exploited by self-serving revolutionaries who employ illegal and violent means.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

Since World War II, America's unprecedented program of foreign economic assistance for reconstruction and development has made a profound contribution to peace, security, and a better life for millions of people everywhere. Many nations formerly dependent upon American aid are now viable and stable as a result of this aid.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

We support strengthened U.S. and U.N. development aid programs that are responsive to changing circumstances and based on the recognition, as President Johnson put it, that "self-help is the lifeblood of economic development." Grant aid and government loans for long-term projects are part of a larger transfer of resources between the developed and underdeveloped states, which includes international trade and private capital investment as important components.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

Like the burden of keeping the peace, the responsibility for assisting the developing world must be shared by Japan and the Western European states, once recipients of U.S. aid and now donor states.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

Development aid should be coordinated among both donors and recipients. The World Bank and other international and regional agencies for investment and development should be fully utilized. We should encourage regional cooperation by the recipients for the most efficient use of resources and markets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.726

We should press for additional international agreements that will stimulate mutually beneficial trade and encourage a growing volume of private investment in the developing states. World-wide commodity agreements that stabilize [p.727] prices for particular products and other devices to stabilize export earnings will also spur development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

We believe priority attention should be given to agricultural production and population control. Technical assistance which emphasizes manpower training is also of paramount importance. We support the Peace Corps which has sent thousands of ambassadors of good will to three continents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

Cultural and historic ties and a common quest for peace with freedom and justice have made Latin America an area of special concern and interest to the United States. We support a vigorous Alliance for Progress program based upon the Charter of Punta del Este which affirms that "free men working through the institutions for representative democracy can best satisfy man's aspirations."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

We support the objective of Latin American economic integration endorsed by the presidents of the American Republics in April 1967 and urge further efforts in the areas of tax reform, land reform, educational reform, and economic development to fulfill the promise of Punta del Este.

United Nations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

Since the birth of the United Nations, the United States has pursued the quest for peace, security and human dignity through United Nations channels more vigorously than any other member state. Our dedication to its purpose and its work remains undiminished.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

The United Nations contributed to dampening the fires of conflict in Kashmir, the Middle East, Cyprus and the Congo. The agencies of the United Nations have made a significant contribution to health, education and economic well-being in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These efforts deserve continued and expanded support. We pledge that support.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

Since we recognize that the United Nations can be only as effective as the support of its members, we call upon other states to join with us in a renewed commitment to use its facilities in the great tasks of economic development, the non-military use of atomic energy, arms control and peace-keeping. It is only with member nations working together that the organization can make its full contribution to the growth of a world community of peace under law, rather than by threat or use of military force.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

We are profoundly concerned about the continued repression of Jews and other minorities in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and look forward to the day when the full light of liberty and freedom shall be extended to all countries and all peoples.

Foreign Trade and Financial Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

World trade is essential to economic stability. The growing interdependence of nations, particularly in economic affairs, is an established fact of contemporary life. It also spells an opportunity for constructive international cooperation that will bring greater well-being for all and improve the prospects for international peace and security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

We shall build upon the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and the Kennedy round of trade negotiations, in order to achieve greater trade cooperation and progress toward freer international trade. In future negotiations, which will require careful preparation, we shall: 1) seek continued reciprocal reduction and elimination of tariff barriers, based on the most favored nation principle; 2) negotiate the reciprocal removal of non-tariff barriers to international trade on all products, including agriculture; 3) give special attention to the needs of the developing countries for increased export earnings; and 4) develop and improve the rules governing fair international competition affecting both foreign commerce and investment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

To lessen the hardships suffered by industries and workers as the result of trade liberalization, we support improvements in the adjustment assistance provisions of present law. Provision of law to remedy unfair and destructive import competition should be reviewed and strengthened, and negotiated international agreements to achieve this purpose should be employed where appropriate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.727

The United States has experienced balance-of payments deficits for over a decade, mainly because of our security obligations in the free world. Faced with these deficits, we have behaved responsibly by avoiding both economic deflation at home and severe unilateral restrictive measures on international transactions, which [p.728] would have weakened the international economy and international cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

We shall continue to take the path of constructive measures by relying on steps to increase our exports and by the development of further cooperative arrangements with the other countries. We intend, as soon as possible, to dismantle the restrictions placed on foreign investment and finance, so that American free enterprise can play its full part as the agent of economic development. We will continue to encourage persons from other lands to visit America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

Steps of historical importance have already been taken to improve the functioning of the international monetary system, most notably the new special drawing rights under the international monetary fund. We shall continue to work for the further improvement of the international monetary system so as to reduce its vulnerability to monetary crises.

Economic Growth and Stability

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

The Democratic policies that more than doubled the nation's rate of economic expansion in the past eight years can double and redouble our national income by the end of this century. Such a rate of economic growth will enable us to win total victory in our wars on ignorance, poverty, and the misery of the ghettos.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

But victory will not come automatically. To realize our full economic potential will require effective, businesslike planning and cooperation between government and all elements of private economy. The Democratic Party pledges itself to achieve that purpose in many ways.

Fiscal and Monetary Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

Taxes were lowered in 1962, 1964, and 1965 to encourage more private spending and reach full employment; they were raised in 1966 and 1968 to help prevent inflation, but with a net reduction in the eight Democratic years. We will continue to use tax policy to maintain steady economic growth by helping through tax reduction to stimulate the economy when it is sluggish and through temporary tax increases to restrain inflation. To promote this objective, methods must be devised to permit prompt, temporary changes in tax rates within prescribed limits with full participation of the Congress in the decisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

The goals of our national tax policy must be to distribute the burden of government equitably among our citizens and to promote economic efficiency and stability. We have placed major reliance on progressive taxes, which are based on the democratic principle of ability to pay. We pledge ourselves to continue to rely on such taxes, and to continue to improve the way they are levied and collected so that every American contributes to government in proportion to his ability to pay.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

A thorough revamping of our federal taxes has been long overdue to make them more equitable as between rich and poor and as among people with the same income and family responsibilities. All corporation and individual preferences that do not serve the national interest should be removed. Tax preferences, like expenditures, must be rigorously evaluated to assure that the benefit to the nation is worth the cost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

We support a proposal for a minimum income tax for persons of high income based on an individual's total income regardless of source in order that wealthy persons will be required to make some kind of income tax contribution, no matter how many tax shelters they use to protect their incomes. We also support a reduction of the tax burden on the poor by lowering the income tax rates at the bottom of the tax scale and increasing the minimum standard deduction. No person or family below the poverty level should be required to pay federal income taxes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

Our goal is a balanced budget in a balanced economy. We favor distinguishing current operating expenditures from long term capital outlays and repayable loans, which should be amortized consistent with sound accounting principles. All government expenditures should be subject to firm tests of efficiency and essentiality.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

An effective policy for growth and stability requires careful coordination of fiscal and monetary policies. Changes in taxes, budgets, interest rates, and money supply must be carefully blended and flexibly adjusted to assure:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.728

Adaptation to changing economic conditions; Adequate supplies of money and credit for the expansion of industry, commerce, and housing; Maintenance of the lowest possible interest rates;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

[p.729] Avoidance of needless hardships on groups that depend heavily on credit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Cooperation between fiscal and monetary authorities was greatly strengthened in the past eight years, and we pledge ourselves to continue to perfect this cooperation.

Price Stability with Growth

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Price stability continues to be an essential goal of expansive economic policy. Price inflation hurts most of the weak among us and could interfere with the continued social gains we are determined to achieve in the immediate years ahead.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

The answer to rising prices will never be sought, under Democratic administrations, in unemployment and idle plant facilities. We are firmly committed to the twin objectives of full employment and price stability,

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

To promote price stability in a dynamic and growing economy, we will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Pursue flexible fiscal and monetary policies designed to keep total private and public demand in line with the economy's rising productive capacity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Work effectively with business, labor, and the public in formulating principles for price and wage policies that are equitable and sound for consumers as well as for workers and investors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Strictly enforce antitrust and trade practice laws to combat administered pricing, supply limitations and other restrictive practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Strengthen competition by keeping the doors of world trade open and resisting the protectionism of captive markets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Stimulate plant modernization, upgrade labor skills, and speed technological advance to step up productivity.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Twice in this century the Republican Party has brought disaster to the American farmer—in the thirties and in the fifties. Each time, the American farmer was rescued by the Democratic Party, but his prosperity has not yet been fully restored.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Farmers must continue to be heard in the councils of government where decisions affecting agriculture are taken. The productivity of our farmers—already the world's most productive—must continue to rise, making American agriculture more competitive abroad and more prosperous at home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

A strong agriculture requires fair income to farmers for an expanding output. Family farmers must be protected from the squeeze between rising production costs and low prices for their products. Farm income should grow with productivity just as industrial wages rise with productivity. At the same time, market prices should continue to reflect supply and demand conditions and American farm products must continue to compete effectively in world markets. In this way, markets at home and abroad will continue to expand beyond the record high levels of recent years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

To these ends, we shall:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Take positive action to raise farm income to full parity level in order to preserve the efficient, full-time family farm. This can be done through present farm programs when these programs are properly funded, but these programs will be constantly scrutinized with a view to improvement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Actively seek out and develop foreign commercial markets, since international trade in agricultural products is a major favorable factor in the nation's balance of payments. In expanding our trade, we shall strive to ensure that farmers get adequate compensation for their production going into export.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Expand our food assistance programs to America's poor and our Food for Peace program to help feed the world's hungry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Establish a Strategic Food and Feed Reserve Plan whereby essential commodities such as wheat, corn and other feed grains, soybeans, storable meat and other products will be stock-piled as a safeguard against crop failures, to assist our nation and other nations in time of famine or disaster, and to ensure adequate supplies for export markets, as well as to protect our own farm industry. This reserve should be insulated from the market.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Support the right of farmers to bargain collectively in the market place on a commodity by commodity basis. Labor and industry have long enjoyed this right to bargain collectively under existing legislation. Protective legislation for bargaining should be extended to agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.729

Continue to support and encourage agricultural co-operatives by expanded and liberal [p.730] credit, and to protect them from punitive taxation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Support private or public credit on reasonable terms to young farmers to enable them to purchase farms on long term, low interest loans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Support the federal crop insurance program. Reaffirm our support of the rural electrification program, recognizing that rural America cannot be revitalized without adequate low-cost electric power. We pledge continued support of programs to assure supplemental financing to meet the growing generating and distributing power needs of rural areas. We support the rural telephone program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Support a thorough study of the effect of unlimited payments to farmers. If necessary, we suggest graduated open-end limitations of payments to extremely large corporate farms that participate in government programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Take a positive approach to the public interest in the issue of health and tobacco at all levels of the tobacco economy. We recommend a cooperative effort in health and tobacco research by government, industry and qualified scientific bodies, to ascertain relationships between human health and tobacco growth, curing, storage and manufacturing techniques, as well as specific medical aspects of tobacco smoke constituents.

Small Business

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Small business plays a vital role in a dynamic, competitive economy; it helps maintain a strong social fabric in communities across the land; it builds concerned community leadership deriving from ownership of small enterprises; and it maintains the challenge and competition essential to a free enterprise system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

To assure a continuing healthy environment for small business, the Democratic Party pledges to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Assure adequate credit at reasonable costs; Assure small business a fair share of government contracts and procurement;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Encourage investment in research and development of special benefit to small enterprise;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Assist small business in taking advantage of technological innovations;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Provide centers of information on government procurement needs and foreign sales opportunities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

The Democratic Party is pledged to develop programs that will enable members of minority groups to obtain the financing and technical management assistance needed to succeed in launching and operating new enterprises.

Labor-Management Relations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Private collective bargaining and a strong and independent labor movement are essential to our system of free enterprise and economic democracy. Their development has been fostered under each Democratic administration in this century.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

We will thoroughly review and update the National Labor Relations Act to assure an effective opportunity to all workers to exercise the right to organize and to bargain collectively, including such amendments as:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Repeal of the provision permitting states to enact compulsory open shop laws;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Extension of the Act's protection to farm workers, employees of private non-profit organizations, and other employees not now covered;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Removal of unreasonable restrictions upon the right of peaceful picketing, including situs picketing;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Speedier decisions in unfair labor practice cases and representation proceedings;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Greater equality between the remedies available under the Act to labor and those available to management;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Effective opportunities for unions as well as employers to communicate with employees, without coercion by either side or by anyone acting in their behalf.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

The Federal Government will continue to set an example as an employer to private business and to state and local governments. The Government will not do business with firms that repeatedly violate Federal statutes prohibiting discrimination against employees who are union members or refuse to bargain with duly authorized union representatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

By all these means, we will sustain the right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing and will foster truly effective collective bargaining to provide the maximum opportunity for just and fair agreements between management and labor.

Consumer Protection

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.730

Rising incomes have brought new vigor to the market place. But the march of technology which [p.731] has brought unparalleled abundance and opportunity to the consumer has also exposed him to new hazards and new complexities. In providing economic justice for consumers, we shall strengthen business and industry and improve the quality of life for all 200 million Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

We commend the Democratic Congress for passing the landmark legislation of the past several years which has ushered in a new era of consumer protection—truth-in-lending, truth-in-packaging, wholesome meat and poultry, auto and highway safety, child safety, and protection against interstate land swindles.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

We shall take steps, including necessary legislation, to minimize the likelihood of massive electric power failures, to improve the safety of medical devices and drugs, to penalize deceptive sales practices, and to provide consumer access to product information now being compiled in the Federal Government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

We will help the states to establish consumer fraud and information bureaus, and to update consumer credit laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

A major objective of all consumer programs, at all levels, must be the education of the buying public, particularly the poor who are the special targets of unscrupulous and high-pressure salesmanship.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

We will make the consumer's voice increasingly heard in the councils of government. We will strengthen consumer education and enforcement programs by consolidation of functions now dispersed among various agencies, through the establishment of an Office of Consumer Affairs to represent consumer interests within the government and before courts and regulatory agencies.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

For the first time in history, a nation is able to rebuild or replace all of its substandard housing, even while providing housing for millions of new families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

This means rebuilding or replacing 4.5 million dwelling units in our urban areas and 3.9 million in rural areas, most in conditions of such dilapidation that they are too often dens of despair for millions of Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

Yet this performance is possible in the next decade because of goals and programs fashioned by Democratic Presidents and Democratic Congresses in close partnership with private business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

The goal is clear and pressing—"a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family," as set forth in the 1949 Housing Act by a Democratic Congress and Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

To achieve this goal in the next ten years: We will assist private enterprise to double its volume of home-building, to an annual rate of 2.6 million units a year—a ten year total of 26 million units. This is the specific target of the history-making Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

We will give the highest priority to Federally-assisted home-building for low income families, with special attention given to ghetto dwellers, the elderly, the physically handicapped, and families in neglected areas of rural America, Indian reservations, territories of the United States, and migratory worker camps. All federal subsidy programs—whether in the form of public housing, interest rates at 1%, rent supplements, or direct loans—will be administered to favor these disadvantaged families, with full participation by the neighborhood residents themselves.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

We will cooperate with private home builders to experiment boldly with new production technology, with financial institutions to marshal capital for housing where it is most needed, and with unions to expand the labor force needed for a doubling of production.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

Above all, we will work toward the greatest possible freedom of choice—the opportunity for every family, regardless of race, color, religion, or income, to choose home ownership or rental, high-rise or low-rise, cooperatives or condominiums, detached or town house, and city, suburban or country living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

We urge local governments to shape their own zoning laws and building codes to favor consumers and hold down costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

Rigid enforcement of State and local health and building codes is imperative to alleviate conditions of squalor and despair in deteriorating neighborhoods.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.731

Democrats are proud of their housing record. But we are also painfully aware of how much more needs to be done to reach the final goal of decent shelter for all Americans and we pledge a steadfast pursuit of that goal.[p.732]

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

America is a nation on the move. To meet the challenge of transportation, we propose a dynamic partnership between industry and government at all levels.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

Of utmost urgency is the need to solve congestion in air traffic, especially in airports and between major metropolitan centers. We pledge intensified efforts to devise equitable methods of financing new and improved airport and airway facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

Urban and inter-urban transportation facilities are heavily overburdened. We support expanded programs of assistance to mass transit in order to avoid unnecessary congestion in air traffic, especially at air-link residential and work areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

Despite the tremendous progress of our interstate highway program, still more super-highways are needed for safe and rapid motor transport. We need to establish local road networks to meet regional requirements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

The efficiency of our railroads has improved greatly but there is need for further strengthening of the nation's railroads so that they can contribute more fully to the nation's transport requirements. In particular, we will press forward with the effort to develop high-speed passenger trains to serve major urban areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

To assume our proper place as a leading maritime nation, we must launch an aggressive and balanced program to replace and augment our obsolete merchant ships with modern vessels built in American shipyards. We will assist U.S. flag operators to overcome the competitive disparity between American and foreign costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

We will continue to foster development of harbors, ports, and inland waterways, particularly regional waterways systems, and the St. Lawrence Seaway, to accommodate our expanded water-borne commerce. We support modernization of the Panama Canal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

We pledge a greater investment in transportation research and development to enhance safety and increase speed and economy; to implement the acts that have been passed to control noxious vehicle exhausts; and to reduce aircraft noise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

The expansion of our transportation must not be carried out at the expense of the environment through which it moves. We applaud the leadership provided by the First Lady to enhance the highway environment and initiate a national beautification program.

Communications

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

America has the most efficient and comprehensive communications system in the world. But a healthy society depends more on the quality of what is communicated than on either the volume or form of communication.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

Public broadcasting has already proven that it can be a valuable supplement to formal education and a direct medium for non-formal education. We pledge our continuing support for the prompt enactment of a long-range financing plan that will help ensure the vigor and independence of this potentially vital but still underdeveloped new force in American life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

We deplore the all too frequent exploitation of violence as entertainment in all media.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

In 1962 the Democratic Party sensed the great potential of space communication and quickly translated this awareness into the Communications Satellite Act. In a creative partnership between government and business, this revolutionary idea soon became a reality. Six years later we helped establish a consortium of 61 nations devoted to the development of a global satellite network.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

We will continue to develop new technology and utilize communications to promote world-wide understanding as an essential pre-condition of world peace. But, in view of rapidly changing technology, the entire federal regulatory system dealing with telecommunication should be thoroughly reappraised.

Science and Technology

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

We lead the world in science and technology. This has produced a dramatic effect on the daily lives of all of us. To maintain our undisputed national leadership in science and further its manifold applications for the betterment of mankind, the Federal Government has a dear obligation to foster and support creative men and women in the research community, both public and private.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.732

Our pioneering Space program has helped mankind on earth in countless ways. The benefits from improved weather forecasting which can soon be available thanks to satellite observations [p.733] and communications will by themselves make the space efforts worthwhile.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

Observation by satellite of crops and other major earth resources will for the first time enable man to see all that is available to him on earth, and therefore to take maximum advantage of it. High endurance metals developed for space-craft help make commercial planes safer; similarly, micro-electronics are now found in consumer appliances. Novel space food-preservation techniques are employed in the tropical climates of underdeveloped countries. We will move ahead in aerospace research and development for their unimagined promise for man on earth as well as their vital importance to national defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

We shall continue to work for our goal of leadership in space. To this end we will maximize the effectiveness and efficiency of our space programs through utilization of the best program, planning and budgeting systems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

To maintain our leadership in the application of energy, we will push forward with research and development to assure a balanced program for the supply of energy for electric power, both public and private. This effort should go hand in hand with development of "breeder" reactors and large-scale nuclear desalting plants that can provide pure water economically from the sea for domestic use and agricultural and industrial development in arid regions, and with broadened medical and biological applications of atomic energy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

In addition to the physical sciences, the social sciences will be encouraged and assisted to identify and deal with the problem areas of society.

Opportunity for All

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

We of the Democratic Party believe that a nation wealthy beyond the dreams of most of mankind—a nation with a twentieth of the world's population, possessing half the world's manufactured goods—has the capacity and the duty to assure to all its citizens the opportunity to enjoy the full measure of the blessings of American life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

For the first time in the history of the world, it is within the power of a nation to eradicate from within its borders the age-old curse of poverty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

Our generation of Americans has now made those commitments. It remains to implement and adequately fund the host of practical measures that demonstrate their, effectiveness and to continue to devise new approaches.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

We are guided by the recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concerning jobs, housing, urban renewal, and education on a scale commensurate with the needs of the urban ghettos. We are guided by the report of the Commission on Rural Poverty in tackling the equally compelling problems of the rural slums.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

Economic growth is our first antipoverty program. The best avenue to an independent, confident citizenry is a dynamic, full-employment economy. Beyond that lie the measures necessary to assure that every American, of every race, in every region, truly shares in the benefits of economic progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

Those measures include rehabilitation of the victims of poverty, elimination of the urban and rural slums where poverty is bred, and changes throughout the system of institutions that affect the lives of the poor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

In this endeavor, the resources of private enterprise not only its economic power but its leadership and ingenuity—must be mobilized. We must marshal the power that comes from people working together in communities—the neighborhood communities of the poor and the larger communities of the city, the town, the village, the region.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

We support community action agencies and their programs, such as Head Start, that will prevent the children of the poor from becoming the poor of the next generation. We support the extension of neighborhood centers. We are committed to the principle of meaningful participation of the poor in policy-making and administration of community action and related programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

Since organizations of many kinds are joined in the war on poverty, problems of coordination inevitably arise. We pledge ourselves to review current antipoverty efforts to assess how responsibility should be distributed among levels of government, among private and public agencies, and between the permanent agencies of the federal government and an independent antipoverty agency.

Toward a Single Society

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.733

We acknowledge with concern the findings of the report of the bi-partisan National Advisory [p.734] Commission on Civil Disorders and we commit ourselves to implement its recommendations and to wipe out, once and for all, the stain of racial and other discrimination from our national life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

"The major goal," the Commission wrote, "is the creation of a true union—a single society and a single American identity." A single society, however, does not mean social or cultural uniformity. We are a nation of many social, ethnic and national groups. Each has brought richness and strength to America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1968 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, all adopted under the vigorous leadership of President Johnson, are basic to America's long march toward full equality under the law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

We will not permit these great gains to be chipped away by opponents or eroded by administrative neglect. We pledge effective and impartial enforcement of these laws. If they prove inadequate, or if their compliance provisions fail to serve their purposes, we will propose new laws. In particular, the enforcement provisions of the legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment should be strengthened. This will be done as a matter of first priority.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

We have also come to recognize that freedom and equality require more than the ending of repression and prejudice. The victims of past discrimination must be encouraged and assisted to take full advantage of opportunities that are now opening to them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

We must recognize that for too long we have neglected the abilities and aspirations of Spanish speaking Americans to participate fully in American life. We promise to fund and implement the Bilingual Education Act and expand recruitment and training of bilingual federal and state employees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

The American Indian has the oldest claim on our national conscience. We must continue and increase federal help in the Indian's battle against poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, ill health and poor housing. To this end, we pledge a new and equal federal-Indian partnership that will enable Indian communities to provide for themselves many services now furnished by the federal government and federal sponsorship of industrial development programs owned, managed, and run by Indians. We support a quick and fair settlement of land claims of Indians, Eskimo and Aleut citizens of Alaska.

The Inner City

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

In the decaying slums of our larger cities, where so many of our poor are concentrated, the attack on poverty must embrace many interrelated aspects of development—economic development, the rehabilitation or replacement of dilapidated and unsafe housing, job training and placement, and the improvement of education, health, recreation, crime control, welfare, and other public services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

As the framework of such an effort, we will continue to support the Model Cities program under which communities themselves are planning and carrying out the most comprehensive plans ever put together for converting their worst slum areas into model neighborhoods—with full participation and leadership by the neighborhood residents themselves. The Model Cities program will be steadily extended to more cities and more neighborhoods and adequately financed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

The resources and leadership of private enterprise must be marshaled in the attack on slums and poverty, and such incentives as may be essential for that purpose we will develop and enact.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

Some of the most urgent jobs in the revival of the inner city remain undone because the hazards are too great and the rewards too limited to attract sufficient private capital. To meet this problem, we will charter a new federal banking structure to provide capital and investment guaranties for urban projects planned and implemented through local initiative—neighborhood development corporations, minority programs for self-employment, housing development corporations, and other urban construction and planning operations. We will also enact legislation providing tax incentives for new business and industrial enterprises in the inner city. Our experience with aid to small business demonstrates the importance of increased local ownership of business enterprises in the inner city.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.734

We shall aid the universities to concentrate their resources more fully upon the problems of the cities and facilitate their cooperation with municipal agencies and local organizations in finding solutions to urban problems.[p.735]

Rural Development

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

Balanced growth is essential for America. To achieve that balanced growth, we must greatly increase the growth of the rural non-farm economy. One-third of our people live in rural areas, but only one rural family in ten derives its principal income from farming. Almost thirty percent of the nation's poor are non-farm people in rural areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

The problem of rural poverty and the problem of migration of poor people from rural areas to urban ghettos are mainly non-farm problems. The creation of productive jobs in small cities and towns can be the best and least costly solution of these problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

To revitalize rural and small-town America and assure equal opportunity for all Americans where-ever they live, we pledge to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

Create jobs by offering inducements to new enterprises—using tax and other incentives—to locate in small towns and rural areas;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

Administer existing federal programs and design new programs where necessary to overcome the disparity between rural and urban areas in opportunities for education, for health services, for low income housing, for employment and job training, and for public services of all kinds;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

Encourage the development of new towns and new growth centers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

Encourage the creation of comprehensive planning and development agencies to provide additional leadership in non-metropolitan areas, and assist them financially.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

The experience of the Appalachian and other regional commissions indicates that municipalities, counties, and state and federal agencies can work together in a common development effort.

Jobs and Training

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

Every American in need of work should have opportunity not only for meaningful employment, but also for the education, training, counselling, and other services that enable him to take advantage of available jobs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

To the maximum possible extent, our national goal of full employment should be realized through creation of jobs in the private economy, where six of every seven Americans now work. We will continue the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program, which for the first time has mobilized the energies of business and industry on a nationwide scale to provide training and employment to the hard-core unemployed. We will develop whatever additional incentives may be necessary to maximize the opportunities in the private sector for hard-core unemployed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

We will continue also to finance the operation by local communities of a wide range of training programs for youth and retraining for older workers whose skills have become obsolete, coupled with related services necessary to enable people to undertake training and accept jobs—including improved recruitment and placement services, day-care centers, and transportation between work and home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

For those who can work but cannot find jobs, we pledge to expand public job and job-training programs, including the Neighborhood Youth Corps, to provide meaningful employment by state and local government and nonprofit institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

For those who cannot obtain other employment, the federal government will be the employer of last resort, either through federal assistance to state and local projects or through federally sponsored projects.

Employment Standards

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

American workers are entitled to more than the right to a job. They have the right to fair and safe working conditions and to adequate protection in periods of unemployment or disability.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

In the last thirty years Democratic administrations and Congresses have enacted, extended and improved a series of measures to provide safeguards against exploitation and distress. We pledge to continue these efforts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

The minimum standards covering terms and conditions of employment must be improved:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

By increasing the minimum wage guarantee to assure those at the bottom of the economic scale a fairer share in rising living standards;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

By extending the minimum wage and overtime provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.735

By enacting occupational health and safety legislation to assure the material reduction of the present occupational death rate of 14,500 men [p.736] and women each year, and the disabling accident rate of over 2 million per year;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

By assuring that the "green card" worker does not depress wages and conditions of employment for American workers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

By updating of the benefit provisions of the Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

The unemployment compensation program should be modernized by national minimum standards for level and duration of benefits, eligibility, and universal coverage.

Older Citizens

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

A lifetime of work and effort deserves a secure and satisfying retirement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

Benefits, especially minimum benefits, under Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance should be raised to overcome present inadequacies and thereafter should be adjusted automatically to reflect increases in living costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

Medical care for the aged should be expanded to include the costs of prescription drugs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

The minimum age for public assistance should be lowered to correspond to the requirements for social security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

America's self-employed citizens should be encouraged by tax incentive legislation to supplement social security benefits for themselves and their employees to the same extent that employees of corporations are encouraged.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

In addition to improving social security, we must develop in each community a wide variety of activities to enrich the lives of our older citizens, to enable them to continue to contribute to our society, and to permit them to live in dignity. The aged must have access to better housing, opportunities for regular or part-time employment and community volunteer services, and cultural and recreational activities.

People in Need

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

Every American family whose income is not sufficient to enable its members to live in decency should receive assistance free of the indignities and uncertainties that still too often mar our present programs, To support family incomes of the working poor a number of new program proposals have recently been developed. A thorough evaluation of the relative advantages of such proposals deserves the highest priority attention by the next Administration. This we pledge to do.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

Income payments and eligibility standards for the aged, the blind, the disabled and dependent children should be determined and financed on a federal basis—in place of the present inequitable, underfinanced hodge podge state plans. This would, among other things, assure the eligibility in all states of needy children of unemployed parents who are now denied assistance in more than half the states as long as the father remains in the home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

Assistance payments should not only be brought to adequate levels but they should be kept adequate by providing for automatic adjustment to reflect increases in living costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

Congress has temporarily suspended the restrictive amendment of 1967 that placed an arbitrary limit on the number of dependent children who can be aided in each state. We favor permanent repeal of that restriction and of the provision requiring mothers of young children to work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

The new federal-state program we propose should provide for financial incentives and needed services to enable and encourage adults on welfare to seek employment to the extent they are able to do so.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

The time has come when we should make a national commitment that no American should have to go hungry or undernourished. The Democratic Party here and now does make that commitment. We will move rapidly to implement it through continued improvement and expansion of our food programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

The Democratic Congress this year has already enacted legislation to expand and improve the school lunch and commodity distribution programs, and shortly will complete action on legislation now pending to expand the food stamp program. We will enact further legislation and appropriations to assure on a permanent basis that the school lunch program provides free and reduced price meals to all needy school children.

Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.736

The best of modern medical care should be made available to every American. We support efforts to overcome the remaining barriers of distance, poverty, ignorance, and discrimination [p.737] that separate persons from adequate medical services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

During the last eight years of Democratic administrations, this nation has taken giant steps forward in assuring life and health for its citizens. In the years ahead, we Democrats are determined to take those final steps that are necessary to make certain that every American, regardless of economic status, shall live out his years without fear of the high costs of sickness.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Through a partnership of government and private enterprise we must develop new coordinated approaches to stem the rise in medical and drug costs without lowering the quality or availability of medical care. Out-of-hospital care, comprehensive group practice arrangements, increased availability of neighborhood health centers, and the greater use of sub-professional aides can all contribute to the lowering of medical costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

We will raise the level of research in all fields of health, with special programs for development of the artificial heart and the heart transplant technique, development of drugs to treat and prevent the recurrence of heart diseases, expansion of current task forces in cancer research and the creation of new ones including cancer of the lung, determination of the factors in mental retardation and reduction of infant mortality, development of drugs to reduce the incidence of suicide, and construction of health research facilities and hospitals.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

We must build new medical, dental and medical service schools, and increase the capacity of existing ones, to train more doctors, dentists, nurses, and medical technicians.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Medical care should be extended to disabled beneficiaries under the Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance Act to the same extent and under the same system that such care is available to the aged.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Thousands of children die, or are handicapped for life, because their mothers did not receive proper pre-natal medical attention or because the infants were unattended in the critical first days of life. Maternal and child health centers, located and designed to serve the needs of the poor, and voluntary family planning information centers should be established throughout the country. Medicaid programs administered by the states should have uniform standards so that no mother or child is denied necessary health services. Finally, we urge consideration of a program comparable to Medicare to finance pre-natal care for mother's and post-natal care for children during the first year of life.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

American veterans deserve our enduring gratitude for their distinguished service to the nation. In 1968 some 750,000 returning servicemen will continue their education with increased benefits under the new G.I. Bill passed by an education-minded Democratic Congress. Two million disabled veterans and survivors of those killed in action are receiving larger pensions and higher disability payments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Guided by the report of the Veterans Advisory Commission, established by the Democratic administration, we will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Continue a strong one-stop agency vested with sole responsibility for all veterans programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Sustain and upgrade veteran medical services arid expand medical training in VA hospitals;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Maintain compensation for disabled veterans and for widows and dependents of veterans who die of service-connected causes, in line with the rise in earnings and living standards;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Assure every veteran the right of burial in a national cemetery;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Provide incentives for veterans to aid their communities by serving in police, fire departments, educational systems and other public endeavors;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Make veterans and their widows eligible for pension benefits at the same age at which Social Security beneficiaries may receive old age benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

We recommend the establishment of a standing Committee on Veterans Affairs in the Senate.

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

Education is the chief instrument for making good the American promise. It is indispensable to every man's chance to achieve his full potential. We will seek to open education to all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.737

We will assure equal opportunity to education and equal access to high-quality education. Our aim is to maintain state-local control over the nation's educational system, with federal financial assistance and help in stimulating changes [p.738] through demonstration and technical assistance. New concepts of education and training employing new communications technology must be developed to educate children and adults.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

Every citizen has a basic right to as much education and training as he desires and can master—from preschool through graduate studies—even if his family cannot pay for this education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We will marshal our national resources to help develop and finance new and effective methods of dealing with the educationally disadvantaged—including expanded preschool programs to prepare all young children for full participation in formal education, improved teacher recruitment and training programs for inner city and rural schools, the Teacher Corps, assistance to community controlled schools to encourage pursuit of innovative practices, university participation in research and operation of school programs, a vocational education system that will provide imaginative new ties between school and the world of work, and improved and more widespread adult education programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We will fully fund Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which provides federal funds for improving education in schools serving large numbers of students from low income families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

The financial burden of education continues to grow as enrollments spiral and costs increase. The home owner's property tax burden must be eased by increased levels of financial aid by both the states and the Federal government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

Our rapidly expanding educational frontiers require a redoubling of efforts to insure the vitality of a diverse higher education system—public and private, large and small, community and junior colleges, vocational and technical schools, and great universities. We also pledge support for high quality graduate and medical education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We will enlarge the federal scholarship program to remove the remaining financial barriers to post-secondary education for low income youths, and increase assistance to students in the form of repayable loans out of future income.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We will encourage support for the arts and the humanities, through the national foundations established by a Democratic Congress, to provide incentives for those endowed with extraordinary talent, enhance the quality of our life, and make productive leisure available to all our people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We recommend greater stress on the arts and humanities in elementary and secondary curricula to ensure a proper educational balance.

Youth

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

For generations, the Democratic Party has renewed its vitality with young people and new ideas. Today, young people are bringing new vigor and a deep concern for social justice into the political process, yet many feel excluded from full participation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We of the Democratic Party welcome the bold thinking and exciting ideas of youth. We recognize, with deep satisfaction, that their healthy desire for participation in the democratic system must lead to a series of reforms in the direction of a greater democracy and a more open America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

The Democratic Party takes pride in the fact that so many of today's youth have channeled their interests and energies into our Party. To them, and to all young Americans we pledge the fullest opportunity to participate in the affairs of our Party at the local, state, and national levels. We call for special efforts to recruit young people as candidates for public office.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We will support a Constitutional amendment lowering the voting age to 18.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We favor an increase in youth representation on state delegations in future Democratic conventions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

Steps should be taken to include youth advisers on all government studies, commissions, and hearings which are relevant to their lives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

We will establish a youth commission involving young people between the ages of 18 and 26.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

Every young person should have an opportunity to contribute to the social health of his community or to humanitarian service abroad. The extraordinary experience of the Teacher Corps, VISTA, and the Peace Corps points the way for broadening the opportunities for such voluntary service. Hundreds of thousands of America's youth have sought to enlist in these programs, but only tens of thousands have been able to serve. We will expand these Opportunities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.738

The lives of millions of young men are deeply affected by the requirement for military service. The present system leaves them in uncertainty [p.739] through much of their early manhood. Until our manpower needs can be fully met by voluntary enlistment, the Democratic Party will insist upon the most equitable and just selection system that can be devised. We support a random system of selection which will reduce the period of eligibility to one year, guarantee fair selection, and remove uncertainty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

We urge review of draft board memberships to make them more representative of the communities they serve.

Environment, Conservation and Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

These United States have undergone 200 years of continuous change and dramatic development resulting in the most technologically advanced nation in the world. But with rapid industrialization, the nation's air and water resources have been degraded, the public health and welfare endangered, the landscape scarred and littered, and the very quality of our national life jeopardized.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

We must assure the availability of a decent environment for living, working and relaxation. To this end, we pledge our efforts:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

To accelerate programs for the enhancement of the quality of the nation's waters for the protection of all legitimate water uses, with special emphasis on public water supplies, recreation, fish and wildlife;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

To extend the national emission control program to all moving sources of air pollution;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

To work for programs for the effective disposal of wastes of our modern industrial society;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

To support the efforts on national, state, and local levels to preserve the historic monuments and sites of our heritage;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

To assist in planning energy production and transportation to fit into the landscape, to assure safety, and to avoid interference with more desirable uses of land for recreation and other public purposes;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

To continue to work toward abating the visual pollution that plagues our land;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

To focus on the outdoor recreation needs of those who live in congested metropolitan areas;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

To continue to work toward strong measures for the reclamation of mined and depleted lands and the conservation of soil.

Public Domain

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

We pledge continued support of the Public Land Law Review Commission, which is reviewing public land laws and policies to assure maximum opportunity for all beneficial uses of the public lands, including lands under the sea, and to develop a comprehensive land use policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

We support sustained yield management of our forests, and expanded research for control of forest insects, disease, and fires.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

We plan to examine the productivity of the public lands in goods, services, and local community prosperity, with a view to increasing such productivity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

We shall enforce existing federal statutes governing federal timber.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

We support the orderly use and development of mineral resources on federal lands.

Recreation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

We will continue the vigorous expansion of the public recreational domain to meet tomorrow's increasing needs, We will add national parks, recreation areas and seashores, and create national systems of scenic and wild rivers and of trails and scenic roads. We will support a growing wilderness preservation system, preservation of our redwood forests, and conservation of marshland and estuarine areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

Recognizing that the bulk of the task of acquisition and development must be accomplished at the state and local levels we shall foster federal assistance to encourage such action, as well as recreational expansion by the private sector. To this end, we shall build upon the landmark Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, which has assured a foundation of a recreational heritage for future generations. We will assist communities to rehabilitate and expand inadequate and deteriorating urban park systems, and develop open space, waterways, and waterfront renovation facilities.

Resources of the Oceans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.739

In and beneath the seas are resources of untold dimension for the benefit of mankind. Recognizing and protecting the paramount public interest in the seas, Congress under Democratic leadership enacted the Sea Grant College Act of 1965 and the Marine Resources and Engineering [p.740] Development Act of 1966, which established for the first time a comprehensive long-range policy and program for the marine sciences. We pledge to pursue vigorously the goals of that Act. Specifically, we will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

Foster marine application of new technology—spacecraft, buoys, data networks, and advanced navigation systems—and develop an engineering capability to work on and under the sea at any depth;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

Encourage development of underseas resources by intensified research and better weather forecasting, with recognition to the coastal, insular and other littoral states of their unique interest and responsibility;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

Foster an extensive program of oceanologic research and development, financed by a portion of the mineral-royalty receipts from the outer continental shelf;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

Accelerate public and private programs for the development of food and other marine resources to meet world-wide malnutrition, to create new industries, and to utilize underemployed manpower living near the waterfront;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

Promote our fisheries by providing incentives for private investment, enforcing our 12-mile fishing zone, and discouraging other nations from excessive territorial and fishery claims;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

Conclude an appropriate Ocean Space treaty to secure rules and agreements that will facilitate public and private investment, guarantee security of investment and encourage efficient and orderly development of the sea's resources.

The Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

In the coming four years, the Democratic President and Democratic Congress will give priority to simplifying and streamlining the processes of government, particularly in the management of the great innovative programs enacted in the 1960's.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

The Executive branch of the federal government is the largest and most complicated enterprise in the world, with programs distributed among 150 separate departments, agencies, bureaus, and boards. This massive operation contributes to and often results in duplication, administrative confusion, and delay.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

We will seek to streamline this machinery by improving coordination and management of federal programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

We realize that government must develop the capacity to anticipate problems. We support a thorough study of agency operations to determine priorities for governmental action and spending, for examination of the structure of these agencies, and for establishing more systematic means of attacking our nation's problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

We recognize that citizen participation in government is most meaningful at the levels of government closest to the people. For that reason, we recognize the necessity of developing a true partnership between state, local, and Federal governments, with each carrying its share of the financial and administrative load. We acknowledge the tremendous strides made by President Johnson in strengthening federal-state relations through open communication with the governors and local officials, and we pledge to continue and expand, on this significant effort.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

The complexities of federal-state local relationships must be simplified, so that states and local communities receiving federal aid will have maximum freedom to initiate and carry out programs suited to their own particular needs. To give states and communities greater flexibility in their programs, we will combine individual grant programs into broader categories.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

As the economy grows, it is the federal revenue system that responds most quickly, yet it may be the states and local governments whose responsibilities mount most rapidly. To help states and cities meet their fiscal challenges, we must seek new methods for states and local governments to share in federal revenues while retaining responsibility for establishing their own priorities and for operating their own programs. To this end, we will seek out new and innovative approaches to government to assure that our Federal system does, in fact, deliver to the people the services for which they are paying.

Public Employees

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

The Democratic administration has moved vigorously in the past eight years—particularly with regard to pay scales—to improve the conditions of public service. We support:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.740

A federal service that rewards new ideas and leadership;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

Continued emphasis on education and training [p.741] programs for public employees, before and during their service;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

Parity of government salaries with private industry;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

A proper respect for the privacy and independence of federal employees;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

Equal opportunities for career advancement;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

Continued application of the principles of collective bargaining to federal employment;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

Encouragement to state and local governments to continue to upgrade their personnel systems in terms of pay scales and training;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

Interchange of employees between federal and state government.

Elections

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

We are alarmed at the growing costs of political participation in our country and the consequent reliance of political parties and candidates on large contributors, and we want to assure full public information on campaign expenditures. To encourage citizen participation we urge that limited campaign contributions be made deductible as a credit from the federal income tax.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

We fully recognize the principle of one man, one vote in all elections. We urge that due consideration be given to the question of presidential primaries throughout the nation. We urge reform of the electoral college and election procedures to assure that the votes of the people are fully reflected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

We urge all levels of our Party to assume leadership in removing all remaining barriers to voter registration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

We will also seek to eliminate disenfranchisement of voters who change residence during an election year.

The District of Columbia

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

With the reorganization of the government of the District of Columbia, the nation's capital has for the first time in nearly a century the strong leadership provided by a mayor-council form of government. This, however, is no substitute for an independent and fiscally autonomous District government. We support a federally funded charter commission—controlled by District residents—to determine the most appropriate form of government for the District, and the prompt implementation of the Commission's recommendations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

The Democratic Party supports full citizenship for residents of the District of Columbia and a Constitutional amendment to grant such citizenship through voting representation in Congress. Until this can be done, we propose non-voting representation.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

In accordance with the democratic principle of self-determination the people of Puerto Rico have expressed their will to continue in permanent union with the United States through commonwealth status. We pledge our continued support to the growth of the commonwealth status which the people of Puerto Rico overwhelmingly approved last year.

Virgin Islands and Guam

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

We favor an elected governor and a non-voting delegate in the House of Representatives for the Virgin Islands and Guam, and will consider methods by which American citizens residing in American territories can participate in presidential elections.

Justice and Law

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

We are firm in our commitment that equal justice under law shall be denied to no one. The duty of government at every level is the safety and security of its people. Yet the fact and fear of crime are uppermost in the minds of Americans today. The entire nation is united in its concern over crime, in all forms and wherever it occurs. America must move aggressively to reduce crime and its causes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

Democratic Presidents, governors and local officials are dedicated to the principle that equal justice under law shall remain the American creed. Those who take the law into their own hands undermine that creed. Anyone who breaks the law must be held accountable. Organized crime cannot be accepted as a way of life, nor can individual crime or acts of violence be permitted.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

As stated in the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the two fundamental questions confronting the American people are:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.741

"How can we as a people end the resort to violence while we build a better society?"

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

"How can the nation realize the promise of [p.742] a single society—one nation indivisible—which yet remains unfulfilled?"

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

This platform commits the Democratic Party to seek resolution of these questions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

We pledge a vigorous and sustained campaign against lawlessness in all its forms—organized crime, white collar crime, rioting, and other violations of the rights and liberties of others. We will further this campaign by attack on the root causes of crime and disorder.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Under the recent enactments of a Democratic Congress we will continue and increase federal financial support and technical assistance to the states and their local governments to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Increase the numbers, raise the pay, and improve the training of local police officers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Reduce delays and congestion in our criminal courts;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Rehabilitate and supervise convicted offenders, to return offenders to useful, decent lives, and to protect the public against habitual criminals;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Develop and deploy the most advanced and effective techniques and equipment for the public safety;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Assure the availability in every metropolitan area of quick, balanced, coordinated control forces, with ample manpower, thoroughly trained and properly equipped, to suppress rioting;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Encourage responsible and competent civic associations and business and labor groups to cooperate with the law enforcement agencies in new efforts to combat organized crime, build community support for police work, and assist in rehabilitating convicted offenders—and for the attainment of these ends, encourage our police to cooperate with any such groups and to establish links of communication with every element of the public they serve, building confidence and respect;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Establish and maintain open and responsive channels of communication between the public and the police through creative police-community relations programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Develop innovative programs to reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Promote the passage and enforcement of effective federal, state and local gun control legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

In all these efforts, our aim is to strengthen state and local law enforcement agencies so that they can do their jobs. In addition, the federal government has a clear responsibility for national action. We have accepted that responsibility and will continue to accept it with these specific objectives:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Prompt and effective federal support, upon request of appropriate authorities, to suppress rioting: improvement of the capabilities of all agencies of law enforcement and justice—the police, the military, the courts—to handle more effectively problems attending riots;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

A concentrated campaign by the Federal government to wipe out organized crime: by employment of additional Federal investigators and prosecutors; by computerizing the present system of collecting information; by enlarging the program of technical assistance teams to work with the states and local governments that request assistance in this fight; by launching a nationwide program for the country's business and labor leaders to alert them to the problems of organized crime;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Intensified enforcement, research, and education to protect the public from narcotics and other damaging drugs: by review of federal narcotics laws for loopholes and difficulties of enforcement; by increased surveillance of the entire drug traffic; through negotiations with those foreign nations which grow and manufacture the bulk of drug derivatives;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Vigorous federal leadership to assist and coordinate state and local enforcement efforts, and to ensure that all communities benefit from the resources and knowledge essential to the fight on crime;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Further implementation of the recommendations of the President's crime commission;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Creation in the District of Columbia of a model system of criminal justice;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

Federal research and development to bring to the problems of law enforcement and the administration of justice the full potential of the scientific revolution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

In fighting crime we must not foster injustice. Lawlessness cannot be ended by curtailing the hard-won liberties of all Americans. The right of privacy must be safeguarded. Court procedures must be expedited. Justice delayed is justice denied.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.742

A respect for civil peace requires also a proper respect for the legitimate means of expressing dissent. A democratic society welcomes criticism [p.743] within the limits of the law. Freedom of speech, press, assembly and association, together with free exercise of the franchise, are among the legitimate means to achieve change in a democratic society. But when the dissenter resorts to violence he erodes the institutions and values which are the underpinnings of our democratic society. We must not and will not tolerate violence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.743

As President Johnson has stated, "Our test is to rise above the debate between the rights of the individual and the rights of society by securing the rights of both."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.743

We freely admit that the years we live in are years of turbulence. But the wisdom of history has something hopeful to say about times like these. It tells us that the giant American nation, on the move with giant strides, has never moved—and can never move—in silence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.743

We are an acting, doing, feeling people. We are a people whose deepest emotions are the source of the creative noise we make-precisely because of our ardent desire for unity, our wish for peace, our longing for concord, our demand for justice, our hope for material well being, our impulse to move always toward a more perfect union.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.743

In that never-ending quest, we are all partners together—the industrialist and the banker, the workman and the storekeeper, the farmer and the scientist, the clerk and the engineer, the teacher and the student, the clergyman and the writer, the men of all colors and of all the different generations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.743

The American dream is not the exclusive property of any political party. But we submit that the Democratic Party has been the chief instrument of orderly progress in our time. As heirs to the longest tradition of any political party on earth, we Democrats have been trained over the generations to be a party of builders. And that experience has taught us that America builds best when it is called upon to build greatly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1968, p.743

We sound that call anew. With the active consent of the American people, we will prove anew that freedom is best secured by a government that is responsive and compassionate and committed to justice and the rule of law.[p.748]

Republican Platform of 1968

Preamble, Purposes and Pledges

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Twice before, our Party gave the people of America leadership at a time of crisis—leadership which won us peace in place of war, unity in place of discord, compassion in place of bitterness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

A century ago, Abraham Lincoln gave that leadership. From it came one nation, consecrated to liberty and justice for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Fifteen years ago, Dwight D. Eisenhower gave that leadership. It brought the end of a war, eight years of peace, enhanced respect in the world, orderly progress at home, and trust of our people in their leaders and in themselves. Today, we are in turmoil.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Tens of thousands of young men have died or been wounded in Vietnam.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Many young people are losing faith in our society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Our inner cities have become centers of despair.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Millions of Americans are caught in the cycle of poverty—poor education, unemployment or serious under-employment, and the inability to afford decent housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Inflation has eroded confidence in the dollar at home and abroad. It has severely cut into the incomes of all families, the jobless, the farmers, the retired and those living on fixed incomes and pensions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Today's Americans are uncertain about the future, and frustrated about the recent past.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

America urgently needs new leadership—leadership courageous and understanding—leadership that will recapture control of events, mastering them rather than permitting them to master us, thus restoring our confidence in ourselves and in our future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Our need is new leadership which will develop imaginative new approaches assuring full opportunity to all our citizens—leadership which will face and resolve the basic problems of our country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

Our Convention in 1968 can spark a "Republican Resurgence" under men and women willing to face the realities of the world in which we live.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

We must urgently dedicate our efforts toward restoration of peace both at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

We must bring about a national commitment to rebuild our urban and rural slum areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

We must enable family farm enterprise to participate fully in the nation's prosperity. We must bring about quality education for all. We must assure every individual an opportunity for satisfying and rewarding employment. We must attack the root causes of poverty and eradicate racism, hatred and violence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

We must give all citizens the opportunity to influence and shape the events of our time.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

We must give increasing attention to the views of the young and recognize their key role in our present as well as the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.748

We must mobilize the resources, talents and energy of public and private sectors to reach these goals, utilizing the unique strength and initiative of state and local governments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

[p.749] We must re-establish fiscal responsibility and put an end to increases in the cost of living.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

We must reaffirm our commitment to Lincoln's challenge of one hundred six years ago. To Congress he wrote: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves and then we shall save our country ."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

In this, our stormy present, let us rededicate ourselves to Lincoln's thesis. Let the people know our commitment to provide the dynamic leadership which they rightly expect of this Party—the Party not of empty promises, but of performance—the Party not of wastefulness, but of responsibility—the Party not of war, but the Party whose Administrations have been characterized by peace—the Republican Party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

To these ends, we solemnly pledge to every American that we shall think anew and act anew.

Domestic Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

A peaceful, reunified America, with opportunity and orderly progress for all—these are our overriding domestic goals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

Clearly we must think anew about the relationship of man and his government, of man and his fellow-man. We must act anew to enlarge the opportunity and autonomy of the individual and the range of his choice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

Republican leadership welcomes challenge. We eagerly anticipate new achievement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

A new, vital partnership of government at all levels will be a prime Republican objective. We will broaden the base of decision-making. We will create a new mix of private responsibility and public participation in the solution of social problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

There is so much which urgently needs to be done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

In many areas poverty and its attendant ills afflict large numbers of Americans. Distrust and fear plague us all. Our inner cities teem with poor, crowded in slums. Many rural areas are run down and barren of challenge or opportunity. Minorities among us—particularly the black community, the Mexican-American, the American Indian—suffer disproportionately.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

Americans critically need—and are eager for—new and dynamic leadership. We offer that leadership—a leadership to eradicate bitterness and discrimination—responsible, compassionate leadership that will keep its word—leadership every citizen can count on to move this nation forward again, confident, reunited, and sure of purpose.

Crisis of the Cities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

For today and tomorrow, there must be—and we pledge—a vigorous effort, nation-wide, to transform the blighted areas of cities into centers of opportunity and progress, culture and talent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

For tomorrow, new cities must be developed—and smaller cities with room to grow, expanded—to house and serve another 100 million Americans by the turn of the century.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

The need is critical. Millions of our people are suffering cruelly from expanding metropolitan blight—congestion, crime, polluted air and water, poor housing, inadequate educational, economic and recreational opportunities. This continuing decay of urban centers—the deepening misery and limited opportunity of citizens living there—is intolerable in America. We promise effective, sustainable action enlisting new energies by the private sector and by governments at all levels. We pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

Presidential leadership which will buttress state and local government;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

Vigorous federal support to innovative state programs, using new policy techniques such as urban development corporations, to help rebuild our cities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

Energetic, positive leadership to enforce statutory and constitutional protections to eliminate discrimination;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

Concern for the unique problems of citizens long disadvantaged in our total society by race, color, national origin, creed, or sex;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

A greater involvement of vast private enterprise resources in the improvement of urban life, induced by tax and other incentives;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

New technological and administrative approaches through flexible federal programs enabling and encouraging communities to solve their own problems;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.749

A complete overhaul and restructuring of the competing and overlapping jumble of federal [p.750] programs to enable state and local governments to focus on priority objectives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

These principles as urgently apply to rural poverty and decay. There must be a marked improvement of economic and educational opportunities to relieve widespread distress. Success with urban problems in fact requires acceleration of rural development in order to stem the flow of people from the countryside to the city.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Air and water pollution, already acute in many areas, require vigorous state and federal action, regional planning, and maximum cooperation among neighboring cities, counties and states. We will encourage this planning and cooperation and also spur industrial participation by means of economic incentives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Skyrocketing building costs and interest rates have crippled home building and threaten a housing crisis in the nation, endangering the prospect of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every family. We will vigorously implement the Republican conceived home-ownership program for lower income families and also the Republican-sponsored rent certificate program. Economic incentives will be developed to attract private industry and capital to the low-cost housing market. By reducing interest rates through responsible fiscal and monetary policy we will lower the costs of home-ownership, and new technologies and programs will be developed to stimulate low-cost methods of housing rehabilitation. Local communities will be encouraged to adopt uniform, modern building codes, research in cost-cutting technology through private enterprise will be accelerated, and innovative state and local programs will be supported. We will also stimulate the investment of "sweat equity" by home owners.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Our metropolitan transportation systems—the lifelines of our cities—have become tangled webs of congestion which not only create vast citizen inconvenience, discontent and economic inefficiency, but also tend to barricade inner city people against job opportunities in suburban areas. We will encourage priority attention by private enterprise and all levels of government to sound planning and the rapid development of improved mass transportation systems, Additionally, in the location of federal buildings and installations and the awarding of federal contracts, account will be taken of such factors as traffic congestion, housing, and the effect on community development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Americans are acutely aware that none of these objectives can be achieved unless order through law and justice is maintained in our cities. Fire and looting, causing millions of dollars of property damage, have brought great suffering to home owners and small businessmen, particularly in black communities least able to absorb catastrophic losses. The Republican Party strongly advocates measures to alleviate and remove the frustrations that contribute to riots. We simultaneously support decisive action to quell civil disorder, relying primarily on state and local governments to deal with these conditions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

America has adequate peaceful and lawful means for achieving even fundamental social change if the people wish it. We will not tolerate violence!

Crime

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Lawlessness is crumbling the foundations of American society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Republicans believe that respect for the law is the cornerstone of a free and well-ordered society. We pledge vigorous and even-handed administration of justice and enforcement of the law. We must re-establish the principle that men are accountable for what they do, that criminals are responsible for their crimes, that while the youth's environment may help to explain the man's crime, it does not excuse that crime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

We call on public officials at the federal, state and local levels to enforce our laws with firmness and fairness. We recognize that respect for law and order flows naturally from a just society; while demanding protection of the public peace and safety, we pledge a relentless attack on economic and social injustice in every form. The present Administration has:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Ignored the danger signals of our rising crime rates until very recently and even now has proposed only narrow measures hopelessly inadequate to the need;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Failed to implement most of the recommendations of the President's own Crime Commission;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.750

Opposed legislative measures that would assist law enforcement officials in bringing law-breakers to justice;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

[p.751] Refused to sanction the use of either the court-supervised wiretapping authority to combat organized crime or the revised rules of evidence, both made available by Congress;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Failed to deal effectively with threats to the nation's internal security by not prosecuting identified subversives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

By contrast, Republican leadership in Congress has:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Provided funds for programs administered by state and local governments to control juvenile delinquency and crime;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Created a National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice to conduct crime research and facilitate the expansion of police training programs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Secured enactment of laws enabling law enforcement officials to obtain and use evidence needed to prosecute criminals, while at the same time protecting the rights and privacy of all citizens;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Secured new laws aimed at "loan sharking," the intimidation of witnesses, and obstruction of investigations;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Established disability as well as survivorship benefits for local police officers wounded or killed in pursuit of federal lawbreakers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

For the future, we pledge an all-out, federal-state-local crusade against crime, including:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Leadership by an Attorney General who will restore stature and respect to that office;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Continued support of legislation to strengthen state and local law enforcement and preserve the primacy of state responsibility in this area;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Full support of the F.B.I. and all law enforcement agencies of the federal government;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Improved federal cooperation with state and local law enforcement agencies;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Better coordination of the federal law enforcement, crime control, and criminal justice systems;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

A vigorous nation-wide drive against trafficking in narcotics and dangerous drugs, including special emphasis on the first steps toward addiction the use of marijuana and such drugs as LSD;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Total commitment to a federal program to deter, apprehend, prosecute, convict and punish the overlords of organized crime in America, including full implementation of the Congressional mandate that court-supervised wiretapping and electronic surveillance tools be used against the mobsters and racketeers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Increased public protection against racketeer infiltration into legitimate business;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Increased research into the causes and prevention of crime, juvenile delinquency, and drug addiction;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Creation of a Federal Corrections Service to consolidate the fragmented and overlapping federal efforts and to assist state and local corrections systems;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

A new approach to the problem of chronic offenders, including adequate staffing of the corrections system and improvement of rehabilitative techniques;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Modernization of the federal judicial system to promote swift, sure justice;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Enactment of legislation to control indiscriminate availability of firearms, safeguarding the right of responsible citizens to collect, own and use firearms for legitimate purposes, retaining primary responsibility at the state level, with such federal laws as necessary to better enable the states to meet their responsibilities.

Youth

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

More than any other nation, America reflects the strength and creative energy of youth. In every productive enterprise, the vigor, imagination and skills of our young people have contributed immeasurably to progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

Our youth today are endowed with greater knowledge and maturity than any such generation of the past. Their political restlessness reflects their urgent hope to achieve a meaningful participation in public affairs commensurate with their contributions as responsible citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

In recognition of the abilities of these younger citizens, their desire to participate, and their service in the nation's defense, we believe that lower age groups should be accorded the right to vote. We believe that states which have not yet acted should reevaluate their positions with respect to 18-year-old voting, and that each such state should decide this matter for itself. We urge the states to act now.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.751

For greater equity we will further revise Selective Service policies and reduce the number of years during which a young man can be considered for the draft, thereby providing some certainty to those liable for military service. When [p.752] military manpower needs can be appreciably reduced, we will place the Selective Service System on standby and substitute a voluntary force obtained through adequate pay and career incentives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

We encourage responsible young men and women to join actively in the political process to help shape the future of the nation. We invite them to join our Republican effort to assure the new direction and the new leadership which this nation so urgently needs and rightfully expects.

Education

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

The birthplace of American opportunity has been in the classrooms of our schools and colleges. From early childhood through the college years, American schools must offer programs of education sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of all Americans—the advantaged, the average, the disadvantaged and the handicapped alike. To help our educators meet this need we will establish a National Commission to Study the Quality and Relevance of American Education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

To treat the special problems of children from impoverished families, we advocate expanded, better programs for pre-school children. We will encourage state, local or private programs of teacher training. The development and increased use of better teaching methods and modern instruction techniques such as educational television and voluntary bilingual education will continue to have our support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

To help assure excellence and equality of educational opportunity, we will urge the states to present plans for federal assistance which would include state distribution of such aid to non-public school children and include non-public school representatives in the planning process. Where state conditions prevent use of funds for non-public school children, a public agency should he designated to administer federal funds.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

Greater vocational education in high school and post-high school years is required for a new technological and service-oriented economy. Young people need expansion of post high school technical institutes to enable them to acquire satisfactory skills for meaningful employment. For youths unable to obtain such training, we propose an industry youth program, coupled with a flexible approach to minimum wage laws for young entry-level workers during their training periods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

The rapidly mounting enrollments and costs of colleges and universities deprive many qualified young people of the opportunity to obtain a quality college education. To help colleges and universities provide this opportunity, we favor grant and loan programs for expansion of their facilities. We will also support a flexible student aid program of grants, loans and work opportunities, provided by federal and state governments and private organizations. We continue to favor tax credits for those burdened with the costs of higher education, and also tax deductions to encourage savings for this purpose. No young American should be denied a quality education because he cannot afford it or find work to meet its costs.

Human Development

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

The inability of the poor to cope meaningfully with their environment is compounded by problems which blunt opportunity—inadequate income, inferior education, inadequate health care, slum housing, limited job opportunities, discrimination, and crime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

Full opportunity requires a coordinated attack on the total problem through community human development programs. Federal revenue sharing would help provide the resources to develop such coordinated programs.

Jobs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

The nation must look to an expanding free enterprise system to provide jobs. Republican policies and programs will encourage this expansion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

To qualify for jobs with permanence and promise, many disadvantaged citizens need special assistance and job training. We will enact the Republican-proposed Human Investment Act, offering tax credits to employers, to encourage such training and upgrading.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.752

A complete overhaul of the nation's job programs is urgent. There are some 70 federally funded job training programs, with some cities having as many as 30 operating side by side. Some of these programs are ineffective and should be eliminated. We will simplify the federal effort and also encourage states and localities to establish single-headed manpower systems, to correlate [p.753] all such federal activities and gear them to local conditions and needs. Local business advisory boards will assist in the design of such programs to fit training to employment needs. To help the unemployed find work we will also inaugurate a national Job Opportunity Data Bank to report the number, nature and location of unfilled jobs and to match the individuals with the jobs.

The Poor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

Welfare and poverty programs will be drastically revised to liberate the poor from the debilitating dependence which erodes self-respect and discourages family unity and responsibility. We will modify the rigid welfare requirements that stifle work motivation and support locally operated children's day care centers to free the parents to accept work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

Burdensome administrative procedures will be simplified, and existing programs will be revised so that they will encourage and protect strong family units.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

This nation must not blink the harsh fact—or the special demands it places upon us—that the incidence of poverty is consistently greater among Negroes. Mexican-Americans, Indians and other minority groupings than in the population generally.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

An essential element of economic betterment is the opportunity for self-determination—to develop or acquire and manage one's own business enterprise. This opportunity is bleak for most residents of impoverished areas. We endorse the concept of state and community development corporations. These will provide capital, technical assistance and insurance for the establishment and renewal of businesses in depressed urban and rural areas. We favor efforts to enable residents of such areas to become owners and managers of businesses and, through such agencies as a Domestic Development Bank, to exercise economic leadership in their communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

Additionally, we support action by states, with federal re-insurance, to help provide insurance coverage for homes and small businesses against damage and fire caused by riots.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

We favor maximum reliance on community leaders utilizing the regular channels of government to provide needed public services. One approach is the Republican-sponsored Community

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

Service Corps which would augment cooperation and communication between community residents and the police.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

In programs for the socially and economically disadvantaged we favor participation by representatives of those to be served. The failure so to encourage creative and responsible participation from among the poor has been the greatest among the host of failures of the War on Poverty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

Recent studies indicate that many Americans suffer from malnutrition despite six separate federal food distribution programs. Here again, fragmentation of federal effort hinders accomplishment. We pledge a unified federal food distribution program, as well as active cooperation with the states and innovative private enterprise, to help provide the hungry poor sufficient food for a balanced diet.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

A new Republican Administration will strive for fairness for all consumers, including additional information and protection programs as necessary, state and local consumer education, vigorous enforcement of the numerous protection laws already enacted, and active encouragement of the many consumer-protection initiatives and organizations of private enterprise.

Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

The inflation produced by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has struck hardest in the area of health care. Hospital costs are rising 16 percent a year—four times the national average of price increases.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.753

We pledge to encourage the broadening of private health insurance plans, many of which cover hospital care only, and to review the operation of government hospital care programs in order to encourage more patients to utilize non-hospital facilities. Expansion of the number of doctors, nurses, and supporting staff to relieve shortages and spread the availability of health care services will have our support. We will foster the construction of additional hospitals and encourage regional hospital and health planning for the maximum development of facilities for medical and nursing care. We will also press for enactment of Republican-sponsored programs for financing of hospital modernization. New diagnostic methods and also preventive care to assure early detection of physical impairments, thus fostering [p.754] good health and avoiding illnesses requiring hospitalization, will have our support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

Additionally, we will work with states and local communities to help assure improved services to the mentally ill within a community setting and will intensify research to develop better treatment methods. We will encourage extension of private health insurance to cover mental illness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

While believing no American should be denied adequate medical treatment, we will be diligent in protecting the traditional patient-doctor relationship and the integrity, of the medical practitioner.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

We are especially concerned with the difficult circumstances of thousands of handicapped citizens who daily encounter architectural barriers which they are physically unable to surmount. We will support programs to reduce and where possible to eliminate such barriers in the construction of federal buildings.

The Elderly

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

Elderly Americans desire and deserve independence, dignity, and the opportunity for continued useful participation. We will strengthen the Social Security system and provide automatic cost of living adjustments under Social Security and the Railroad Retirement Act. An increase in earnings permitted to Social Security recipients without loss of benefits, provision for postage 65 contributions to Social Security with deferment of benefits, and an increase in benefits to widows will also be provided. The age for universal Social Security coverage will be gradually reduced from 72 to 65 and the former 100 percent income tax deduction will be restored for medical and drug expenses for people over 65. Additionally, we will take steps to help improve and extend private pension plans.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

The Republican Party pledges vigorous efforts to assure jobs for returning Vietnam war veterans, as well as other assistance to enable them and their families to establish living conditions befitting their brave service. We pledge a rehabilitation allowance for paraplegics to afford them the means to live outside a hospital environment. Adequate medical and hospital care will be maintained for all veterans with service-connected disabilities and veterans in need, and timely revisions of compensation programs will be enacted for service-connected death and disability to help assure an adequate standard of living for all disabled veterans and their survivors. We will see that every veteran is accorded the right to be interred in a national cemetery as near as possible to his home, and we pledge to maintain all veterans' programs in an independent Veterans Administration.

Indian Affairs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

The plight of American Indians and Eskimos is a national disgrace. Contradictory government policies have led to intolerable deprivation for these citizens. We dedicate ourselves to the promotion of policies responsive to their needs and desires and will seek the full participation of these people and their leaders in the formulation of such policies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

Inequality of jobs, of education, of housing and of health blight their lives today. We believe the Indian and Eskimo must have an equal opportunity to participate fully in American society. Moreover, the uniqueness and beauty of these native cultures must be recognized and allowed to flourish.

The Individual and Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

In recent years an increasingly impersonal national government has tended to submerge the individual. An entrenched, burgeoning bureaucracy has increasingly usurped powers, unauthorized by Congress. Decentralization of power, as well as strict Congressional oversight of administrative and regulatory agency compliance with the letter and spirit of the law, are urgently needed to preserve personal liberty, improve efficiency, and provide a swifter response to human problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.754

Many states and localities are eager to revitalize their own administrative machinery, procedures, and personnel practices. Moreover, there is growing inter-state cooperation in such fields as education, elimination of air and water pollution, utilization of airports, highways and mass transportation. We pledge full federal cooperation with these efforts, including revision of the system of providing federal funds and reestablishment of the authority of state governments in coordinating and administering the federal programs. [p.755] Additionally, we propose the sharing of federal revenues with state governments. We are particularly determined to revise the grant-in-aid system and substitute bloc grants wherever possible. It is also important that state and local governments retain the historic right to raise funds by issuing tax-exempt securities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

The strengthening of citizen influence on government requires a number of improvements in political areas. For instance, we propose to reform the electoral college system, establish a nation-wide, uniform voting period for Presidential elections, and recommend that the states remove unreasonable requirements, residence and otherwise, for voting in Presidential elections. We specifically favor representation in Congress for the District of Columbia. We will work to establish a system of self-government for the District of Columbia which will take into account the interests of the private citizens thereof, and those of the federal government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

We will support the efforts of the Puerto Rican people to achieve statehood when they freely request such status by a general election, and we share the hopes and aspirations of the people of the Virgin Islands who will be closely consulted on proposed gubernatorial appointments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

We favor a new Election Reform Act that will apply clear, reasonable restraints to political spending and fund-raising, whether by business, labor or individuals, ensure timely publication of the financial facts in campaigns, and provide a tax deduction for small contributions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

We will prevent the solicitation of federal workers for political contributions and assure comparability of federal salaries with private enterprise pay. The increasing government intrusion into the privacy of its employees and of citizens in general is intolerable. All such snooping, meddling, and pressure by the federal government on its employees and other citizens will be stopped and such employees, whether or not union members, will be provided a prompt and fair method of settling their grievances. Further, we pledge to protect federal employees in the exercise of their right freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal to form, join or assist any employee organization or to refrain from any such activities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

Congress itself must be reorganized and modernized in order to function efficiently as a co-equal branch of government. Democrats in control of Congress have opposed Republican efforts for Congressional reform and killed legislation embodying the recommendations of a special bipartisan committee. We will again press for enactment of this measure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

We are particularly concerned over the huge and mounting postal deficit and the evidence, recently stressed by the President's Commission on Postal Organization, of costly and inefficient practices in the postal establishment. We pledge full consideration of the Commission's recommendations for improvements in the nation's postal service. We believe the Post Office Department must attract and retain the best qualified and most capable employees and offer them improved opportunities for advancement and better working conditions and incentives. We favor extension of the merit principle to postmasters and rural carriers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

Public confidence in an independent judiciary is absolutely essential to the maintenance of law and order. We advocate application of the highest standards in making appointments to the courts, and we pledge a determined effort to rebuild and enhance public respect for the Supreme Court and all other courts in the United States.

A Healthy Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

The dynamism of our economy is produced by millions of individuals who have the incentive to participate in decision-making that advances themselves and society as a whole. Government can reinforce these incentives, but its over-involvement in individual decisions distorts the system and intrudes inefficiency and waste.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

Under the Johnson-Humphrey Administration we have had economic mismanagement of the highest order. Inflation robs our pay checks at a present rate of 4 1/2 percent per year. In the past three years the real purchasing power of the average wage and salary worker has actually declined. Crippling interest rates, some the highest in a century, prevent millions of Americans from buying homes and small businessmen, farmers and other citizens from obtaining the loans they need. Americans must work longer today than ever before to pay their taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.755

New Republican leadership can and will restore fiscal integrity and sound monetary policies, [p.756] encourage sustained economic vitality, and avoid such economic distortions as wage and price controls. We favor strengthened Congressional control over federal expenditures by scheduled Congressional reviews of, or reasonable time limits on, unobligated appropriations. By responsibly applying federal expenditure controls to priority needs, we can in time live both within our means and up to our aspirations. Such funds as become available with the termination of the Vietnam war and upon recovery from its impact on our national defense will be applied in a balanced way to critical domestic needs and to reduce the heavy tax burden. Our objective is not an endless expansion of federal programs and expenditures financed by heavier taxation. The imperative need for tax reform and simplification will have our priority attention. We will also improve the management of the national debt, reduce its heavy interest burden, and seek amendment of the law to make reasonable price stability an explicit objective of government policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

The Executive Branch needs urgently to be made a more efficient and economical instrument of public policy. Low priority activities must be eliminated and conflicting missions and functions simplified. We pledge to establish a new Efficiency Commission to root out the unnecessary and overlapping, as well as a Presidential Office of Executive Management to assure a vigorous follow-through.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

A new Republican Administration will undertake an intensive program to aid small business, including economic incentives and technical assistance, with increased emphasis in rural and urban poverty areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

In addition to vigorous enforcement of the antitrust statutes, we pledge a thorough analysis of the structure and operation of these laws at home and abroad in the light of changes in the economy, in order to update our antitrust policy and enable it to serve us well in the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

We are determined to eliminate and prevent improper federal competition with private enterprise.

Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

Organized labor has contributed greatly to the economic strength of our country and the well-being of its members. The Republican Party vigorously endorses its key role in our national life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

We support an equitable minimum wage for American workers—one providing fair wages without unduly increasing unemployment among those on the lowest rung of the economic ladder—and will improve the Fair Labor Standards Act, with its important protections for employees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

The forty-hour week adopted 30 years ago needs re-examination to determine whether or not a shorter work week, without loss of wages, would produce more jobs, increase productivity and stabilize prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

We strongly believe that the protection of individual liberty is the cornerstone of sound labor policy. Today, basic rights of some workers, guaranteed by law, are inadequately guarded against abuse. We will assure these rights through vigorous enforcement of present laws, including the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin Act, and the addition of new protections where needed. We will be vigilant to prevent any administrative agency entrusted with labor-law enforcement from defying the letter and spirit of these laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

Healthy private enterprise demands responsibility—by government, management and labor—to avoid the imposition of excessive costs or prices and to share with the consumer the benefits of increased productivity. It also demands responsibility in free collective bargaining, not only by labor and management, but also by those in government concerned with these sensitive relationships.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

We will bar government-coerced strike settlements that cynically disregard the public interest and accelerate inflation. We will again reduce government intervention in labor-management disputes to a minimum, keep government participation in channels defined by the Congress, and prevent back-door intervention in the administration of labor laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.756

Repeated Administration promises to recommend legislation dealing with crippling economic strikes have never been honored. Instead, settlements forced or influenced by government and overriding the interests of the parties and the public have shattered the Administration's own wage and price guidelines and contributed to inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

Effective methods for dealing with labor disputes [p.757] involving the national interest must be developed. Permanent, long-range solutions of the problems of national emergency disputes, public employee strikes and crippling work stoppages are imperative. These solutions cannot be wisely formulated in the heat of emergency. We pledge an intensive effort to develop practical, acceptable solutions that conform fully to the public interest.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

Healthy economic growth demands a balanced, competitive transportation system in which each mode of transportation train, truck, barge, bus and aircraft—is efficiently utilized. The Administration's failure to evolve a coordinated transportation policy now results in outrageous delays at major airports and in glacial progress in developing high-speed train transportation linking our major population centers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

The nation's air transport system performs excellently, but under increasingly adverse conditions. Airways and airport congestion has become acute. New and additional equipment, modern facilities including the use of computers, and additional personnel must be provided without further delay. We pledge expert evaluation of these matters in developing a national air transportation system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

We will make the Department of Transportation the agency Congress intended it to be-effective in promoting coordination and preserving competition among carriers. We promise equitable treatment of all modes of transportation in order to assure the public better service, greater safety, and the most modern facilities. We will also explore a trust fund approach to transportation, similar to the fund developed for the Eisenhower interstate highway system, and perhaps in this way speed the development of modern mass transportation systems and additional airports.

Resources and Science

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

During seven and a half years of Democrat Administrations and Democrat Congresses the farmer has been the forgotten man in our nation's economy. The cost-price squeeze has steadily worsened, driving more than four and a half million people from the farms, many to already congested urban areas. Over eight hundred thousand individual farm units have gone out of existence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

During the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration, the farm parity ratio averaged 85. Under Democratic rule, the parity ratio has consistently been under 80 and averaged only 74 for all of 1967. It has now fallen to 73. Actions by the Administration, in line with its apparent cheap food policy, have held down prices received by farmers. Government payments to farmers, from taxes paid by consumers, have far from offset this loss.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

Inflationary policies of the Administration and its Congress have contributed greatly to increased costs of production. Using 1958 as a base year with an index of 100, prices paid by farmers in 1967 had risen to a weighted index of 117, whereas the prices they received were at a weighted index of only 104. From the 1958 index of 100, interest was up to 259, taxes 178, labor costs 146, and farm machinery 130.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

The cost-price squeeze has been accompanied by a dangerous increase in farm debt—up nearly $24 billion in the last seven years. In 1967 alone, net debt per farm increased $1,337 while net income per farm went down $605. While net farm equity has increased, it is due mainly to inflated land values. Without adequate net income to pay off indebtedness, the farm owner has no choice but to liquidate some of his equity or go out of business. Farm tenants are even worse off, since they have no comparable investment for inflation to increase in value as their indebtedness increases.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

The Republican Party is committed to the concept that a sound agricultural economy is imperative to the national interest. Prosperity, opportunity, abundance, and efficiency in agriculture benefit every American. To promote the development of American agriculture, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

Farm policies and programs which will enable producers to receive fair prices in relation to the prices they must pay for other products;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

Sympathetic consideration of proposals to encourage farmers, especially small producers, to develop their bargaining position;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.757

Sound economic policies which will brake inflation and reduce the high interest rates; A truly two-way export-import policy which [p.758] protects American agriculture from unfair foreign competition while increasing our overseas commodity dollar sales to the rapidly expanding world population;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

Reorganization of the management of the Commodity Credit Corporation's inventory operations so that the Corporation will no longer compete with the marketings of farmers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

Improved programs for distribution of food and milk to schools and low-income citizens;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

A strengthened program to export our food and farm technology in keeping with the Re-publican-initiated Food for Peace program;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

Assistance to farm cooperatives including rural electric and telephone cooperatives, consistent with prudent development of our nation's resources and rural needs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

Greater emphasis on research for industrial uses of agricultural products, new markets, and new methods for cost-cutting in production and marketing techniques;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

Revitalization of rural America through programs emphasizing vocational training, economic incentives for industrial development, and the development of human resources;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

Improvement of credit programs to help finance the heavy capital needs of modern farming, recognizing the severe credit problems of young farm families seeking to enter into successful farming;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

A more direct voice for the American farmer in shaping his own destiny.

Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

In the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican Party promises sound conservation and development of natural resources in cooperative government and private programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

An expanding population and increasing material wealth require new public concern for the quality of our environment. Our nation must pursue its activities in harmony with the environment. As we develop our natural resources we must be mindful of our priceless heritage of natural beauty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

A national minerals and fuels policy is essential to maintain production needed for our nation's economy and security. Present economic incentives, including depletion allowances, to encourage the discovery and development of vital minerals and fuels must be continued. We must recognize the increasing demand for minerals and fuels by our economy, help ensure an economically stable industry, maintain a favorable balance of trade and balance of payments, and encourage research to promote the wise use of these resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

Federal laws applicable to public lands and related resources will be updated and a public land-use policy formulated. We will manage such lands to ensure their multiple use as economic resources and recreational areas. Additionally, we will work in cooperation with cities and states in acquiring and developing green space—convenient outdoor recreation and conservation areas. We support the creation of additional national parks, wilderness areas, monuments and outdoor recreation areas at appropriate sites, as well as their continuing improvement, to make them of maximum utility and enjoyment to the public.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

Improved forestry practices, including protection and improvement of watershed lands, will have our vigorous support. We will also improve water resource information, including an acceleration of river basin commission inventory studies. The reclaiming of land by irrigation and the development of flood control programs will have high priority in these studies. We will support additional multi-purpose water projects for reclamation, flood control, and recreation based on accurate cost-benefit estimates.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

We also support efforts to increase our total fresh water supply by further research in weather modification, and in better methods of desalinization of salt and brackish waters.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

The United States has dropped to sixth among the fishing nations of the world. We pledge a reversal of present policies and the adoption of a progressive national fisheries policy, which will make it possible for the first time to utilize fully the vast ocean reservoir of protein. We pledge a more energetic control of pollution, encouragement of an increase in fishery resources, and will also press for international agreements assuring multi-national conservation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.758

We pledge a far more vigorous and systematic program to expand knowledge about the unexplored storehouses of the sea and polar regions. We must undertake a comprehensive polar plan and an oceanographic program to develop these abundant resources for the continued strength [p.759] of the United States and the betterment of all mankind.

Science

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

In science and technology the nation must maintain leadership against increasingly challenging competition from abroad. Crucial to this leadership is growth in the supply of gifted, skilled scientists and engineers. Government encouragement in this critical area should be stable and related to a more rational and selective scheme of priorities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

Vigorous effort must be directed toward increasing the application of science and technology, including the social sciences, to the solution of such pressing human problems as housing, transportation, education, environmental pollution, law enforcement, and job training. We support a strong program of research in the sciences, with protection for the independence and integrity of participating individuals and institutions. An increase in the number of centers of scientific creativity and excellence, geographically dispersed, and active cooperation with other nations in meaningful scientific undertakings will also have our support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

We regret that the Administration's budgetary mismanagement has forced sharp reductions in the space program. The Republican Party shares the sense of urgency manifested by the scientific community concerning the exploration of outer space. We recognize that the peaceful applications of space probes in communications, health, weather, and technological advances have been beneficial to every citizen. We regard the ability to launch and deploy advanced spacecraft as a military necessity. We deplore the failure of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to emphasize the military uses of space for America's defense.

Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

Our nation urgently needs a foreign policy that realistically leads toward peace. This policy can come only from resolute, new leadership—a leadership that can and will think anew and act anew—a leadership not bound by mistakes of the past.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

Our best hope for enduring peace lies in comprehensive international cooperation. We will consult with nations that share our purposes. We will press for their greater participation in man's common concerns and encourage regional approaches to defense, economic development, and peaceful adjustment of disputes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

We will seek to develop law among nations and strengthen agencies to effectuate that law and cooperatively solve common problems. We will assist the United Nations to become the keystone of such agencies, and its members will be pressed to honor all charter obligations, including specifically its financial provisions. World-wide resort to the International Court of Justice as a final arbiter of legal disputes among nations will have our vigorous encouragement, subject to limitations imposed by the U.S. Senate in accepting the Court's jurisdiction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

The world abounds with problems susceptible of cooperative solution—poverty, hunger, denial of human rights, economic development, scientific and technological backwardness. The world-wide population explosion in particular, with its attendant grave problems, looms as a menace to all mankind and will have our priority attention. In all such areas we pledge to expand and strengthen international cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

A more selective use of our economic strength has become imperative. We believe foreign aid is a necessary ingredient in the betterment of less developed countries. Our aid, however, must be positioned realistically in our national priorities. Only those nations which urgently require America's help and clearly evince a desire to help themselves will receive such assistance as can be diverted from our pressing needs. In providing aid, more emphasis will be given to technical assistance. We will encourage multilateral agencies so that other nations will help share the burden. The administration of all aid programs will be revised and improved to prevent waste, inefficiency and corruption. We will vigorously encourage maximum participation by private enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

No longer will foreign aid activities range free of our foreign policy. Nations hostile to this country will receive no assistance from the United States. We will not provide aid of any kind to countries which aid and abet the war efforts of North Vietnam.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.759

Only when Communist nations prove by actual deeds that they genuinely seek world peace and will live in harmony with the rest of the world, will we support expansion of East-West trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

[p.760] We will strictly administer the Export Control Act, taking special care to deny export licenses for strategic goods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

In the development and execution of the nation's foreign policy, our career Foreign Service officers play a critical role. We strongly support the Foreign Service and will strengthen it by improving its efficiency and administration and providing adequate allowances for its personnel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

The principles of the 1965 Immigration Act—non-discrimination against national origins, reunification of families, and selective support for the American labor market—have our unreserved backing, We will refine this new law to make our immigration policy still more equitable and non-discriminatory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

The Republican Party abhors the activities of those who have violated passport regulations contrary to the best interests of our nation and also the present policy of reissuing passports to such violators. We pledge to tighten passport administration so as to bar such violators from passport privileges.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

The balance of payments crisis must be ended, and the international position of the dollar strengthened. We propose to do this, not by peremptory efforts to limit American travel abroad or by self-defeating restraints on overseas investments, but by restraint in Federal spending and realistic monetary policies, by adjusting overseas commitments, by stimulating exports, by encouraging more foreign travel to the United States and, as specific conditions require, by extending tax treatment to our own exports and imports comparable to such treatment applied by foreign countries. Ending inflation is the first step toward solving the payments crisis.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

It remains the policy of the Republican Party to work toward freer trade among all nations of the free world. But artificial obstacles to such trade are a serious concern. We promise hard-headed bargaining to lower the non-tariff barriers against American exports and to develop a code of fair competition, including international fair labor standards, between the United States and its principal trading partners.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

A sudden influx of imports can endanger many industries. These problems, differing in each industry, must he considered case by case. Our guideline will be fairness for both producers and workers, without foreclosing imports.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

Thousands of jobs have been lost to foreign producers because of discriminatory and unfair trade practices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

The State Department must give closest attention to the development of agreements with exporting nations to bring about fair competition. Imports should not be permitted to capture excessive portions of the American market but should, through international agreements, be able to participate in the growth of consumption.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

Should such efforts fail, specific counter-measures will have to be applied until fair competition is re-established. Tax reforms will also be required to preserve the competitiveness of American goods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

The basis for determining the value of imports and exports must be modified to reflect true dollar value.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

Not the least important aspect of this problem is the relative obsolescence of machinery in this country. An equitable tax write-off is necessary to strengthen our industrial competitiveness in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

We also favor the broadening of governmental assistance to industries, producers and workers seriously affected by imports—assistance denied by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's excessively stringent application of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

Ties of history and geography link us closely to Latin America. Closer economic and cultural cooperation of the United States and the Latin American countries is imperative in a broad attack on the chronic problems of poverty, inadequate economic growth and consequent poor education throughout the hemisphere. We will encourage in Latin America the progress of economic integration to improve opportunity for industrialization and economic diversification.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

The principles of the Monroe Doctrine, affirmed at Caracas 14 years ago by all the independent nations of this hemisphere, have been discarded by Democrat Administrations, We hold that they should be reaffirmed and should guide the collective policy of the Americas. Nor have we forgotten in this context, the Cuban people who still cruelly suffer under Communist tyranny.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.760

In cooperation with other nations, we will encourage the less developed nations of Asia and Africa peacefully to improve their standards of [p.761] living, working with stronger regional organizations where indicated and desired.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

In the tinderbox of the Middle East, we will pursue a stable peace through recognition by all nations of each other's right to assured boundaries, freedom of navigation through international waters, and independent existence free from the threat of aggression. We will seek an end to the arms race through international agreement and the stationing of peace-keeping forces of the United Nations in areas of severe tension, as we encourage peace-table talks among adversaries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

Nevertheless, the Soviets persist in building an imbalance of military forces in this region. The fact of a growing menace to Israel is undeniable. Her forces must be kept at a commensurate strength both for her protection and to help keep the peace of the area. The United States, therefore, will provide countervailing help to Israel, such as supersonic fighters, as necessary for these purposes. To replace the ancient rivalries of this region with new hope and opportunity, we vigorously support a well conceived plan of regional development, including the bold nuclear desalinization and irrigation proposal of former President Eisenhower.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

Our relations with Western Europe, so critical to our own progress and security, have been needlessly and dangerously impaired. They must be restored, and NATO revitalized and strengthened. We continue to pursue the goal of a Germany reunified in freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

The peoples of the captive nations of Eastern Europe will one day regain their freedom and independence. We will strive to speed this day by encouraging the greater political freedom actively sought by several of these nations. On occasions when a liberalization of trade in non-strategic goods with the captive nations can have this effect, it will have our support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

We do not intend to conduct foreign policy in such manner as to make the United States a world policeman. However, we will not condone aggression, or so-called "wars of national liberation," or naively discount the continuing threats of Moscow and Peking. Nor can we fail to condemn the Soviet Union for its continuing anti-Semitic actions, its efforts to eradicate all religions, and its oppression of minorities generally. Improved relations with Communist nations can come only when they cease to endanger other states by force or threat. Under existing conditions, we cannot favor recognition of Communist China or its admission to the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

We encourage international limitations of armaments, provided all major powers are proportionately restrained and trustworthy guarantees are provided against violations.

Vietnam

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

The Administration's Vietnam policy has failed—militarily, politically, diplomatically, and with relation to our own people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

We condemn the Administration's breach of faith with the American people respecting our heavy involvement in Vietnam. Every citizen bitterly recalls the Democrat campaign oratory of 1964: "We are not about to send American boys 9-10,000 miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves." The Administration's failure to honor its own words has led millions of Americans to question its credibility.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

The entire nation has been profoundly concerned by hastily extemporized, undeclared land wars which embroil massive U.S. armed forces thousands of miles from our shores. It is time to realize that not every international conflict is susceptible of solution by American ground forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

Militarily, the Administration's piecemeal commitment of men and material has wasted our massive military superiority and frittered away our options. The result has been a prolonged war of attrition. Throughout this period the Administration has been slow in training and equipping South Vietnamese units both for fighting the war and for defending their country after the war is over.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

Politically, the Administration has failed to recognize the entirely novel aspects of this war. The overemphasis on its old-style, conventional aspects has blinded the Administration to the fact that the issue is not control of territory but the security and loyalty of the population. The enemy's primary emphasis has been to disrupt orderly government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.761

The Administration has paid inadequate attention to the political framework on which a successful outcome ultimately depends. Not only has the Administration failed to encourage assumption of responsibility by the Vietnamese, but their [p.762] sense of responsibility has been in fact undermined by our approach to pacification. An added factor has been a lack of security for the civilian population.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

At home, the Administration has failed to share with the people the full implication of our challenge and of our commitments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

To resolve our Vietnam dilemma, America obviously requires new leadership—one capable of thinking and acting anew, not one hostage to the many mistakes of the past. The Republican Party offers such leadership.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

We pledge to adopt a strategy relevant to the real problems of the war, concentrating on the security of the population, on developing a greater sense of nation-hood, and on strengthening the local forces. It will be a strategy permitting a progressive de-Americanization of the war, both military and civilian.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

We will see to it that our gallant American servicemen are fully supported with the highest quality equipment, and will avoid actions that unnecessarily jeopardize their lives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

We will pursue a course that will enable and induce the South Vietnamese to assume increasing responsibility.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

The war has been conducted without a coherent program for peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

We pledge a program for peace in Vietnam—neither peace at any price nor a camouflaged surrender of legitimate United States or allied interests—but a positive program that will offer a fair and equitable settlement to all, based on the principle of self-determination, our national interests and the cause of long-range world peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

We will sincerely and vigorously pursue peace negotiations as long as they offer any reasonable prospect for a just peace, We pledge to develop a clear and purposeful negotiating position.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

We will return to one of the cardinal principles of the last Republican Administration: that American interests are best served by cooperative multilateral action with our allies rather than by unilateral U.S. action.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

Our pride in the nation's armed forces in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world is beyond expression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

In all our history none have fought more bravely or more devotedly than our sons in this unwanted war in Vietnam.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

They deserve—and they and their loved ones have—our total support, our encouragement, and our prayers.

National Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

Grave errors, many now irretrievable, have characterized the direction of our nation's defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

A singular notion—that salvation for America lies in standing still—has pervaded the entire effort. Not retention of American superiority but parity with the Soviet Union has been made the controlling doctrine in many critical areas. We have frittered away superior military capabilities, enabling the Soviets to narrow their defense gap, in some areas to outstrip us, and to move to cancel our lead entirely by the early Seventies. In a host of areas, advanced military research and development have been inhibited and stagnated by inexpert, cost oriented administrators imbued with a euphoric concept of Soviet designs. A strange Administration preference for such second-best weaponry as the costly Navy F111-B (TFX) has deprived our armed forces of more advanced weapons systems. Improvements in our submarines have been long delayed as the Soviets have proceeded apace with their own. Our anti-submarine warfare capabilities have been left seriously inadequate, new fighter planes held up, and new strategic weaponry left on the drawing boards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

This mismanagement has dangerously weakened the ability of the United States to meet future crises with great power and decisiveness. All the world was respectful of America's decisive strategic advantage over the Soviets achieved during the Eisenhower Administration. This superiority proved its worth in the Cuban missile crisis six years ago. But now we have had an augury of things to come—a shameful, humiliating episode, the seizure of the USS Pueblo and its crew, with devastating injury to America's prestige everywhere in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

We pledge to include the following in a comprehensive program to restore the pre-eminence of U.S. military strength:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

Improve our deterrent capability through an ocean strategy which extends the Polaris-Poseidon concept and accelerates submarine technology;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.762

Redirect and stimulate military strength to encourage major innovations rather than merely respond belatedly to Communist advances;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

[p.763] Strengthen intelligence gathering and evaluation by the various military services;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

Use the defense dollar more effectively through simplification of the cumbersome, overcentralized administration of the Defense Department, expanded competitive bidding on defense contracts, and improved safeguards against excessive profits;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

Reinvigorate the nation's most important security planning organization—the National Security Council—to prevent future haphazard diplomatic and military ventures, integrate the nation's foreign and military policies and programs, and enable our nation once again to anticipate and prevent crises rather than hastily contriving counter-measures after they arise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

Our merchant marine, too, has been allowed to deteriorate. Now there are grave doubts that it is capable of adequate response of emergency security needs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

The United States has drifted from first place to sixth place in the world in the size of its merchant fleet. By contrast, the Russian fleet has been rapidly expanding and will attain a dominant position by 1970. Deliveries of new ships are now eight to one in Russia's favor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

For reasons of security, as well as of economics, the decline of our merchant marine must be reversed. We therefore pledge a vigorous and realistic ship replacement program to meet the changing pattern of our foreign commerce. We will also expand industry-government maritime research and development, emphasizing nuclear propulsion, and simplify and revise construction and operating subsidy procedures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

Finally, we pledge to assemble the nation's best diplomatic, military and scientific minds for an exhaustive reassessment of America's world-wide commitments and military preparedness. We are determined to assure our nation of the strength required in future years to deter war and to prevail should it occur.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

We believe that the principles and programs we have here presented will find acceptance with the American people. We believe they will command the victory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

There are points of emphasis which we deem important.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

The accent is on freedom. Our Party historically has been the Party of freedom. We are the only barricade against those who, through excessive government power, would overwhelm and destroy man's liberty. If liberty fails, all else is dross.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

Beyond freedom we emphasize trust and credibility. We have pledged only what we honestly believe we can perform. In a world where broken promises become a way of life, we submit that a nation progresses not on promises broken but on pledges kept.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

We have also accented the moral nature of the crisis which confronts us. At the core of that crisis is the life, the liberty, and the happiness of man. If life can be taken with impunity, if liberty is subtly leeched away, if the pursuit of happiness becomes empty and futile, then indeed are the moral foundations in danger.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

We have placed high store on our basic theme. The dogmas of the quiet past simply will not do for the restless present. The case is new. We must most urgently think anew and act anew. This is an era of rapid, indeed violent change. Clearly we must disenthrall ourselves. Only then can we save this great Republic.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1968, p.763

We rededicate ourselves to this Republic—this one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.[p.782]

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1972

Democratic Platform of 1972

New Directions: 1972-76

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

Skepticism and cynicism are widespread in America. The people are skeptical of platforms filled with political platitudes—of promises made by opportunistic politicians.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

The people are cynical about the idea that a rosy future is just around the corner.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

And is it any wonder that the people are skeptical and cynical of the whole political process?

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

Our traditions, our history, our Constitution, our lives, all say that America belongs to its people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

But the people no longer believe it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

They feel that the government is run for the privileged few rather than for the many-and they are right.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

No political party, no President, no government can by itself restore a lost sense of faith. No Administration can provide solutions to all our problems. What we can do is to recognize the doubts of Americans, to speak to those doubts, and to act to begin turning those doubts into hopes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

As Democrats, we know that we share responsibility for that loss of confidence. But we also know, as Democrats that at decisive moments of choice in our past, our party has offered leadership that has tapped the best within our country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.782

Our party-standing by its ideals of domestic progress and enlightened internationalism--has served America well. We have nominated or elected men of the high calibre of Woodrow Wilson, [p.783] Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Adlai E. Stevenson, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Lyndon Baines Johnson—and in the last election Hubert Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie. In that proud tradition we are now prepared to move forward.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

We know that our nation cannot tolerate any longer a government that shows no regard for the people's basic needs and no respect for our right to the truth from those who lead us. What do the people want? They want three things:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

They want a personal life that makes us all feel that life is worth living;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

They want a social environment whose institutions promote the good of all; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

They want a physical environment whose resources are used for the good of all.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

They want an opportunity to achieve their aspirations and their dreams for themselves and their children.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

We believe in the rights of citizens to achieve to the limit of their talents and energies. We are determined to remove barriers that limit citizens because they are black, brown, young or women; because they never had the chance to gain an education; because there was no possibility of being anything but what they were.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

We believe in hard work as a fair measure of our own willingness to achieve. We are determined that millions should not stand idle while work demands to be done. We are determined that the dole should not become a permanent way of life for any. And we are determined that government no longer tax the product of hard work more rigorously than it taxes inherited wealth, or money that is gained simply by having money in the first place.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

We believe that the law must apply equally to all, and that it must be an instrument of justice. We are determined that the citizen must be protected in his home and on his streets. We are determined also that the ordinary citizen should not be imprisoned for a crime before we know whether he is guilty or not while those with the right friends and the right connections can break the law without ever facing the consequences of their actions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

We believe that war is a waste of human life. We are determined to end forthwith a war which has cost 50,000 American lives, $150 billion of our resources, that has divided us from each other, drained our national will and inflicted incalculable damage to countless people. We will end that war by a simple plan that need not be kept secret: The immediate total withdrawal of all Americans from Southeast Asia.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

We believe in the right of an individual to speak, think, read, write, worship, and live free of official intrusion. We are determined that our government must no longer tap the phones of law-abiding citizens nor spy on those who have broken no law. We are determined that never again shall government seek to censor the newspapers and television. We are determined that the government shall no longer mock the supreme law of the land, while it stands helpless in the face of crime which makes our neighborhoods and communities less and less safe.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

Perhaps most fundamentally, we believe that government is the servant, not the master, of the people. We are determined that government should not mean a force so huge, so impersonal, that the complaint of an ordinary citizen goes unheard.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

That is not the kind of government America was created to build. Our ancestors did not fight a revolution and sacrifice their lives against tyrants from abroad to leave us a government that does not know how to listen to its own people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

The Democratic Party is proud of its past; but we are honest enough to admit that we are part of the past and share in its mistakes. We want in 1972 to begin the long and difficult task of reviewing existing programs, revising them to make them work and finding new techniques to serve the public need. We want to speak for, and with, the citizens of our country. Our pledge is to be truthful to the people and to ourselves, to tell you when we succeed, but also when we fail or when we are not sure. In 1976, when this nation celebrates its 200th anniversary, we want to tell you simply that we have done our best to give the government to those who formed it—the people of America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

Every election is a choice: In 1972, Americans must decide whether they want their country back again.

II. Jobs, Prices and Taxes

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.783

"I went to school here and I had some training for truck driver school and I go to different places and put in applications for truck driving but they say, 'We can't hire you without the experience.' [p.784] Now, I don't have the experience. I don't get the experience without the job first. I have four kids, you know, and I'm on unemployment. And when my unemployment runs out, I'll probably be on relief, like a lot of other people. But, being that I have so many kids, relief is just not going to be enough money. I'm looking for maybe the next year or two, if I don't get a job, they'll probably find me down at the county jail, because I have to do something."-Robert Coleman, Pittsburgh Hearing, June 2, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

The Nixon Administration has deliberately driven people out of work in a heartless and ineffective effort to deal with inflation. Ending the Nixon policy of creating unemployment is the first task of the Democratic Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

The Nixon "game plan" called for more unemployment. Tens of millions of families have suffered joblessness or work cutbacks in the last four years in the name of fighting inflation . . . and for nothing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Prices rose faster in early 1972 than at any time from 1960 to 1968.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Today there are 5.5 million unemployed. The nation will have suffered $175 billion in lost production during the Nixon Administration by election day. Twenty per cent of our people have suffered a period without a job each year in the last three.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Business has lost more in profits than it has gained from this Administration's business-oriented tax cuts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

In pockets of cities, up to 40 per cent of our young people are jobless.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Farmers have seen the lowest parity ratios since the Great Depression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

For the first time in 30 years, there is substantial unemployment among aerospace technicians, teachers and other white-collar workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

The economic projections have been manipulated for public relations purposes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

The current Nixon game plan includes a control structure which keeps workers' wages down while executive salaries soar, discourages productivity and distributes income away from those who need it and has produced no significant dent in inflation, as prices for food, clothes, rent and basic necessities soar.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

These losses were unnecessary. They are the price of a Republican Administration which has no consistent economic philosophy, no adequate regard for the human costs of its economic decisions and no vision of what a full employment economy could mean for all Americans.

Jobs, Income and Dignity

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Full employment—a guaranteed job for all—is the primary economic objective of the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is committed to a job for every American who seeks work. Only through full employment can we reduce the burden on working people. We are determined to make economic security a matter of right. This means a job with decent pay and good working conditions for everyone willing and able to work and an adequate income for those unable to work. It means abolition of the present welfare system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

To assure jobs and economic security for all, the next Democratic Administration should support:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

A full employment economy, making full use of fiscal and monetary policy to stimulate employment;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Tax reform directed toward equitable distribution of income and wealth and fair sharing of the cost of government;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Full enforcement of all equal employment opportunity laws, including federal contract compliance and federally-regulated industries and giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission adequate staff and resources and power to issue cease and desist orders promptly;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Vastly increased efforts to open education at all levels and in all fields to minorities, women and other under-represented groups;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

An effective nation-wide job placement system to entrance worker mobility;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Opposition to arbitrarily high standards for entry to jobs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Overhaul of current manpower programs to assure training-without sex, race or language discrimination for jobs that really exist with continuous skill improvement and the chance for advancement;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Economic development programs to ensure the growth of communities and industry in lagging parts of the nation and the economy;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.784

Use of federal depository funds to reward banks and other financial institutions which invest in socially productive endeavors;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

Improved adjustment assistance and job creation [p.785] for workers and employers hurt by foreign competition, reconversion of defense-oriented companies, rapid technological change and environmental protection activities;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

Closing tax loopholes that encourage the export of American jobs by American-controlled multi-national corporations;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

Assurance that the needs of society are considered when a decision to close or move an industrial plant is to be made and that income loss to workers and revenue loss to communities does not occur when plants are closed;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

Assurance that, whatever else is done in the income security area, the social security system provides a decent income for the elderly, the blind and the disabled and their dependents, with escalators so that benefits keep pace with rising prices and living standards;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

Reform of social security and government employment security programs to remove all forms of discrimination by sex; and adequate federal income assistance for those who do not benefit sufficiently from the above measures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

The last is not least, but it is last for good reason. The present welfare system has failed because it has been required to make up for too many other failures. Millions of Americans are forced into public assistance because public policy too often creates no other choice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

The heart of a program of economic security based on earned income must be creating jobs and training people to fill them. Millions of jobs—real jobs, not make-work-need to be provided. Public service employment must be greatly expanded in order to make the government the employer of last resort and guarantee a job for all. Large sections of our cities resemble bombed-out Europe after World War II. Children in Appalachia cannot go to school when the dirt road is a sea of mud. Homes, schools and clinics, roads and mass transit systems need to be built.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

Cleaning up our air and water will take skills and people in large numbers. In the school, the police department, the welfare agency or the recreation program, there are new careers to be developed to help ensure that social services reach the people for whom they are intended.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

It may cost more, at least initially, to create decent jobs than to perpetuate the hand-out system of present welfare. But the return—in new public facilities and services, in the dignity of bringing a paycheck home and in the taxes that will come back in—far outweigh the cost of the investment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

The next Democratic Administration must end the present welfare system and replace it with an income security program which places cash assistance in an appropriate context with all of the measures outlined above, adding up to an earned income approach to ensure each family an income substantially more than the poverty level ensuring standards of decency and health, as officially defined in the area. Federal income assistance will supplement the income of working poor people and assure an adequate income for those unable to work. With full employment and simpler, fair administration, total costs will go down, and with federal financing the burden on local and state budgets will be eased. The program will protect current benefit goals during the transitional period.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

The system of income protection which replaces welfare must he a part of the full employment policy which assures every American a job at a fair wage under conditions which make use of his ability and provide an opportunity for advancement. H.R. 1, and its various amendments, is not humane and does not meet the social and economic objectives that we believe in, and it should be defeated. It perpetuates the coercion of forced work requirements.

Economic Management

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

Every American family knows how its grocery bill has gone up under Nixon. Every American family has felt the bite of higher and higher prices for food and housing and clothing. The Administration attempts to stop price rises have been dismal failures—for which the working people have paid in lost jobs, missed raises and higher prices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

This nation achieved its economic greatness under a system of free enterprise, coupled with human effort and ingenuity, and thus it must remain. This will be the attitude and objective of the Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.785

There must be an end to inflation and the ever-increasing cost of living. This is of vital concern to the laborer, the housewife, the farmer and the small businessman, as well as the millions of [p.786] Americans dependent upon their weekly or monthly income for sustenance. It wrecks the retirement plans and lives of our elderly who must survive on pensions or savings gauged by the standards of another day.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Through greater efficiency in the operation of the machinery of government, so badly plagued with duplication, overlapping and excesses in programs, we will ensure that bureaucracy will cease to exist solely for bureaucracy's own sake. The institutions and functions of government will be judged by their efficiency of operation and their contribution to the lives and welfare of our citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

A first priority of a Democratic Administration must be eliminating the unfair, bureaucratic Nixon wage and price controls.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

When price rises threaten to or do get out of control—as they are now—strong, fair action must be taken to protect family income and savings. The theme of that action should be swift, tough measures to break the wage-price spiral and restore the economy. In that kind of economic emergency, America's working people will support a truly fair stabilization program which affects profits, investment earnings, executive salaries and prices, as well as wages. The Nixon controls do not meet that standard. They have forced the American worker, who suffers most from inflation, to pay the price of trying to end it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

In addition to stabilizing the economy, we propose:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

To develop automatic instruments protecting the livelihood of Americans who depend on fixed incomes, such as savings bonds with purchasing power guarantees and cost-of-living escalators in government social security and income support payments;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

To create a system of "recession insurance" for states and localities to replace lost local revenues with federal funds in economic downturns, thereby avoiding reduction in public employment or public services;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

To establish longer-term budget and fiscal planning; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

To create new mechanisms to stop unwarranted price increases in concentrated industries.

Toward Economic Justice

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

The Democratic Party deplores the increasing concentration of economic power in fewer and fewer hands. Five per cent of the American people control 90 per cent of our productive national wealth. Less than one per cent of all manufacturers have 88 per cent of the profits. Less than two per cent of the population now owns approximately 80 per cent of the nation's personally-held corporate stock, 90 per cent of the personally-held corporate bonds and nearly 100 per cent of the personally-held municipal bonds. The rest of the population—including all working men and women—pay too much for essential products and services because of national policy and market distortions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

The Democratic Administration should pledge itself to combat factors which tend to concentrate wealth and stimulate higher prices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

To this end, the federal government should:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Develop programs to spread economic growth among the workers, farmers and businessmen;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Help make parts of the economy more efficient such as medical care—where wasteful and inefficient practices now increase prices;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Step up anti-trust action to help competition, with particular regard to laws and enforcement curbing conglomerate mergers which swallow up efficient small business and feed the power of corporate giants;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Strengthen the anti-trust laws so that the divestiture remedy will be used vigorously to break up large conglomerates found to violate the antitrust laws;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Abolish the oil import quota that raises prices for consumers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Deconcentrate shared monopolies such as auto, steel and tire industries which administer prices, create unemployment through restricted output and stifle technological innovation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Assure the right of the citizen to recover costs and attorneys fees in all successful suits including class actions involving Constitutionally-guaranteed rights, or rights secured by federal statutes;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Adjust rate-making and regulatory activities, with particular attention to regulations which increase prices for food, transportation and other necessities;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Remove artificial constraints in the job market by better job manpower training and strictly enforcing equal employment opportunity;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Stiffen the civil and criminal statutes to make corporate officers responsible for their actions; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.786

Establish a temporary national economic commission to study federal chartering of large multi-national and international corporations, concentrated [p.787] ownership and control in the nation's economy.

Tax Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

The last ten years have seen a massive shift in the tax burden from the rich to the working people of America. This is due to cuts in federal income taxes simultaneous with big increases in taxes which bear heavily on lower incomes—state and local sales and property taxes and the payroll tax. The federal tax system is still grossly unfair and over-complicated. The wealthy and corporations get special tax favors; major reform of the nation's tax structure is required to achieve a more equitable distribution of income and to raise the funds needed by government. The American people neither should nor will accept anything less from the next Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

The Nixon Administration, which fought serious reform in 1969, has no program, only promises, for tax reform. Its clumsy administrative favoring of the well-off has meant quick action on corporate tax giveaways like accelerated depreciation, while over-withholding from workers' paychecks goes on and on while the Administration tries to decide what to do.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

In recent years, the federal tax system has moved precipitously in the wrong direction. Corporate taxes have dropped from 30 per cent of federal revenues in 1954 to 16 per cent in 1973, but payroll taxes for Social Security—regressive because the burden falls more heavily on the worker than on the wealthy—have gone from ten per cent to 29 per cent over the same period. If legislation now pending in Congress passes, pay-roll taxes will have increased over 500 per cent between 1960 and 1970—from $144 to $755—for the average wage earner. Most people earning under $10,000 now pay more in regressive payroll tax than in income tax.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

Now the Nixon Administration—which gave corporations the largest tax cut in American history—is considering a hidden national sales tax (Value Added Tax) which would further shift the burden to the average wage earner and raise prices of virtually everything ordinary people buy. It is cruel and unnecessary to pretend to relieve one bad tax, the property tax, by a new tax which is just as bad. We oppose this price-raising unfair tax in any form.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

Federal income tax. The Democratic Party believes that all unfair corporate and individual tax preferences should be removed. The tax law is clogged with complicated provisions and special interests, such as percentage oil depletion and other favors for the oil industry, special rates and rules for capital gains, fast depreciation unrelated to useful life, easy-to-abuse "expense-account" deductions and the ineffective minimum tax. These hidden expenditures in the federal budget are nothing more than billions of "tax welfare" aid for the wealthy, the privileged and the corporations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

We, therefore, endorse as a minimum step the Mills-Mansfield Tax Policy Review Act of 1972, which would repeal virtually all tax preferences in the existing law over the period 1974-1976, as a means of compelling a systematic review of their value to the nation. We acknowledge that the original reasons for some of these tax preferences may remain valid, but believe that none should escape close scrutiny and full public exposure. The most unjustified of the tax loopholes should, however, be closed immediately, without waiting for a review of the whole system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

After the implementation of the minimum provisions of the Mills-Mansfield Act, the Democratic Party, to combat the economically-depressing effect of a regressive income tax scheme, proposes further revision of the tax law to ensure economic equality of opportunity to ordinary Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

We hold that the federal tax structure should reflect the following principles:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

The cost of government must be distributed more fairly among income classes. We reaffirm the long-established principle of progressive taxation —allocating the burden according to ability to pay —which is all but a dead letter in the present tax code.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

The cost of government must be distributed fairly among citizens in similar economic circumstances:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

Direct expenditures by the federal government which can be budgeted are better than tax preferences as the means for achieving public objectives. The lost income of those tax preferences which are deemed desirable should be stated in the annual budget.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.787

When relief for hardship is provided through federal tax policy, as for blindness, old age or poverty, benefits should be provided equally by credit rather than deductions which favor recipients with more income, with special provisions for those whose credits would exceed the tax they owe.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

[p.788] Provisions which discriminate against working women and single people should be corrected in addition to greater fairness and efficiency, these principles would mean a major redistribution of personal tax burdens and permit considerable simplification of the tax code and tax forms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Social security tax. The Democratic Party commits itself to make the Social Security tax progressive by raising substantially the ceiling on earned income. To permit needed increases in Social Security benefits, we will use general revenues as necessary to supplement payroll tax receipts. In this way, we will support continued movement toward general revenue financing for social security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Property tax. Greater fairness in taxation at the federal level will have little meaning for the vast majority of American households if the burden of inequitable local taxation is not reduced. To reduce the local property tax for all American families, we support equalization of school spending and substantial increases in the federal share of education costs and general revenue sharing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

New forms of federal financial assistance to states and localities should be made contingent upon property tax reforms, including equal treatment and full publication of assessment ratios.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Tax policy should not provide incentives that encourage overinvestment in developed countries by American business, and mechanisms should be instituted to limit undesirable capital exports that exploit labor abroad and damage the American worker at home.

Labor-Management Relations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Free private collective bargaining between management and independent labor unions has been, and must remain, the cornerstone of our free enterprise system. America achieved its greatness through the combined energy and efforts of the working men and women of this country. Retention of its greatness rests in their hands. Through their great trade union organizations, these men and women, have exerted tremendous influence on the economic and social life of the nation and have attained a standard of living known to no other nation. The concern of the Party is that the gains which labor struggled so long to obtain not be lost to them, whether through inaction or subservience to illogical Republican domestic policies. We pledge continued support for our system of free collective bargaining and denounce any attempt to substitute compulsory arbitration for it. We, therefore, oppose the Nixon Administration's effort to impose arbitration in transportation disputes through its last-offer-selection bill.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

The National Labor Relations Act should be updated to ensure:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Extension of protection to employees of non-profit institutions;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Remedies which adequately reflect the losses caused by violations of the Act;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Repeal of section 14(b), which allows states to legislate the open shop and remove the ban on common-sites picketing; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Effective opportunities for unions, as well as employers, to communicate with employees, without coercion by either side or by anyone acting on their behalf.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

The Railway Labor Act should be updated to ensure:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

That strikes on a single carrier or group of carriers cannot be transformed into nation-wide strikes or lockouts;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Incentives for bargaining which would enable both management and labor to resolve their differences without referring to government intervention; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Partial operation of struck railroads to ensure continued movement of essential commodities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

New legislation is needed to ensure:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Collective bargaining rights for government employees;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

Universal coverage and longer duration of the Unemployment Insurance and Workmen's Compensation programs and to establish minimum federal standards, including the establishment of equitable wage-loss ratios in those programs, including a built-in escalator clause that fairly reflects increases in average wage rates; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

That workers covered under private pension plans actually receive the personal and other fringe benefits to which their services for their employer entitle them. This requires that the fixed right to benefits starts early in employment, that reserves move with the worker from job to job and that re-insurance protection be given pension plans.

Labor Standards

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.788

American workers are entitled to job safety at a living wage. Most of the basic protections [p.789] needed have been recognized in legislation already enacted by Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

The Fair Labor Standards Act should be updated, however, to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

Move to a minimum wage of $2.50 per hour, which allows a wage earner to earn more than a poverty level income for 40 hours a week, with no subminimums for special groups or age differentials;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

Expand coverage to include the 16 million workers not presently covered, including domestic workers, service workers, agricultural employees and employees of governmental and nonprofit agencies; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

Set overtime premiums which give an incentive to hire new employees rather than to use regular employees for extended periods of overtime.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

The Longshoremen and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act should be updated to provide adequate protection for injured workers and federal standards for workmen's compensation should be set by Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 should be extended to be fully effective, and to cover professional, executive and administrative workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

Maternity benefits should be made available to all working women. Temporary disability benefits should cover pregnancy, childbirth, miscarriage and recovery.

Occupational Health and Safety

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

Each year over 14,000 American workers are killed on their jobs, and nine million injured. Unknown millions more are exposed to long-term danger and disease from exposure to dangerous substances. Federal and state laws are supposed to protect workers; but these laws are not being enforced. This Administration has hired only a handful of inspectors and proposes to turn enforcement over to the same state bureaucracies that have proven inadequate in the past. Where violations are detected, only token penalties have been assessed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

We pledge to fully and rigorously enforce the laws which protect the safely and health of workers on their jobs and to extend those laws to all jobs, regardless of number of employees. This must include standards that truly protect against all health hazards, adequate federal enforcement machinery backed up by rigorous penalties and an opportunity for workers themselves to participate in the laws' enforcement by sharing responsibility for plant inspection.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

We endorse federal research and development of effective approaches to combat the dehumanizing debilitating effects of monotonous work.

Farm Labor

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

The Sixties and Seventies have seen the struggle for unionization by the poorest of the poor in our country—America's migrant farm workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

Under the leadership of Cesar Chavez, the United Farm Workers have accomplished in the non-violent tradition what was thought impossible only a short time ago. Through hard work and much sacrifice, they are the one group that is successfully organizing farm workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

Their movement has caught the imagination of millions of Americans who have not eaten grapes so that agribusiness employers will recognize their workers as equals and sit down with them in meaningful collective bargaining.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

We now call upon all friends and supporters of this movement to refrain from buying or eating non-union lettuce.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

Furthermore, we support the farm workers' movement and the use of boycotts as a non-violent and potent weapon for gaining collective bargaining recognition and contracts for agricultural workers. We oppose the Nixon Administration's effort to enjoin the use of the boycott.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

We also affirm the right of farm workers to organize free of repressive anti-labor legislation, both state and federal.

III. Rights, Power and Social Justice

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

"We're just asking, and we don't ask for much. Just to give us opportunity to live as human beings as other people have lived."-Dorothy Bolden, Atlanta Hearing, June 9, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

"All your platform has to say is that the rights, opportunities and political power of citizenship will be extended to the lowest level, to neighborhoods and individuals. If your party can live up to that simple pledge, my faith will lie restored."—Bobby Westbrooks, St. Louis Hearing, June 17, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.789

"We therefore urge the Democratic Party to adopt the principle that America has a responsibility to offer every American family the best in health care, whenever they need it, regardless of income or any other factor. We must devise a system which will assure that . . . every American [p.790] receives comprehensive health services from the day he is born to the day he dies, with an emphasis on preventive care to keep him healthy."-Joint Statement of Senator Edward M. Kennedy and Representative Wilbur Mills, St. Louis Hearing, June 17, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The Democratic Party commits itself to be responsive to the millions of hard working, lower-and middle-income Americans who are traditionally courted by politicians at election time, get bilked at tax-paying time, and are too often forgotten the balance of the time.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

This is an era of great change. The world is fast moving into a future for which the past has not prepared us well; a future where to survive, to find answers to the problems which threaten us as a people, we must create qualitatively new solutions. We can no longer rely on old systems of thought, the results of which were partially successful programs that were heralded as important social reforms in the past. It is time now to rethink and reorder the institutions of this country so that everyone—women, blacks, Spanish-speaking, Puerto Ricans, Indians, the young and the old—can participate in the decision-making process inherent in the democratic heritage to which we aspire. We must restructure the social, political and economic relationships throughout the entire society in order to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth and power.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The Democratic Party in 1972 is committed to resuming the march toward equality; to enforcing the laws supporting court decisions and enacting new legal rights as necessary, to assuring every American true opportunity, to bringing about a more equal distribution of power, income and wealth and equal and uniform enforcement in all states and territories of civil rights statutes and acts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

In the 1970's, this commitment requires the fulfillment—through laws and policies, through appropriations and directives; through leadership and exhortation of a wide variety of rights:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The right to full participation in government and the political process;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The rights of free speech and free political expression, of freedom from official intimidation, harassment and invasion of privacy, as guaranteed by the letter and the spirit of the Constitution;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The right to a decent job and an adequate income, with dignity;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The right to quality, accessibility and sufficient quantity in tax-supported services and amenities —including educational opportunity, health care, housing and transportation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The right to quality, safety and the lowest possible cost on goods and services purchased in the market place;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The right to be different, to maintain a cultural or ethnic heritage or lifestyle, without being forced into a compelled homogeneity;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The rights of people who lack rights: Children, the mentally retarded, mentally ill and prisoners, to name some; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The right to legal services, both civil and criminal, necessary to enforce secured rights.

Free Expression and Privacy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The new Democratic Administration should bring an end to the pattern of political persecution and investigation, the use of high office as a pulpit for unfair attack and intimidation and the blatant efforts to control the poor and to keep them from acquiring additional economic security or political power.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The epidemic of wiretapping and electronic surveillance engaged in by the Nixon Administration and the use of grand juries for purposes of political intimidation must be ended. The rule of law and the supremacy of the Constitution, as these concepts have traditionally been understood, must be restored.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

We strongly object to secret computer data banks on individuals. Citizens should have access to their own files that are maintained by private commercial firms and the right to insert corrective material. Except in limited cases, the same should apply to government files. Collection and maintenance by federal agencies of dossiers on law-abiding citizens, because of their political views and statements, must be stopped, and files which never should have been opened should be destroyed. We firmly reject the idea of a National Computer Data Bank.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.790

The Nixon policy of intimidation of the media and Administration efforts to use government power to block access to media by dissenters must end, if free speech is to he preserved. A Democratic Administration must be an open one, with the fullest possible disclosure of information, with an end to abuses of security classifications and executive privilege, and with regular top-level press conferences.[p.791]

The Right to Be Different

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

The new Democratic Administration can help lead America to celebrate the magnificence of the diversity within its population, the racial, national, linguistic and religious groups which have contributed so much to the vitality and richness of our national life. As things are, official policy too often forces people into a mold of artificial homogeneity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Recognition and support of the cultural identity and pride of black people are generations overdue. The American Indians, the Spanish-speaking, the Asian Americans—the cultural and linguistic heritage of these groups is too often ignored in schools and communities. So, too, are the backgrounds, traditions and contributions of white national, ethnic, religious and regional communities ignored. All official discrimination on the basis of sex, age, race, language, political belief, religion, region or national origin must end. No American should be subject to discrimination in employment or restriction in business because of ethnic background or religious practice. Americans should be free to make their own choice of life-styles and private habits without being subject to discrimination or prosecution. We believe official policy can encourage diversity while continuing to place full emphasis on equal opportunity and integration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

We urge full funding of the Ethnic Studies bill to provide funds for development of curriculum to preserve America's ethnic mosaic.

Rights of Children

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

One measure of a nation's greatness is the care it manifests for all of its children. The Nixon Administration has demonstrated a callous attitude toward children repeatedly through veto and administrative decisions. We, therefore, call for a reordering of priorities at all levels of American society so that children, our most precious resource, and families come first. To that end, we call for:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

The federal government to fund comprehensive development child care programs that will be family centered, locally controlled and universally available. These programs should provide for active participation of all family members in the development and implementation of the program. Health, social service and early childhood education should be part of these programs, as well as a variety of options most appropriate to their needs. Child care is a supplement, not a substitute, for the family;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

The establishment of a strong child advocacy program, financed by the federal government and other sources, with full ethnic, cultural, racial and sexual representation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

First priority for the needs of children, as we move toward a National Health Insurance Program;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

The first step should be immediate implementation of the federal law passed in the 1967 Social Security Amendments providing for "early and periodic screening, diagnosis and treatment" of children's health problems;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Legislation and administrative decisions to drastically reduce childhood injuries—prenatal, traffic, poisoning, burns, malnutrition, rat bites and to provide health and safety education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Full funding of legislation designed to meet the needs of children with special needs: The retarded, the physically and mentally handicapped, and those whose environment produces abuse and neglect and directs the child to anti-social conduct;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Reaffirmation of the rights of bilingual, handicapped or slow-learning children to education in the public schools, instead of being wrongly classified as retarded or uneducable and dismissed;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Revision of the juvenile court system; dependency and neglect cases must be removed from the corrections system, and clear distinctions must be drawn between petty childhood offenses and the more serious crimes;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Allocation of funds to the states to provide counsel to children in juvenile proceedings, legal or administrative; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Creation by Congress of permanent standing committees on Children and Youth.

Rights of Women

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Women historically have been denied a full voice in the evolution of the political and social institutions of this country and are therefore allied with all under-represented groups in a common desire to form a more humane and compassionate society. The Democratic Party pledges the following:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

A priority effort to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.791

Elimination of discrimination against women in public accommodations and public facilities, public [p.792] education and in all federally-assisted programs and federally-contracted employment:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Extension of the jurisdiction of the Civil Rights Commission to include denial of civil rights on the basis of sex;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Full enforcement of all federal statutes and executive laws barring job discrimination on the basis of sex, giving the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission adequate staff and resources and power to issue cease-and-desist orders promptly;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Elimination of discriminatory features of criminal laws and administration;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Increased efforts to open educational opportunities at all levels, eliminating discrimination against women in access to education, tenure, promotion and salary;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Guarantee that all training programs are made more equitable, both in terms of the numbers of women involved and the job opportunities provided; jobs must be available on the basis of skill, not sex;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Availability of maternity benefits to all working women; temporary disability benefits should cover pregnancy, childbirth, miscarriage and recovery;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Elimination of all tax inequities that affect women and children, such as higher taxes for single women;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Amendment of the Social Security Act to provide equitable retirement benefits for families with working wives, widows, women heads of households and their children;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Amendment of the Internal Revenue Code to permit working families to deduct from gross income as a business expense, housekeeping and child care costs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Equality for women on credit, mortgage, insurance, property, rental and financial contracts;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Extension of the Equal Pay Act to all workers, with amendment to read "equal pay for comparable work;"

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Appointment of women to positions of top responsibility in all branches of the federal government to achieve all equitable ratio of women and men. Such positions include Cabinet members, agency and division heads and Supreme Court Justices; inclusion of women advisors in equitable ratios on all government studies, commissions and hearings; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Laws authorizing federal grants on a matching basis for financing State Commissions of the Status of Women.

Rights of Youth

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

In order to ensure, maintain and secure the proper role and functions of youth in American government, politics and society, the Democratic Party will endeavor to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Lower the age of legal majority and consent to 18;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Actively encourage and assist in the election of youth to federal, state and local offices;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Develop special programs for employment of youth, utilizing governmental resources to guarantee development, training and job placement; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Secure the electoral reforms called for under "People and the Government."

Rights of Poor People

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Poor people, like all Americans, should be represented at all levels of the Democratic Party in reasonable proportion of their numbers in the general population. Affirmative action must be taken to ensure their representation at every level. The Democratic Party guidelines guaranteeing proportional representation to "previously discriminated against groups" (enumerated as "women, young people and minorities") must be extended to specifically include poor people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Political parties, candidates and government institutions at all levels must be committed to working with and supporting poor people's organizations and ending the tokenism and co-optation that has characterized past dealings.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

Welfare rights organizations must be recognized as representative of welfare recipients and be given access to regulations, policies and decision-making processes, as well as being allowed to represent clients at all governmental levels.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

The federal government must protect the right of tenants to organize tenant organizations and negotiate collective bargaining agreements with private landlords and encourage the participation of the tenants in the management and control of all subsidized housing.

Rights of American Indians

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.792

We support rights of American Indians to full rights of citizenship. The federal government should commit all necessary funds to improve the lives of Indians, with no division between reservation and non-reservation Indians. We strongly oppose the policy of termination, and we urge the [p.793] government to provide unequivocal advocacy for the protection of the remaining Indian land and water resources. All land rights due American Indians, and Americans of Spanish and Mexican descent, on the basis of treaties with the federal government will be protected by the federal government. In addition we support allocation of Federal surplus lands to American Indians on a first priority basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

American Indians should be given the right to receive bilingual medical services from hospitals and physicians of their choice.

Rights of the Physically Disabled

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

The physically disabled have the right to pursue meaningful employment and education, outside a hospital environment, free from unnecessary discrimination, living in adequate housing, with access to public mass transportation and regular medical care. Equal opportunity employment practices should be used by the government in considering their application for federal jobs and equal access to education from pre-school to the college level guaranteed. The physically disabled like all disadvantaged peoples, should be represented in any group making decisions affecting their lives.

Rights of the Mentally Retarded

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

The mentally retarded must be given employment and educational opportunities that promote their dignity as individuals and ensure their civil rights. Educational treatment facilities must guarantee that these rights always will be recognized and protected. In addition, to assure these citizens a more meaningful life, emphasis must be placed on programs of treatment that respect their right to life in a non-institutional environment.

Rights of the Elderly

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Growing old in America for too many means neglect, sickness, despair and, all too often, poverty. We have failed to discharge the basic obligation of a civilized people—to respect and assure the security of our senior citizens. The Democratic Party pledges, as a final step to economic security for all, to end poverty—as measured by official standards-among the retired, the blind and the disabled. Our general program of economic and social justice will benefit the elderly directly. In addition, a Democratic Administration should:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Increase social security to bring benefits in line with changes on the national standard of living;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Provide automatic adjustments to assure that benefits keep pace with inflation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Support legislation which allows beneficiaries to earn more income, without reduction of social security payments;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Protect individual's pension rights by pension re-insurance and early vesting;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Lower retirement eligibility age to 60 in all government pension programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Expand housing assistance for the elderly; Encourage development of local programs by which senior citizens can serve their community in providing education, recreation, counseling and other services to the rest of the population;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Establish federal standards and inspection of nursing homes and full federal support for qualified nursing homes;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Take the needs of the elderly and the handicapped into account in all federal programs, including construction of federal buildings, housing and transportation planning;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

Pending a full national health security system, expand Medicare by supplementing trust funds with general revenues in order to provide a complete range of care and services; eliminate the Nixon Administration cutbacks in Medicare and Medicaid; eliminate the part B premium under Medicare and include under Medicare and Medicaid the costs of eyeglasses, dentures, hearing aids, and all prescription drugs and establish uniform national standards for Medicaid to bring to an end the present situation which makes it worse to be poor in one state than in another.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

The Democratic Party pledges itself to adopt rules to give those over 60 years old representation on all Party committees and agencies as nearly as possible in proportion to their percentage in the total population.

Rights of Veterans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

It is time that the nation did far more to recognize the service of our 28 million living veterans and to serve them in return. The veterans of Vietnam must get special attention, for no end of the war is truly honorable which does not provide these men the opportunities to meet their needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.793

The Democratic Party is committed to extending and improving the benefits available to American [p.794] veterans and society, to ending the neglect shown by the Nixon Administration to these problems and to the human needs of our ex-servicemen.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

Medical care—The federal government must guarantee quality medical care to ex-servicemen, and to all disabled veterans, expanding and improving Veterans Administration facilities and manpower and preserving the independence and integrity of the VA hospital program. Staff-patient ratios in these hospitals should be made comparable to ratios in community hospitals. Meanwhile, there should be an increase in the VA's ability to deliver out-patient care and home health services, wherever possible treating veterans as part of a family unit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

We support future coordination of health care for veterans with the national health care insurance program, with no reduction in scale or quality of existing veterans care and with recognition of the special health needs of veterans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

The VA separate personnel system should be expanded to take in all types of health personnel, and especially physician's assistants; and VA hospitals should be used to develop medical schools and area health education centers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

The VA should also assume responsibility for the care of wives and children of veterans who are either permanently disabled or who have died from service-connected causes. Distinction should no longer be made between veterans who have seen "wartime," as opposed to "peacetime," service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

Education.—Educational benefits should be provided for Vietnam-era veterans under the GI Bill at levels comparable to those of the original Bill after World War II, supplemented by special veteran's education loans. The VA should greatly expand and improve programs for poor or educationally disadvantaged veterans. In addition, there should be a program under which service-men and women can receive high school, college or job training while on active duty. GI Bill trainees should be used more extensively to reach out to other veterans who would otherwise miss these educational opportunities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

Drug addiction.—The Veterans Administration should provide either directly or through community facilities, a comprehensive, individually tailored treatment and rehabilitation program for all drug- and alcohol-addicted veterans, on a voluntary and confidential basis, and regardless of the nature of their discharge or the way in which they acquired their condition.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

Unemployment.—There should be an increase in unemployment compensation provided to veterans, and much greater emphasis on the Veterans Employment Service of the Department of Labor, expanding its activities in every state. There should be a greatly enlarged effort by the federal government to employ Vietnam-era veterans and other veterans with service-connected disabilities. In addition, veterans' preferences in hiring should he written into every federal contract or sub-contract and for public service employment.

Rights of Servicemen and Servicewomen

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

Military discipline must be maintained, but unjustifiable restriction on the Constitutional rights of members of the armed services must cease. We support means to ensure the protection of G.I. rights to express political opinion and engage in off-base political activity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

We should explore new procedures for providing review of discharges other than honorable, in cases involving political activity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

We oppose deferential advancement, punishment assignment or any other treatment on the basis of race, and support affirmative action to end discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

We support rights of women in the armed forces to be free from unfair discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

We support an amendment of the Uniform Code of Military Justice to provide for fair and uniform sentencing procedures.

Rights of Consumers

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

Consumers need to be assured of a renewed commitment to basic rights and freedoms. They must have the mechanisms available to allow self-protection against the abuses that the Kennedy and Johnson programs were designed to eliminate. We propose a new consumer program:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

In the Executive Branch.—The executive branch must use its power to expand consumer information and protection:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.794

Ensure that every policy-making level of government concerned with economic or procurement decisions should have a consumer input either through a consumer advisory committee or through consumer members on policy advisory committees;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Support the development of an independent [p.795] consumer agency providing a focal point on consumer matters with the right to intervene on behalf of the consumer before all agencies and regulatory bodies; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Expand all economic policy-making mechanisms to include an assessment of social as well as economic indicators of human well-being.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

In the Legislative Branch,—We support legislation which will expand the ability of consumers to defend themselves:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Ensure an extensive campaign to get food, drugs and all other consumer products to carry complete informative labeling about safety, quality and cost. Such labeling is the first step in ensuring the economic and physical health of the consumer. In the food area, it should include nutritional unit pricing, full ingredients by percentage, grade, quality and drained weight in formation. For drugs, it should include safety, quality, price and operation data, either on the label or in an enclosed manual;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Support a national program to encourage the development of consumer cooperatives, patterned after the rural electric cooperatives in areas where they might help eliminate inflation and restore consumer rights; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Support federal initiatives and federal standards to reform automobile insurance and assure coverage on a first-party, no-fault basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

In the Judicial Branch.—The Courts should become an effective forum to hear well-rounded consumer grievances.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Consumer class action: Consumers should be given access to the federal courts in a way that allows them to initiate group action against fraudulent, deceitful, or misleading or dangerous business practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Small Claims Court: A national program should be undertaken to improve the workings of small claims courts and spread their use so that consumers injured in economically small, though individually significant amounts (e.g. $500), can bring their complaints to the attention of a court and collect their damages without self-defeating legal fees,

The Quality and Quantity of Social Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

The new Democratic Administration can begin a fundamental re-examination of all federal domestic social programs and the patterns of service delivery they support. Simply advocating the expenditure of more funds is not enough, although funds are needed, for billions already have been poured into federal government programs—programs like urban renewal, current welfare and aid to education, with meager results. The control, structure and effectiveness of every institution and government grant system must be fully examined and these institutions must be made accountable to those they are supposed to serve.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

We will, therefore, pursue the development of new rights of two kinds: Rights to the service itself and rights to participate in the delivery process.

Health Care

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Good health is the least this society should promise its citizens. The state of health services in this country indicates the failure of government to respond to this fundamental need. Costs skyrocket while the availability of services for all but the rich steadily declines.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

We endorse the principle that good health is a right of all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

America has a responsibility to offer to every American family the best in health care whenever they need it, regardless of income or where they live or any other factor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

To achieve this goal the next Democratic Administration should:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Establish a system of universal National Health Insurance which covers all Americans with a comprehensive set of benefits including preventive medicine, mental and emotional disorders, and complete protection against catastrophic costs, and in which the rule of free choice for both provider and consumer is protected. The program should be federally-financed and federally-administered. Every American must know he can afford the cost of health care whether given in a hospital or a doctor's office;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Incorporate in the National Health Insurance System incentives and controls to curb inflation in health care costs and to assure efficient delivery of all services;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Continue and evaluate Health Maintenance Organizations;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Set up incentives to bring health service personnel back to inner-cities and rural areas;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.795

Continue to expand community health centers and availability of early screening diagnosis and treatment;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Provide federal funds to train added health [p.796] manpower including doctors, nurses, technicians and para-medical workers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Secure greater consumer participation and control over health care institutions;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Expand federal support for medical research including research in heart disease, hypertension, stroke, cancer, sickle cell anemia, occupational and childhood diseases which threaten millions and in preventive health care;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Eventual replacement of all federal programs of health care by a comprehensive National Health Insurance System;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Take legal and other action to curb soaring prices for vital drugs using anti trust laws as applicable and amending patent laws to end price-raising abuses, and require generic-name labeling of equal-effective drugs; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Expand federal research and support for drug abuse treatment and education, especially development of non-addictive treatment methods.

Family Planning

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Family planning services, including the eduction, comprehensive medical and social services necessary to permit individuals freely to determine and achieve the number and spacing of their children, should be available to all, regardless of sex, age, marital status, economic group or ethnic origin, and should be administered in a non-coercive and non-discriminatory manner.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

The Democratic Party respects and supports the frequently-expressed desire of the people of Puerto Rico to freely associate in permanent union with the United States, as an autonomous commonwealth. We are committed to Puerto Rico's right to enjoy full self-determination and a relationship that can evolve in ways that will most benefit both parties.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

To this end, we support equal treatment for Puerto Rico in the distribution of all federal grants-in-aid, amendment of federal laws that restrict aid to Puerto Rico; and we pledge no further restrictions in future laws. Only in this way can the people of Puerto Rico come to participate more fully in the many areas of social progress made possible by Democratic efforts, on behalf of all the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Finally, the Democratic Party pledges to end all Naval shelling and bombardment of the tiny, inhabited island of Culebra and its neighboring keys, not later than June 1, 1975. With this action, and others, we will demonstrate the concern of the Democratic Party to develop and maintain a productive relationship between the Commonwealth and the United States.

Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa and the Trust Territories of the Pacific

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

We pledge to include all of these areas in federal grant-in-aid programs on a full and equitable basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

We praise the Democratic Congress for providing a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives from Guam and the Virgin Islands and urge that these elected delegates be accorded the full vote in the committees to which they are assigned.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

We support the right of American Samoans to elect their Governor, and will consider methods by which American citizens residing in American territories can participate in Presidential elections.

IV. Cities, Communities, Counties and the Environment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

"When the Democratic Platform is written and acted on in Miami, let it be a blueprint for the life and survival of our cities and our people."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Mayor Kenneth A. Gibson U.S. Conference of Mayors New Orleans June 19, 1972

Introduction

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

Always the vital center of our civilization, the American city since World War II has been suffering growing pains, caused partly by the change of the core city into a metropolitan city and partly by the movement of people from towns and rural areas into the cities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

The burgeoning of the suburbs—thrust outward with too little concern for social, economic and environmental consequences—has both broadened the city's limits and deepened human and neighborhood needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.796

The Nixon Administration has failed to meet most of these needs. It has met the problem of urban decay with tired, decaying "solutions" that are unworthy of the name. It could act to revitalize [p.797] our urban areas; instead, we see only rising crime, fear and flight, racial and economic polarization, loss of confidence and depletion of community resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

This Administration has ignored the cities and suburbs, permitting taxes to rise and services to decline; housing to deteriorate faster than it can be replaced, and morale to suffer. It actually has impounded funds appropriated by a Democratic Congress to help cities in crisis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

The Administration has ignored the needs of city and suburban residents for public services, for property tax relief and for the planning and coordination that alone can assure that housing, jobs, schools and transportation are built and maintained in suitable locations and in needed numbers and quality.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

Meanwhile, the Nixon Administration has forgotten small-town America, too, refusing to provide facilities that would make it an attractive alternative to city living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

This has become the American crisis of the 1970's. Today, our highest national priority is clear and precise: To deal effectively—and now with the massive, complex and urgent needs of our cities, suburbs and towns.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

The federal government cannot solve all the problems of these communities. Too often, federal bureaucracy has failed to deliver the services and keep the promises that are made. But only the federal government can be the catalyst to focus attention and resources on the needs of every neighborhood in America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

Under the Nixon Administration, piecemeal measures, poorly funded and haphazardly applied, have proved almost totally inadequate. Words have not halted the decline of neighborhoods. Words have not relieved the plight of tenants in poorly managed, shoddy housing. Our scarce urban dollars have been wasted, and even the Republican Secretary of Housing and Urban Development has admitted it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

The Democratic Party pledges to stop the rot in our cities, suburbs and towns, and stop it now. We pledge commitment, coordination, planning and funds:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

Commitment to make our communities places where we are proud to raise our children;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

Coordination and planning to help all levels of government achieve the same goals, to ensure that physical facilities meet human needs and to ensure that land—a scarce resource—is used in ways that meet the needs of the entire nation; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

Funds to reduce the burden of the inequitable property tax and to help local government meet legitimate and growing demands for public facilities and services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

The nation's urban areas must and can be habitable. They are not only centers of commerce and trade, but also repositories of history and culture, expressing the richness and variety of their region and of the larger society. They are worthy of the best America can offer. They are America.

Partnership among Governments

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

The federal government must assist local communities to plan for their orderly growth and development, to improve conditions and opportunities for all their citizens and to build the public facilities they need.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

Effective planning must be done on a regional basis. New means of planning are needed that are practical and realistic, but that go beyond the limits of jurisdictional lines. If local government is to be responsive to citizen needs, public services and programs must efficiently be coordinated and evolved through comprehensive regional planning and decision-making. Government activities should take account of the future as well as the present.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

In aiding the reform of state and local government, federal authority must insist that local decisions take into account the views and needs of all citizens, white and black, haves and have-nots, young and old, Spanish and other non-English-speaking, urban, suburban and rural.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

Americans ask more and more of their local governments, but the regressive property tax structure makes it impossible for cities and counties to deliver. The Democratic Party is committed to ensure that state and local governments have the funds and the capacity to achieve community service and development goals—goals that are nationally recognized. To this end:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

We fully support general revenue sharing and the principle that the federal income tax should be used to raise more revenues for local use;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.797

We pledge adequate federal funds to halt property tax increases and to begin to roll them back. Turning over federal funds to local governments will permit salaries of underpaid state and local government employees to climb to acceptable levels; and it will reduce tax pressures on the aged, the poor, Spanish and other non-English-[p.798] speaking Americans and young couples starting out in life;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

We further commit ourselves to reorganize categorical grant programs. They should be consolidated, expanded and simplified. Funding should be adequate, dependable, sustained, long-term and related to state and local fiscal timetables and priorities. There should be full funding of all programs, without the impounding of funds by the Executive Branch to thwart the will of Congress. And there should be performance standards governing the distribution of all federal funds to state and local governments; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

We support efforts to eliminate gaps and costly overlaps in services delivered by different levels of government.

Urban Growth Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

The Nixon Administration has neither developed an effective urban growth policy designed to meet critical problems, nor concerned itself with the needed recreation of the quality of life in our cities, large and small. Instead, it has severely over-administered and underfunded existing federal aid programs. Through word and deed, the Administration has widened the gulf between city and suburb, between core and fringe, between haves and have-nots.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

The nation's urban growth policies are seen most clearly in the legitimate complaints of suburban householders over rising taxes and center-city families over houses that are falling apart and services that are often non-existent. And it is here, in the center city, that the failure of Nixon Administration policies is most clear to all who live there.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

The Democratic Party pledges:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

A national urban growth policy to promote a balance of population among cities, suburbs, small towns and rural areas, while providing social and economic opportunities for everyone. America needs a logical urban growth policy, instead of today's inadvertent, chaotic and haphazard one that doesn't work. An urban growth policy that truly deals with our tax and mortgage insurance and highway policies will require the use of federal policies as leverage on private investment;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

A policy on housing—including low- and middle-income housing—that will concentrate effort in areas where there are jobs, transportation, schools, health care and commercial facilities. Problems of over growth are not caused so much by land scarcity, as by the wrong distribution of people and the inadequate servicing of their needs; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

A policy to experiment with alternative strategies to reserve land for future development—land banks—and a policy to recoup publicly created land values for public benefit.

The Cities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

Many of the worst problems in America are centered in our cities. Countless problems contribute to their plight: decay in housing, the drain of welfare, crime and violence, racism, failing schools, joblessness and poor mass transit, lack of planning for land use and services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

The Democratic Party pledges itself to change the disastrous policies of the Nixon Administration toward the cities and to reverse the steady process of decay and dissolution. We will renew the battle begun under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations to improve the quality of life in our cities. In addition to pledging the resources critically needed, we commit ourselves to these actions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

Help localities to develop their own solutions to their most pressing problems—the federal government should not stifle or usurp local initiative;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

Carry out programs developed elsewhere in this Platform to assure every American decent shelter, freedom from hunger, good health care, the opportunity to work, adequate income and a decent education;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

Provide sufficient management and planning funds for cities, to let them increase staff capacity and improve means of allocating resources;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

Distribute funds according to standards that will provide center cities with enough resources to revitalize old neighborhoods and build new ones, to expand and improve community services and to help local governments better to plan and deliver these services; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

Create and fund a housing strategy that will recognize that housing is neighborhood and community as well as shelter—a strategy that will serve all the nation's urban areas and all the American people.

Housing and Community Development

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.798

The 1949 Housing Act pledged "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family." Twenty-three years later, this goal is still far away. Under this Administration, there [p.799] simply has been no progress in meeting our housing needs, despite the Democratic Housing Act of 1968. We must build 2.6 million homes a year, including two-thirds of a million units of federally-subsidized low- and middle-income housing. These targets are not being met. And the lack of housing is particularly critical for people with low and middle incomes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

In the cities, widespread deterioration and abandonment are destroying once sound homes and apartments, and often entire neighborhoods, faster than new homes are built.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Federal housing policy creates walled compounds of poor, elderly and ethnic minorities, isolating them in the center city.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

These harmful policies include the Administration's approach to urban renewal, discrimination against the center city by the Federal Housing Administration, highway policies that destroy neighborhoods and create ghettoes and other practices that work against housing for low- and middle-income families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Millions of lower—and middle-class Americans-each year the income level is higher—are priced out of housing because of sharply rising costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Under Republican leadership, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) has become the biggest slumlord in the country. Some unsophisticated home buyers have purchased homes with FHA mortgage insurance or subsidies. These consumers, relying on FHA appraisals to protect them, often have been exploited by dishonest real estate speculators. Unable to repair or maintain these houses, the buyers often have no choice but to abandon them. As a result, the FHA will acquire a quarter million of these abandoned houses at a cost to the taxpayers of billions of dollars.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Under the Republican Administration, the emphasis has been on housing subsidies for the people who build and sell houses rather than for those people who need and live in them. In many cases, the only decent shelter provided is a tax shelter.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

To correct this inequity the Democratic Party pledges:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

To overhaul completely the FHA to make it a consumer oriented agency;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

To use the full faith and credit of the Treasury to provide direct, low-interest loans to finance the construction and purchase of decent housing for the American people; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

To insist on building practices, inspection standards and management that will assure quality housing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

The next Administration must build and conserve housing that not only meets the basic need for shelter, but also provides a wider choice of quality housing and living environments. To meet this challenge, the Democratic Party commits itself to a housing approach that:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Prevents the decay and abandonment of homes and neighborhoods. Major rehabilitation programs to conserve and rehabilitate housing are needed. Consumers should be aided in purchasing homes, and low-income housing foreclosed by the FHA should be provided to poor families at minimal cost as an urban land grant. These houses should be rehabilitated and lived in, not left to rot;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Provides federal funds for preservation of existing neighborhoods. Local communities should decide whether they want renewal or preservation. Choosing preservation should not mean steady deterioration and inadequate facilities;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Provides for improved housing quality for all families through strict enforcement of housing quality standards and full compliance with state and local health and safety laws;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Provides effective incentives to reduce housing costs—to the benefit of poor and middle-income families alike through effective use of unused, undeveloped land, reform of building practices and the use of new building techniques, including factory-made and modular construction;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Assures that residents have a strong voice in determining the destiny of their own neighborhoods;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Promotes free choice in housing—the right of all families, regardless of race, color, religion or income, to choose among a wide range of homes and neighborhoods in urban, suburban and rural areas—through the greater use of grants to individuals for housing, the development of new communities offering diversified housing and neighborhood options and the enforcement of fair housing laws; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

Assures fair and equitable relationships between landlords and tenants.

New Towns

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.799

New towns meet the direct housing and community needs of only a small part of our populations. To do more, new towns must be developed in concert with massive efforts to revitalize [p.800] central cities and enhance the quality of life in still growing suburban areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

The Democratic Party pledges:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

To strengthen the administration of the New Towns program; to reduce onerous review requirements that delay the start of New Towns and thus thwart Congressional mandates; to release already appropriated monies and provide new planning and development funds needed to assure the quality of life in New Towns; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

To assure coordination between development of New Towns and renewed efforts to improve the quality of life in established urban and suburban areas. We also promise to use effectively the development of New Towns to increase housing choices for people now living in central and suburban areas.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Urban problems cannot be separated from transportation problems. Whether tying communities together, connecting one community to another or linking our cities and towns to rural areas, good transportation is essential to the social and economic life of any community. It joins workers to jobs; makes commercial activity both possible and profitable and provides the means for expanding personal horizons and promoting community cultural life.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Today, however, the automobile is the principal form of transportation in urban areas. The private automobile has made a major contribution to economic growth and prosperity in this century. But now we must have better balanced transportation—more of it public. Today, 15 times as much federal aid goes to highways as to mass transit; tomorrow this must change. At the same time, it is important to preserve and improve transportation in America's rural areas, to end the crisis in rural mobility.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

The Democratic Party pledges:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

To create a single Transportation Trust Fund, to replace the Highway Trust Fund, with such additional funds as necessary to meet our transportation crisis substantially from federal resources. This fund will allocate monies for capital projects on a regional basis, permitting each region to determine its own needs under guidelines that will ensure a balanced transportation system and adequate funding of mass transit facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Moreover, we will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Assist local transit systems to meet their capital operating needs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

End the deterioration of rail and rural transportation and promote a flexible rural transportation system based on local, state and regional needs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Take steps to meet the particular transportation problems of the elderly, the handicapped and others with special needs; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Assist development of airport terminals, facilities and access to them, with due regard to impact on environment and community.

Environment, Technology and Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Every American has the right to live, work and play in a clean, safe and healthy environment. We have the obligation to ourselves and to our children. It is not enough simply to prevent further environmental deterioration and the despoilation of our natural endowment. Rather, we must improve the quality of the world in which we and they will live.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

The Nixon Administration's record on the environment is one of big promises and small actions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Inadequate enforcement, uncertain requirements, reduced funding and a lack of manpower have undercut the effort commenced by a Democratic Administration to clean up the environment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

We must recognize the costs all Americans pay for the environmental destruction with which we all live: Poorer health, lessened recreational opportunities, higher maintenance costs, lower land productivity and diminished beauty in our surroundings. Only then can we proceed wisely, yet vigorously, with a program of environmental protection which recognizes that, although environmental protection will not be cheap, it is worth a far greater price, in effort and money, than we have spent thus far.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

Such a program must include adequate federal funding for waste management, recycling and disposal and for purification and conservation of air and water resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.800

The next Administration must reconcile any conflicts among the goals of cleaner air and water, inexpensive power and industrial development and jobs in specific places. These difficulties do exist—to deny them would be deceptive and irresponsible. At the same time, we know they can be resolved by an Administration with energy, intelligence [p.801] and commitment-qualities notably absent from the current Administration's handling of the problem.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

We urge additional financial support to the United States Forest Service for planning and management consistent with the environmental ideal stated in this Platform.

Choosing the Right Methods of Environmental Protection

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

The problem we face is to choose the most efficient, effective and equitable techniques for solving each new environmental problem. We cannot afford to waste resources while doing the job, any more than we can afford to leave the job undone.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

We must enforce the strict emission requirements on all pollution sources set under the 1970 Clean Air Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

We must support the establishment of a policy of no harmful discharge into our waters by 1985.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

We must have adequate staffing and funding of all regulatory and enforcement agencies and departments to implement laws, programs and regulations protecting the environment, vigorous prosecution of violators and a Justice Department committed to enforcement of environmental law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

We must fully support laws to assure citizens' standing in federal environmental court suits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

Strict interstate environmental standards must be formulated and enforced to prevent pollution from high-density population areas being dumped into low-density population areas for the purpose of evasion of strict pollution enforcement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

The National Environmental Policy Act should be broadened to include major private as well as public projects, and a genuine commitment must be made to making the Act work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

Our environment is most threatened when the natural balance of an area's ecology is drastically altered for the sole purpose of profits. Such practices as "clear cut" logging, strip mining, the indiscriminate destruction of whole species, creation of select ocean crops at the expense of other species and the unregulated use of persistent pesticides cannot be justified when they threaten our ability to maintain a stable environment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

Where appropriate, taxes need to be levied on pollution, to provide industry with an incentive to clean up.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

We also need to develop new public agencies that can act to abate pollution-act on a scale commensurate with the size of the problem and the technology of pollution control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

Expanded federal funding is required to assist local governments with both the capital and operating expenses of water pollution control and solid waste management.

Jobs and the Environment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

The United States should not be condemned to the choice between the development of resources and economic security or preservation of those resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

A decent job for every American is a goal that need not, and must not, be sacrificed to our commitment to a clean environment. Far from slowing economic growth, spending for environmental protection can create new job opportunities for many Americans. Nevertheless, some older and less efficient plants might find themselves in a worse competitive position due to environmental protection requirements. Closely monitored adjustment assistance should be made available to those plants willing to modernize and institute environmental protection measures.

Science and Technology

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

For years, the United States was the world's undisputed leader in science and technology. Now that leadership is being challenged, in part because of the success of efforts in other countries, and in part because of the Nixon Administration's neglect of our basic human and material resources in this field.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

As Democrats, we understand the enormous investment made by the nation in educating and training hundreds of thousands of highly skilled Americans in science and technology. Many of these people are now unemployed, as aerospace and defense programs are slowly cut back and as the Administration's economic policies deprive these Americans, as well as others, of their livelihood.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

So far, however, the Nixon Administration has paid scant attention to these problems. By contrast, the Democratic Party seeks both to increase efforts by the federal government and to stimulate research in private industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.801

In addition, the Democratic Party is committed to increasing the overall level of scientific research in the United States, which has been allowed to fall under the Nixon Administration. And we are [p.802] eager to take management methods and techniques devised for the space and defense programs, as well as our technical resources, and apply them to the city, the environment, education, energy, transportation, health care and other urgent domestic needs. We propose also to work out a more effective relationship between government and industry in this area, to stimulate the latter to a greater research and development effort, thus helping buoy up the economy and create more jobs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Finally, we will promote the search for new approaches in science and technology, so that the benefits of progress may be had without further endangering the environment—indeed, so that the environment may be better preserved. We must create a systematic way to decide which new technologies will contribute to the nation's development, and which will cause more problems than they solve. We are committed to a role for government in helping to bring the growth of technology into a harmonious relationship with our lives.

Energy Resources

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

The earth's natural resources, once in abundant and seemingly unlimited supply, can no longer be taken for granted. In particular, the United States is facing major changes in the pattern of energy supply that will force us to reassess traditional policies. By 1980, we may well have to depend on imports from the Eastern Hemisphere for as much as 30 to 50 percent of our oil supplies. At the same time, new forms of energy supply—such as nuclear, solar or geothermal power—lag far behind in research and development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

In view of these concerns, it is shocking that the Nixon Administration still steadfastly refuses to develop a national energy policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

The Democratic Party would remedy that glaring oversight. To begin with, we should:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Promote greater research and development, both by government and by private industry, of unconventional energy sources, such as solar power, geothermal power, energy from water and a variety of nuclear power possibilities to design clean breeder fission and fusion techniques. Public funding in this area needs to be expanded, while retaining the principle of public administration of public funds;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Re-examine our traditional view of national security requirements in energy to reconcile them with our need for long-term abundant supplies of clean energy at reasonable cost;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Expand research on coal technology to minimize pollution, while making it possible to expand the efficiency of coal in meeting our energy needs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Establish a national power plant siting procedure to examine and protect environmental values;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Reconcile the demand for energy with the demand to protect the environment;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Redistribute the cost of power among consumers, so that all, especially the poor, may be guaranteed adequate power at reasonable costs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Develop a national power grid to improve the reliability and efficiency of our electricity system;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

End the practice of allowing promotional utility advertising as an expense when rates are set; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Find new techniques to encourage the conservation of energy. We must also require full disclosure of the energy needs of consumer products and home heating to enable consumers to make informed decisions on their use of energy.

The Oceans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

As with the supply of energy, no longer can we take for granted the precious resources we derive from the oceans. Here, too, we need comprehensive national and international policies to use and protect the vast potential contained in the sea. In particular we must:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Agree with other nations on stopping pollution of the seas, if they are not one day to become one large sewer, or be filled with dangerous poisons that will deprive us of vital food resources;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Agree with other nations on the conservation of food resources in the seas and promote the use of management techniques that will end the decline of the world's fish catch on the continental shelf through international cooperation for fishing gear regulations and species quota and preserve endangered species;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Agree on an international accord for the seas, so resources can be shared equitably among the world's nations. We must be prepared to act constructively at next year's Conference on the Law of the Seas;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.802

Begin to reconcile competing interests in the future of the seas, including our national security objectives, to protect ocean resources in cooperation with other nations; and [p.803] Support strongly the protection of ocean mammals (seal, whale, walrus) from indiscriminate destruction by both foreign and tuna fishing industries, but specifically exempting those native Americans whose subsistence depends completely on their total use of the ocean's resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

Ninety percent of all salt water fish species live on our continental shelves, where plant life is plentiful. For this reason, we support monitoring and strict enforcement of all safety regulations on all offshore drilling equipment and on environmentally-safe construction of all tankers transporting oil.

Public Lands

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

For generations, Americans have been concerned with preserving the natural treasures of our country: Our lakes and rivers, our forests and mountains. Enlightened Americans of the past decided that the federal government should take a major role in protecting these treasures, on behalf of everyone. Today, however, neglect on the part of the Nixon Administration is threatening this most valued heritage—and that of our children. Never before in modern history have our public lands been so neglected and the responsible agencies so starved of funds.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

The Democratic Party is concerned about preserving our public lands, and promoting policies of land management in keeping with the broad public interest. In particular, it is imperative to restore lost funds for land, park and forest management. It is imperative that decisions about the future use of our public lands be opened up to all the people for widespread public debate and discussion. Only through such an open process can we set ground rules that appropriately limit the influence of special interests and allow for cohesive guidelines for national land-use planning.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

We are particularly aware of the potential conflicts among the use of land, rivers, lakes and the seashore for economic development, large-scale recreation and for preservation as unspoiled wilderness. We recognize that there are competing goals, and shall develop means for resolving these conflicts in a way that reflects the federal government's particular responsibilities as custodian for the public. We need more National Seashores and expansion of the National Park system. Major steps must be taken to follow up on Congressional commitment to scenic riverways.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

Recreation areas must be made available to people where they live. This includes the extension of our national wilderness preserves to include de facto wilderness areas and their preservation free of commercialization. In this way, we will help to preserve and improve the quality of life for millions of our people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

With regard to the development of the vast natural resources on our public lands, we pledge a renewed commitment to proceed in the interests of all our citizens.

V. Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

"The American people want overwhelmingly to give to our children and adults equitable educational opportunities of the highest possible quality, not predicated on race, not predicated on past social accomplishment or wealth, except in a compensatory way to those who have been deprived in the past." Governor Jimmy Carter, Atlanta Hearing, June 9, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

Our schools are failing our children. Never, more than now, have we needed the schools to play their traditional role—to create a sense of national unity and to reconcile ethnic, religious and racial conflicts. Yet the Nixon Administration—by ignoring the plight of the nation's schools, by twice vetoing funds for education—has contributed to this failure.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

America in the 1970's requires something the world has never seen: Masses of educated people —educated to feel and to act, as well as to think. The children who enter school next fall still will be in the labor force in the year 2030; we cannot even imagine what American society will be like then, let alone what specific jobs they may hold. For them, education must be done by teaching them how to learn, how to apply man's wisdom to new problems as they arise and how to recognize new problems as they arise. Education must prepare students not just to earn a living but to live a life—a creative, humane and sensitive life.

School Finance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.803

Achieving educational excellence requires adequate financial support. But today local property taxes—which do not keep pace with inflation—can no longer support educational needs. Continued reliance on this revenue source imposes needless hardship on the American family without supplying the means for good schools. At the same time, [p.804] the Nixon recession has sapped the resources of state government, and the Administration's insensitivity to school children has meant inadequate federal expenditures in education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

The next Democratic Administration should: Support equalization in spending among school districts. We support Court decisions holding unconstitutional the disparities in school expenditures produced by dependence on local property taxes. We pledge equality of spending as a way to improve schools and to assure equality of access to good education for all children;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

Increase federal financial aid for elementary and secondary education to enhance achievement of quality education anywhere, and by fully funding the programs passed by the Congress and by fully funding ESEA Title I;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

Step up efforts to meet the special needs and costs of educationally disadvantaged children handicapped by poverty, disability or non-English-speaking family background;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

Channel financial aid by a Constitutional formula to children in non-public schools;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

Support suburban-urban cooperation in education to share resources and expenses;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

Develop and implement the retraining of displaced black and other minority teachers affected by desegregation; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

Continue with full federal funding the breakfast and lunch programs for all children and the development of other programs to combat hunger.

Early Childhood Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

Our youngest children are most ignored by national policy and most harshly treated by the Nixon Administration. President Nixon's cruel, irresponsible veto of the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 indicates dramatically the real values of the present Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

That legislation struck down by President Nixon remains the best program to bring support to family units threatened by economic and social pressures; to eliminate educational handicaps which leave disadvantaged children unable to compete in school; to prevent early childhood disease before it results in adult disability; to interrupt the painful, destructive cycle of welfare dependence, and, most important, to allow all children happy lives as children and the opportunity to develop their full potential.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

We support legislation for positive and preventive approaches to early childhood education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

These approaches should be designed to help eliminate educational handicaps before they require remedial treatment. A Democratic President will support and sign a program for universal comprehensive child development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

We should give reality to the right of mentally retarded children to adequate health care and educational opportunities through such measures as including necessary care under national health insurance and federal aid to assure an opportunity for education for all retarded persons.

Equal Access to Quality Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

The Supreme Court of the United States in Brown v Board of Education established the Constitutional principle that states may not discriminate between school children on the basis of their race and that separate but equal has no place in our public education system. Eighteen years later the provision of integration is not a reality.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

We support the goal of desegregation as a means to achieve equal access to quality education for all our children. There are many ways to desegregate schools: School attendance lines may he redrawn; schools may be paired; larger physical facilities may be built to serve larger, more diverse enrollments; magnet schools or educational parks may be used. Transportation of students is another tool to accomplish desegregation. It must continue to be available according to Supreme Court decisions to eliminate legally imposed segregation and improve the quality of education for all children.

Bilingual Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

Ten per cent of school children in the United States speak a language other than English in their homes and communities. The largest of the linguistic and cultural groups—Spanish-speaking and American Indians—are also among the poorest people in the United States. Increasing evidence indicates an almost total failure of public education to educate these children.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.804

The drop out rates of Spanish speaking and Indian children are the worst of any children in the country. The injury is compounded when such children are placed in special "compensatory" programs or programs for the "dumb" or the "retarded" on the basis of tests and evaluations conducted in English.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

The passage of the Bilingual Education Act [p.805] of 1967 began a commitment by the nation to do something about the injustices committed against the bilingual child. But for 1972-73, Congress appropriated $35 million—enough to serve only two per cent of the children who need help.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

The next Democratic Administration should: Increase federal support for bilingual, bicultural educational programs, pre-school through secondary school, including funding of bilingual Adult Basic Education;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Ensure sufficient teacher training and curriculum development for such schools;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Implement an affirmative action program to train and to hire bilingual-bicultural Spanish-speaking persons at all levels in the educational system;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Provide inventories for state and local districts to initiate bilingual bicultural education programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Require testing of bilingual-bicultural children in their own languages; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Prohibit discrimination against bilingual-bicultural children in school.

Career Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Academic accomplishment is not the only way to financial success, job satisfaction or rewarding life in America. Many young Americans think that college is the only viable route when for some a vocational-technical career offers as much promise of a full life. Moreover, the country desperately needs skilled workers, technicians, men and women who understand and can handle the tools and equipment that mean growth and jobs. By 1975 the need for skilled craftsmen will increase 18 per cent while the need for college-trained persons will remain stable.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Young people should be permitted to make a career choice consistent with their interests, aptitudes and aspirations. We must create an atmosphere where the dignity of work is respected, where diversity of talent and taste is encouraged and where continuing opportunity exists to keep pace with change and gives a saleable skill.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

To aid this, the next Democratic Administration can:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Give vocational-technical education the same priority in funds and emphasis previously given academic education;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Support full appropriations for the recently-passed Occupational Education Act;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Strengthen the career counseling programs in elementary, secondary and post-secondary education so that young people are made aware of all of the opportunities open to them and provide special kinds of vocational-technical education and experience to meet specific area needs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Develop and promote a climate conducive to free, rational choice by young people, dispelling the current prejudices that influence career decisions for most young people almost from birth;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Establish a lifetime system of continuing education to enhance career mobility, both vertically and laterally, so that the career choice made at 18 or 20 years of age does not have to be the only or the final choice; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Grant equal representation to minorities and women in vocational technical education.

Higher Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

We support universal access to opportunities to post-secondary education. The American education system has always been an important path toward social and economic advancement. Federal education policy should ensure that our colleges and universities continue as an open system. It must also stimulate the creative development and expansion of higher education to meet the new social, economic and environmental problems confronting society. To achieve the goals of equal opportunity in education, to meet the growing financial crisis in higher education and to stimulate reform of educational techniques, the next Democratic Administration should:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Support guaranteed access for all students to loan funds with long-term repayment based on future earnings. Not only the poor, but families with moderate incomes must be provided relief from the cost of a college and professional education;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Grant supplements and contingent loans to institutions, based on enrollment of federally-aided students;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Provide research funds to stimulate a partnership between post-secondary, secondary and primary education, in an effort to find new patterns for learning and to provide training and retraining of teachers, especially in urban areas;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.805

Develop broad opportunities for lifelong learning including encouragement for post-secondary education throughout adult years and permit "stopping-off" during higher education;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

Develop affirmative programs in universities [p.806] and colleges for recruitment of minorities and women for administrative and teaching positions and as students; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

Create incentives for non-traditional education which recognize the contribution of experience to an individual's educational status.

Arts and Humanities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

Support for the arts and humanities is one of the benchmarks of a civilized society. Yet, the continued existence of many of America's great symphonies, theatres and museums, our film institutes, dance companies and other art forms, is now threatened by rising costs, and the public contribution, far less than in most advanced industrial societies, is a fraction of the need.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

We should expand support of the arts and humanities by direct grants through the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities, whose policy should be to stimulate the widest variety of artistic and scholarly expression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

We should support long-range financing for public broadcasting, insulated from political pressures. We deplore the Nixon Administration's crude efforts to starve and muzzle public broadcasting, which has become a vital supplement to commercial television.

VI. Crime, Law and Justice

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

"I think we can reduce crime. Society has no more important challenge because crime is human conduct and more than any other activity of people it reflects the moral character of a nation." -Ramsey Clark, Washington Hearing, June 23, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

We advocate and seek a society and a government in which there is an attitude of respect for the law and for those who seek its enforcement and an insistence on the part of our citizens that the judiciary be ever mindful of their primary duty and function of punishing the guilty and protecting the innocent. We will insist on prompt, fair and equal treatment for all persons before the bar of justice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

The problem of crime in America is real, immediate and fundamental; its costs to the nation are staggering; nearly three-quarters of a million victims of violent crime in one year alone; more than 15,000 murders, billions of dollars of property loss.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

The indirect, intangible costs are even more ominous. A frightened nation is not a free nation. Its citizens are prisoners, suspicious of the people they meet, restricted in when they go out and when they return, threatened even in their own homes. Unless government at all levels can restore a sense of confidence and security to its people, there is the ever-present danger that alarm will turn to panic, triggering short-cut remedies that jeopardize hard-won liberties.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

When law enforcement breaks down, not only the victims of street violence suffer; the worker's health and safety is imperiled by unsafe, illegal conditions on the job; the society is defenseless against fraud and pollution; most tragically of all, parents and communities are ravaged by traffic in dangerous drugs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

The Nixon Administration campaigned on a pledge to reduce crime—to strengthen the "peace forces" against the "criminal forces." Despite claims to the contrary, that pledge has been broken:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

Violent crime has increased by one-third, to the highest levels in our history;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

Fueled by the immense profits of narcotics traffic, organized crime has thrust its corruption farther and farther, into law enforcement agencies and the halls of justice;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

The Department of Justice has become the handmaiden of the White House political apparatus, offering favors to those special interests which buy their "law" in Washington.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

The Justice Department has failed to enforce laws protecting key legal rights, such as the Voting Rights Act of 1965;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

Nixon and Mitchell use federal crime control funds for political purposes, squandering $1.5 billion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

To reverse this course, through equal enforcement of the law, and to rebuild justice the Democratic Party believes:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

The impact of crime in America cuts across racial, geographic and economic lines;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

Hard-line rhetoric, pandering to emotion, is both futile and destructive;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.806

We can protect all people without undermining fundamental liberties by ceasing to use "law and order" as justification for repression and political persecution, and by ceasing to use stop-gap measures as preventive detention, "no-knock" entry, surveillance, promiscuous and unauthorized use of wire taps, harassment, and secret dossiers; and [p.807] The problems of crime and drug abuse cannot be isolated from the social and economic conditions that give rise to them.

Preventing Crime

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

Effective law enforcement requires tough planning and action. This Administration has given us nothing but tough words. Together with unequal law enforcement by police, prosecutors and judges, the result is a "turnstile" system of injustice, where most of those who commit crime are not arrested, most of those arrested are not prosecuted, and many of those prosecuted are not convicted. Under this Administration, the conviction rate for federal prosecutions has declined to one-half its former level. Tens of thousands of offenders simply never appear in court and are heard from again only when they commit another crime. This system does not deter crime. It invites it. It will be changed only when all levels of government act to return firmness and fairness to every part of the criminal justice system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

Fear of crime, and firm action against it, is not racism. Indeed the greatest victims of crime today—whether of business fraud or of the narcotics plague—are the people of the ghetto, black and brown. Fear now stalks their streets far more than it does the suburbs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

So that Americans can again live without fear of each other the Democratic Party believes:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

There must be equally stringent law enforcement for rich and poor, corporate and individual offenders;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

Citizens must he actively involved with the police in a joint effort;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

Police forces must be upgraded, and recruiting of highly qualified and motivated policemen must be made easier through federally-assisted pay commensurate with the difficulty and importance of their job, and improved training with comprehensive scholarship and financial support for anyone who is serving or will contract to serve for an appropriate period of police service;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

The complex job of policing requires a sensitivity to the changing social demands of the communities in which police operate;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

We must provide the police with increased technological facilities and support more efficient use of police resources, both human and material;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

When a person is arrested, both justice and effective deterrence of crime require that he be speedily tried, convicted or acquitted, and if convicted, promptly sentenced. To this end we support financial assistance to local courts, prosecutors, and independent defense counsel for expansion, streamlining, and upgrading, with trial in 60 days as the goal;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

To train local and state police officers, a Police Academy on a par with the other service academies should be established as well as an Academy of Judicial Administration;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

We will provide every assistance to our law enforcement agencies at federal and local levels in the training of personnel and the improvement of techniques and will encourage mutual cooperation between each in its own sphere of responsibility;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

We will support needed legislation and action to seek out and bring to justice the criminal organization of national scope operating in our country;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

We will provide leadership and action in a national effort against the usage of drugs and drug addiction, attacking this problem at every level and every source in a full scale campaign to drive this evil from our society. We recognize drug addiction as a health problem and pledge that emphasis will be put on rehabilitation of addicts;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

We will provide increased emphasis in the area of juvenile delinquency and juvenile offenses in order to deter and rehabilitate young offenders;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

There must be laws to control the improper use of hand guns. Four years ago a candidate for the presidency was slain by a handgun. Two months ago, another candidate for that office was gravely wounded. Three out of four police officers killed in the line of duty are slain with hand guns. Effective legislation must include a ban on sale of hand guns known as Saturday night specials which are unsuitable for sporting purposes;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

A comprehensive fully-funded program is needed to improve juvenile justice, to ensure minimum standards, to expand research into rehabilitation techniques, including alternatives to reform schools and coordinate existing programs for treating juvenile delinquency; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.807

The block-grant system of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration which has produced ineffectiveness, waste and corruption should be eliminated. Funds should go directly to operating agencies that are committed to change and [p.808] improvement in local law enforcement, including agencies concerned with research, rehabilitation, training and treatment.

Narcotic Drugs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Drug addiction and alcoholism are health problems. Drugs prey on children, destroy lives and communities, force crimes to satisfy addicts, corrupt police and government and finance the expansion of organized crime. A massive national effort, equal to the scale and complexity of the problem, is essential.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

The next Democratic Administration should support:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

A massive law enforcement effort, supported by increased funds and personnel, against the suppliers and distributors of heroin and other dangerous drugs, with increased penalties for major narcotics traffickers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Full use of all existing resources to halt the illegal entry of narcotics into the United States, including suspension of economic and military assistance to any country that fails to take appropriate steps to prevent narcotic drugs produced or processed in that country from entering the United States illegally, and increases in customs personnel fighting smuggling of hard drugs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

An all-out investigative and prosecutory effort against corruption in government and law enforcement. Where corruption exists it is a major factor in permitting criminal activity, especially large-scale narcotic distribution, to flourish. It also destroys respect for the law in all who are conscious of its operation. We are determined that our children—whether in the ghetto or in a suburban high school shall no longer be able to see a pusher protected from prosecution, openly plying his trade;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Strict regulation and vigorous enforcement of existing quotas regulating production and distribution of dangerous drugs, including amphetamines and barbiturates, to prevent diversion into illegal markets, with legislation for strong criminal penalties against drug manufacturers engaging in illegal overproduction, distribution and importation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Expanded research into dangerous drugs and their abuse, focusing especially on heroin addiction among the young and development of effective, non-addictive heroin treatment methods;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Concentration of law enforcement efforts on major suppliers and distributors, with most individual users diverted into treatment before prosecution;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Immediate placement in medical or psychiatric treatment, available to any individual drug abuser without fear of disclosure or harassment. Work opportunities should be provided for addicts in treatment by supported work and other programs; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Drug education in schools based on fact, not scare tactics to teach young people the dangers of different drugs, and full treatment opportunities for youthful drug abusers. Hard drug trafficking in schools must be met with the strongest possible law enforcement.

Organized and Professional Crime

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

We are determined to exert the maximum power and authority of the federal government to protect the many victims who cannot help themselves against great criminal combinations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Against the organized criminal syndicates, we pledge an expanded federal enforcement effort; one not restricted to criminals of any particular ethnic group, but which recognizes that organized crime in the United States cuts across all boundaries of race, national origin and class.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Against white-collar crime, we pledge to enforce the maximum penalties provided by law. Justice cannot survive when, as too often is the case, a boy who steals a television set is sentenced to a long jail term, while a stock manipulator who steals millions is only commanded to sin no more.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

At least where life or personal injury are at stake, we pledge to seek expanded criminal penalties for the violation of federal laws. Employers who violate the worker safety and health laws, or manufacturers who knowingly sell unsafe products or drugs profit from death and injury as knowingly as the common mugger. They deserve equally severe punishment.

Rehabilitation of Offenders

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.808

Few institutions in America are as uniformly condemned and as consistently ignored as our existing prison system. Many prisons that are supposed to rehabilitate and separate, in fact train their inmates for nothing but brutality and a life of further crime. Only when public understanding recognizes that our existing "corrections" system contributes to escalating crime, will we get the [p.809] massive effort necessary for fundamental restructuring.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Therefore, the Democratic Party commits itself to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Restoration, after release, of rights to obtain drivers licenses and to public and private employment, and, after completion of sentence and conditions of parole, restoration of civil rights to vote and hold public office;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Revision of sentencing procedures and greater use of community-based rehabilitation facilities, especially for juveniles;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Recognition of the constitutional and human rights of prisoners; realistic therapeutic, vocational, wage-earning, education, alcoholism and drug treatment programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Making correctional personnel an integral part of the rehabilitative process;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Emergency, educational and work-release furlough programs as an available technique, support for "self-help" programs; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Restoration of civil rights to ex-convicts after completion of their sentences, including the right to vote, to hold public office, to obtain drivers' licenses and to public and private employment.

The Quality of Justice

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Justice is not merely effective law enforcement —though that is an essential part of it. Justice, rather, expresses the moral character of a nation and its commitment to the rule of law, to equality of all people before the law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

The Democratic Party believes that nothing must abridge the faith of the American citizens in their system of law and justice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

We believe that the quality of justice will be enhanced by:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Equal treatment for all citizens in the court without fear or favor—corporations as well as individual offenders;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Swift trials for accused persons;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Equitable pre-trial release systems and the elimination of plea bargaining abuses;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Ending subversion of the legal system for political gain in court appointments, in antitrust cases and in administration of law enforcement programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Administering the laws and funding enacted by the Congress;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Respecting and abiding by Constitutional protections of due process; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Abolishing capital punishment, recognized as an ineffective deterrent to crime, unequally applied and cruel and excessive punishment.

VII. Farming and Rural Life

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

"A blight hangs over the land caused by misguided farm policies."—Tony Dechant, Sioux City hearing, June 16, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

For many decades, American agriculture has been the envy of the world; and American farmers and American ranchers have made possible a level of nutrition and abundance for our people that is unrivaled in history, while feeding millions of people abroad.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

The basis for this success—and its promise for the future—lies with the family-type farm. It can and must be preserved, in the best interests of all Americans and the nation's welfare.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Today, as dwindling income forces thousands of family farmers into bankruptcy each year, the family-type farm is threatened with extinction. American farming is passing to corporate control.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

These trends will benefit few of our people, while hurting many. The dominance of American food production by the large corporation would destroy individual enterprise and links that millions of our people have with the land; and it would lead to higher prices and higher food costs for everyone.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Major efforts must be made to prevent this disaster for the fabric of rural life, for the American farmer, rancher, farm worker and for the consumer and other rural people throughout our nation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

Farm income must be improved to enable farmers, ranchers and farm workers to produce a steady and dependable supply of food and fiber products in return for full parity; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

We must recognize and fulfill the social contract that exists between the family-farm producers of food and the non-farm consumer.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

The Democratic Party understands these urgent needs; the Nixon Administration does not and has failed the American farmer. Its record today is consistent with the Republican record of the past: Low prices, farm surpluses that depress the market and callous disregard for the people in rural America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.809

This Administration has sold out agriculture to interests bent on eliminating family-type farmers and bent on delivering agriculture to conglomerates, [p.810] agribusiness giants and rich investors seeking to avoid taxes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

Its policies have driven farm income as low as 67 per cent of parity, unequalled since the Depression. Between 50,000 and 75,000 farm families are driven off the land each year. Hundreds of thousands of demoralized people are being forced into overcrowded cities, emptying the countryside and bankrupting small business in rural towns and cities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

The Nixon Administration tries to hide its failures by misleading the people, juggling the parity formula to make prices look higher, distorting reports to make corporate farming look insignificant and trying to break up the U.S. Department of Agriculture and still the farmer's voice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

The Democratic Party will reverse these disastrous policies, and begin to recreate a rural society of widespread family farming, individual opportunity and private and cooperative enterprises, where honest work will bring a decent income.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We repudiate the Administration's set aside program, which pushes up the cost of farm programs while building huge surpluses that depress prices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We repudiate the Report of the USDA Young Executives Committee which would eliminate the family-type farm by ending price support, loan and purchasing programs on all farm commodities and which would put farm people on the welfare rolls.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We repudiate a Presidential commission report recommending that future federal investment in many small towns and cities should make their decline merely more bearable rather than reverse it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

In place of these negative and harmful policies, the Democratic Party pledges itself to take positive and decisive action:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We will replace the 1970 Farm Act, when it expires next year, with a permanent law to provide fair prices to family type farm and ranch operators. This law will include loans and payments to farmers and effective supply management to raise family farm income to 100 percent of parity, based on the 1910-14 ratios:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We will resist a price ceiling on agriculture products until farm prices reach 110 per cent of parity, based on the 1910-14 ratios, and we will conduct a consumer education program to inform all Americans of the relationship between the prices of raw commodities and retail prices;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We will end farm program benefits to farm units larger than family-size; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We will work for production adjustment that will assure adequate food and fiber for all our people, including low-income families and individuals whose purchasing power is supplemented with food stamps and that can provide enough commodities for export and for the Food for Peace Program.

Exporting Our Abundance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

For many years, farm exports have made a major contribution to our balances of trade and payments. But this benefit for the entire nation must not be purchased with depressed prices for the producer.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

The Democratic Party will ensure that:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

Prices for commodities sent abroad as exports or aid return the cost of production plus a profit for the American farmer;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We will negotiate international commodity agreements to include prices that guarantee prices to producers based on cost of production plus a reasonable profit;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We will require U.S. corporations producing commodities outside the country for consumption here to pay duties high enough to prevent unfair competition for domestic producers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We will assure that the same rigid standards for inspection of domestic dairy products and meat will be applied to imports; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

We will create a strategic reserve of storable commodities, insulated from the market, rotated regularly to maintain quality and stored to the extent possible on farms.

Strengthening the Family Farm

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

These policies and actions will not be enough on their own to strengthen the family farm. The Democratic Party also recognizes that farmers and ranchers must be able to gain economic strength in the marketplace by organizing and bargaining collectively for the sale of their products. And they need to be free of unfair competition from monopoly and other restrictive corporate practices. We therefore pledge:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

To remove all obstacles to farm bargaining for the sale of products;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.810

To extend authority for marketing orders to all farm commodities including those used for processing;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

[p.811] To prohibit farming, or the gaining of monopolistic control of production, on the part of corporations whose resources and income derive primarily from non-farm sources;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To investigate violations and enforce anti-trust laws in corporation-agriculture-agribusiness interlocks;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To prohibit corporations and individuals from setting up tax shelters or otherwise engaging in agriculture primarily for the purpose of tax avoidance or tax loss;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To encourage and support the use of cooperatives and membership associations in all areas of the country, which we pledge to protect from interference, punitive taxation or other hindrances; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To assist small rural cooperatives to promote projects in housing, health, social services, marketing, farming, employment and transportation for rural areas with such things as technical assistance and credit.

Guaranteeing Farm People a Voice

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

None of these policies can begin to work unless farmers, ranchers, farm workers and other rural people have full rights of participation in our democratic institutions of government. The Democratic Party is committed to seeing that family-type farmers and ranchers will be heard and that they will have ample opportunity to help shape policies affecting agriculture and rural America. To this end:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

We support the appointment of a farmer or rancher as Secretary of Agriculture;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

We oppose all efforts to abolish or dismantle the U.S. Department of Agriculture;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

We will require that decisions relating to dams and other public land-use projects in rural areas involving federal funds be considered at well-publicized public hearings. Government is not now giving adequate protection to individual rights in condemnation procedures. It must set new and better procedures and requirements to, assure individual rights;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

We supported the United Farm Workers in their non-violent efforts to gain collective bargaining recognition and contracts. We also support unemployment insurance compensation benefits, workman's compensation benefits and delivery of health services for farm workers; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

We support the removal of sugar workers from the custody of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Revitalizing Rural America

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

Sound rural development must start with improved farm income, which also promotes the prosperity of the small businesses that serve all rural people. But there must be other efforts, as well, to ensure equity for farm and rural people in the American economy. The Democratic Party pledges:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To support the rural cooperative electrification and telephone programs and to implement rural transportation programs as explained in the section Cities, Communities, Counties and the Environment of this Platform. We will extend the agricultural exemption in the Motor Carriers Act to products and supplies and ensure rural areas an equitable share of Highway Trust Funds;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To apply general revenue sharing in ways that will permit state and local taxation of family farm lands on the basis of value for farm use rather than value for land speculation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To guarantee equal treatment of rural and urban areas in the provision of federal funds for schools, poverty programs, health facilities, housing, highways, air services, pollution control, senior citizen programs and employment opportunities and manpower and training programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To provide loans to aid young farm families and small businesses to get established in rural areas; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

To ensure agricultural research toward an examination of the social and economic consequences of technology.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

The prime goal of land grant colleges and research should be to help family farms and rural people.

VIII. Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

"The Administration is continuing a war—continuing the killing of Americans and Vietnamese —when our national security is not at stake.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

"It is our duty as the opposition party to point out the Administration's errors and to offer a responsible alternative."—W. Averell Harriman, New York Hearing, June 22, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.811

Strength in defense and wisdom in foreign affairs are essential to prosperity and tranquility. In the modern world, there can be no isolationism in reality or policy. But the measure of our nation's rank in the world must be our success in achieving a just and peaceful society at home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

For the Nixon Administration, foreign policy results [p.812] have fallen short of the attention and the slogans:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

After four years of "Vietnamization," the war in Southeast Asia continues and Nixon's plan is still a secret;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Vital foreign policy decisions are made without consultation with Congress or our allies; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Executive secrecy runs wild with unparalleled efforts to intimidate the media and suppress those who seek to put a different view before the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

The next Democratic Administration should:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

End American participation in the war in Southeast Asia;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Re-establish control over military activities and reduce military spending, where consistent with national security;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Defend America's real interests and maintain our alliances, neither playing world policeman nor abandoning old and good friends;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Not neglect America's relations with small third-world nations in placing reliance to great power relationships;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Return to Congress, and to the people, a meaningful role in decisions on peace and war; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Make information public, except where real national defense interests are involved.

Vietnam

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Nothing better describes the need for a new American foreign policy than the fact that now, as for the past seven years, it begins with the war in Vietnam.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

The task now is still to end the war, not to decide who is to blame for it. The Democratic Party must share the responsibility for this tragic war. But, elected with a secret plan to end this war, Nixon's plan is still secret, and we—and the Vietnamese—have had four more years of fighting and death.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

It is true that our involvement on the ground has been reduced. Troops are coming home. But the war has been extended in Laos and Cambodia; the bombing of North Vietnam has been expanded to levels of destruction undreamed of four years ago; North Vietnam has been blockaded; the number of refugees increases each day, and the Secretary of Defense warns us of still further escalation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

All this has accomplished nothing except to prolong the war. The hollowness of "Vietnamization"—a delusive slogan seeming to offer cheap victory—has been exposed by the recent offensive. The Saigon Government, despite massive U.S. support, is still not viable. It is militarily ineffective, politically corrupt and economically near collapse. Yet it is for this regime that Americans still die, and American prisoners still rot in Indo-China camps.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

The plight of these American prisoners justly arouses the concern of all Americans. We must insist that any resolution of the war include the return of all prisoners held by North Vietnam and other adversary forces and the fullest possible accounting for the missing. With increasing lack of credibility, the Nixon Administration has sought to use the prisoners of war as an excuse for its policies. It has refused to make the simple offer of a definite and final end to U.S. participation in the war, in conjunction with return of all U.S. prisoners.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

The majority of the Democratic Senators have called for full U.S. withdrawal by October 1, 1972. We support that position. If the war is not ended before the next Democratic Administration takes office, we pledge, as the first order of business, an immediate and complete withdrawal of all U.S. forces in Indo-China. All U.S. military action in Southeast Asia will cease. After the end of U.S. direct combat participation, military aid to the Saigon Government, and elsewhere in Indo-China, will be terminated.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

The U.S. will no longer seek to determine the political future of the nations of Indo-China. The issue is not whether we will depose the present South Vietnamese Government, rather when we will cease insisting that it must be the core of any political settlement. We will do what we can to foster an agreement on an acceptable political solution but we recognize that there are sharp limits to our ability to influence this process, and to the importance of the outcome to our interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

Disengagement from this terrible war will not be a "defeat" for America. It will not imply any weakness in America's will or ability to protect its vital interests from attack. On the contrary, disengagement will enable us to heal domestic diversions and to end the distortion of our international priorities which the war has caused.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.812

A Democratic Administration will act to ease the hard transitions which will come with the end of this war. We pledge to offer to the people of Vietnam humanitarian assistance to help them repair the ravages of 30 years of war to the economy [p.813] and to the people of that devastated land.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

To our own people, we pledge a true effort to extend the hand of reconciliation and assistance to those most affected by the war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

To those who have served in this war, we pledge a full G.I. Bill of Rights, with benefits sufficient to pay for an education of the veteran's choice, job training programs and the guarantee of employment and the best medical care this country can provide, including a full program of rehabilitation for those who have returned addicted to dangerous drugs. To those who for reasons of conscience refused to serve in this war and were prosecuted or sought refuge abroad, we state our firm intention to declare an amnesty, on an appropriate basis, when the fighting has ceased and our troops and prisoners of war have returned.

Military Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

We propose a program of national defense which is both prudent and responsible, which will retain the confidence of our allies and which will be a deterrent to potential aggressors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Military strength remains an essential element of a responsible international policy. America must have the strength required for effective deterrence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

But military defense cannot be treated in isolation from other vital national concerns. Spending for military purposes is greater by far than federal spending for education, housing, environmental protection, unemployment insurance or welfare. Unneeded dollars for the military at once add to the tax burden and pre-empt funds from programs of direct and immediate benefit to our people. Moreover, too much that is now spent on defense not only adds nothing to our strength but makes us less secure by stimulating other countries to respond.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Under the Nixon stewardship of our defense policy, lack of sound management controls over defense projects threatens to price us out of an adequate defense. The reaction of the Defense Department to exposure of cost overruns has been to strike back at the critics instead of acting to stop the waste.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Needless projects continue and grow, despite evidence of waste, military ineffectiveness and even affirmative danger to real security. The "development" budget starts pressures for larger procurement budgets in a few years. Morale and military effectiveness deteriorate as drugs, desertion and racial hatreds plague the armed forces, especially in Vietnam.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

The Democratic Party pledges itself to maintain adequate military forces for deterrence and effective support of our international position. But we will also insist on the firm control of specific costs and projects that are essential to ensure that each defense dollar makes a real contribution to national security. Specifically, a Democratic Administration should:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Plan military budgets on the basis of our present needs and commitments, not past practices or force levels;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Stress simplicity and effectiveness in new weapons and stop goldplating and duplication which threatens to spawn a new succession of costly military white elephants; avoid commitment to new weapons unless and until it becomes clear that they are needed;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Reject calls to use the SALT agreement as an excuse for wasteful and dangerous acceleration of our military spending;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Reduce overseas bases and forces; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Rebuild the morale and military tradition of our armed forces through creative programs to combat drug abuse, racial tensions and eroded pride in service. We will support reforms of the conditions of military life to restore military service as an attractive career for men and women from all segments of our society.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

By these reforms and this new approach to budgeting, coupled with a prompt end to U.S. involvement in the war in Indo-China, the military budget can be reduced substantially with no weakening of our national security. Indeed a leaner, better-run system will mean added strength, efficiency and morale for our military forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

Workers and industries now dependent on defense spending should not be made to pay the price of altering our priorities. Therefore, we pledge reconversion policies and government resources to assure jobs and new industrial opportunities for all those adversely affected by curtailed defense spending.

Draft

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

We urge abolition of the draft.

Disarmament and Arms Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.813

The Democratic Party stands for keeping America strong; we reject the concept of unilateral [p.814] reductions below levels needed for adequate military defense. But effective international arms control and disarmament do not threaten American security; they enhance it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

The last Democratic Administration took the lead in pressing for U.S.-Soviet agreement on strategic arms limitation. The recent SALT agreement is an important and useful first step.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

The SALT agreement should be quickly ratified and taken as a starting point for new agreements. It must not be used as an excuse for new "bargaining chip" military programs or the new round of the arms race.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

The next Democratic Administration should: Carry on negotiations to expand the initial SALT agreement to other areas, especially to seek limits to the qualitative arms race and to begin reducing force levels on each side;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Seek a comprehensive ban on all nuclear testing, verified, as SALT will be, by national means;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Press for wide adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, signed in 1968, and for extension of the concept of nuclear free regions;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Seek ratification of the Protocol on Chemical Warfare without reservations;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

In concert with our allies, pursue with the U.S.S.R. mutual force reductions in Europe; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Widen the range of arms control discussions to include new subjects, such as mutual budget cuts, control of arms transfer to developing countries, restrictions on naval force deployments and other measures to limit conventional forces.

U.S. and the World Community

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

A new foreign policy must be adequate for a rapidly changing world. We welcome the opportunity this brings for improved relations with the U.S.S.R. and China. But we value even more America's relations with our friends and allies in the Hemisphere, in Western Europe, Japan and other industrialized countries, Israel and the Middle East, and in the developing nations of Asia and Africa. With them, our relations must be conducted on a basis of mutual trust and consultation, seeking to strengthen our ties and to resolve differences on a basis of mutual advantage. Throughout the world, the focus of our policy should be a commitment to peace, self-determination, development, liberty and international cooperation, without distortion in favor of military points of view.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Europe.—Europe's increasing economic and political strength and the growing cooperation and self-confidence of its people have made the Atlantic Alliance a partnership of equals. If we face the challenge of this new relationship, our historic partnership can endure.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

The next Democratic Administration should: Reduce U.S. troop levels in Europe in close consultation with our allies, as part of a program to adjust NATO to changed conditions. What is essential in our relations with the other NATO nations is not a particular troop level, but our continued commitment to collective defense;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Pledge to work in greater cooperation with the European economic communities to ensure that integration in Europe does not serve as a formula for discrimination against American goods and enterprises;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Cease American support for the repressive Greek military government; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Make the voice of the United States heard in Northern Ireland against violence and terror and against the discrimination, repression and deprivation which brought about that awful civil strife.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

We welcome every improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and every step taken toward reaching vital agreements on trade and other subjects. However, in our pursuit of improved relations, America cannot afford to be blind to the continued existence of serious differences between us. In particular, the United States should, by diplomatic contacts, seek to mobilize world opinion to express concern at the denial to the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe and the minorities of the Soviet Union, including the Soviet Jews, of the right to practice their religion and culture and to leave their respective countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

Middle East.—The United States must be unequivocally committed to support of Israel's right to exist within secure and defensible boundaries. Progress toward a negotiated political settlement in the Middle East will permit Israel and her Arab neighbors to live at peace with each other, and to turn their energies to internal development. It will also free the world from the threat of the explosion of Mid-East tensions into world war. In working toward a settlement, our continuing pledge to the security and freedom of Israel must be both clear and consistent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.814

The next Democratic Administration should: Make and carry out a firm, long-term public [p.815] commitment to provide Israel with aircraft and other military equipment in the quantity and sophistication she needs to preserve her deterrent strength in the face of Soviet arsenaling of Arab threats of renewed war;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

Seek to bring the parties into direct negotiations toward a permanent political solution based on the necessity of agreement on secure and defensible national boundaries;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

Maintain a political commitment and a military force in Europe and at sea in the Mediterranean ample to deter the Soviet Union from putting unbearable pressure on Israel.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

Recognize and support the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, with free access to all its holy places provided to all faiths. As a symbol of this stand, the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

Recognize the responsibility of the world community for a just solution to the problems of the Arab and Jewish refugees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

Africa.—The central feature of African politics today is the struggle against racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. There should be no mistake about which side we are on. We stand for full political, civil and economic rights for black and other nonwhite peoples in Southern Africa. We are against white-minority rule. We should not underwrite a return to the interventionism of the past. But we can end United States complicity with such governments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

The focus of America's concern with Africa must be on economic and social development. Economic aid to Africa, without political conditions, should be expanded, and African states assured an adequate share of the aid dollar. Military aid and aid given for military purposes should be sharply reduced.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

All military aid to Portugal should be stopped and the Nixon $435 million deal for unneeded Azores bases should be canceled.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

U.N. sanctions against the illegal racist regime in Southern Rhodesia should be supported vigorously, especially as they apply to chrome imports.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

The U.S. should give full support to U.N. assertion of its control over Nambia (South West Africa), in accordance with the World Court's ruling.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

The U.S. should make clear its opposition to the radical totalitarianism of South Africa. The U.S. government should act firmly to press U.S. businesses in South Africa to take measures for the fullest possible justice for their black employees. Blacks should be assigned at all levels to U.S. offices in South Africa, and throughout Africa. The South African sugar quota should be withdrawn.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

No U.S. company or its subsidiary should be given U.S. tax credit for taxes paid to white-minority-ruled countries of Africa.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

Japan.—Our relations with Japan have been severely strained by a series of "Nixon shocks." We must restore our friendship with Japan, the leading industrial nation of Asia and a growing world power. There are genuine issues between us and Japan in the economic area, but accommodation of trade problems will be greatly eased by an end to the Nixon Administration's calculated insensitivity to Japan and her interests, marked by repeated failures to afford advance warnings, much consultation over sudden shifts in U.S. diplomatic and economic policy that affect Japan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh.—A Democratic Administration should work to restore the damage done to America's friendship with India as a result of the Administration's folly in "tilting" in favor of Pakistan and against Bangla Desh. The alienation by the Nixon Administration of India, the world's largest democracy, and the continued suspension of economic aid to India have seriously damaged the status of the United States in Asia. We pledge generous support for the essential work of reconstruction and reconciliation in Bangla Desh. At the same time, we will maintain friendship and developmental assistance to the "new" Pakistan which has emerged from these sad events.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

China.—The beginnings of a new U.S.-China relationship are welcome and important. However, so far, little of substance has changed, and the exaggerated secrecy and rhetoric of the Nixon Administration have produced unnecessary complications in our relationship with our allies and friends in Asia and with the U.S.S.R.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

What is needed now is serious negotiation on trade, travel exchanges and progress on more basic issues. The U.S. should take the steps necessary to establish regular diplomatic relations with China.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.815

Other Asian Countries.—The future of Asia will be determined by its people, not by the United States. We should support accommodation and cooperation among all Asian countries and continue to assist in economic development.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

[p.816] Canada.—A Democratic Administration should restore close U.S.-Canadian cooperation and communication, respecting Canada's nationhood and pride. In settling economic issues, we should not compromise our interests; but seek mutually advantageous and equitable solutions. In areas such as environmental protection and social policies, the Americans and Canadians share common problems and we must act together.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Latin America.—The Good Neighbor policy of Franklin Roosevelt and the Alliance for Progress of John Kennedy set still-living goals-insulation from external political conflicts, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, and support for political liberty, social justice and economic progress. The Nixon Administration has lost sight of these goals, and the result is hostility and suspicion of the U.S. unmatched in generations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

The next Democratic Administration should: Re-establish an inter-American alliance of equal sovereign nations working cooperatively for development;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Sharply reduce military assistance throughout the area;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Strive to deepen the exchange of people and ideas within the Hemisphere;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Take account of the special claims of democratically-elected governments on our resources and sympathy;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Pursue a policy of non-intervention by military means in domestic affairs of Latin American nations;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Recognize that, while Cuba must not be permitted to become a foreign military base, after 13 years of boycott, crisis and hostility, the time has come to re-examine our relations with Cuba and to seek a way to resolve this cold war confrontation on mutually acceptable terms; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Re-establish a U.S.-Mexico border commission, with Mexican-American representatives, to develop a comprehensive program to desalinate and eradicate pollution of the Colorado River and other waterways flowing into Mexico, and conduct substantial programs to raise the economic level on both sides of the border. This should remove the economic reasons which contribute to illegal immigration and discourage run-away industries, in addition, language requirements for citizenship should be removed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

The United Nations.—The U.N. cannot solve all the great political problems of our time, but in an increasingly interdependent world, a world body is essential and its potential must be increasingly relied upon.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

The next Democratic Administration should: Re-establish the U.N. as a key forum for international activity, and assign representatives with the highest qualification for diplomacy;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Give strong executive branch leadership for U.S. acceptance of its obligations for U.N. financing, while renegotiating arrangement for sharing U.N. costs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Abide by the binding U.N. Security Council decision on Rhodesia sanctions, and support U.N. peace-keeping efforts;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Work for development of enforceable world law as a basis for peace, and endorse repeal of the Connally Reservation on U.S. acceptance of World Court jurisdiction; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

Work to involve the U.N. increasingly on the complex technical and social problems such as pollution, health, communication, technology and population policy, which are worldwide in scope and demand a worldwide approach, and help provide the means for these U.N. efforts and for U.N. economic development functions.

International Economic Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

In a prosperous economy, foreign trade has benefits for virtually everyone. For the consumer, it means lower prices and a wider choice of goods. For the worker and the businessman, it means new jobs and new markets. For nations, it means greater efficiency and growth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

But in a weak economy—with over five million men and women out of work—foreign imports bring hardships to many Americans. The automobile or electrical worker, the electronics technician, the small businessman—for them, and millions of others, foreign competition coinciding with a slack economy has spelled financial distress. Our national commitment to liberal trade policies takes its toll when times are bad, but yields its benefits when the economy is fully employed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

The Democratic Party proposes no retreat from this commitment. Our international economic policy should have these goals: To expand jobs and business opportunities in this country and to establish two-way trade relations with other nations. To do this, we support the following policies:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.816

End the high-unemployment policy of the Nixon Administration. When a job is available for everyone who wants to work, imports will no [p.817] longer be a threat. Full employment is a realistic goal, it is a goal which has been attained under Democratic Administrations, and it is a goal we intend to achieve again;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Adopt broad programs to ease dislocations and relieve the hardship of workers injured by foreign competition;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Seek higher labor standards in the advanced nations where productivity far outstrips wage rates, thus providing unfair competition to American workers and seek to limit harmful flows of American capital which exploit both foreign and American workers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Adhere to liberal trade policies, but we should oppose actions and policies which harm American workers through unfair exploitation of labor abroad and the encouragement of American capital to run after very low wage opportunities for quick profits that will damage the economy of the United States and further weaken the dollar;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Negotiate orderly and reciprocal reductions of trade barriers to American products. Foreign nations with access to our markets should no longer be permitted to fence us out of theirs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Support reform of the international monetary system. Increased international reserves, provision for large margins in foreign exchange fluctuations and strengthened institutions for the coordination of national economic policies can free our government and others to achieve full employment;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Support efforts to promote exports of American farm products; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Develop ground rules for pollution controls with our industrialized trading partners so that no country gains competitive advantage at the expense of the environment.

Developing Nations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Poverty at home or abroad is part of a common problem. Great and growing income gaps among nations are no more tenable than such gaps among groups in our own country. We should remain committed to U.S. support for economic and social development of countries in need. Old ways of providing aid must be revised—to reduce U.S. involvement in administration; to encourage other nations to contribute jointly with us. But funding must be adequate to help poor countries achieve accelerated rates of growth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Specifically, the next Democratic Administration should support: Provision of more assistance through international organizations, along with measures to strengthen the development agencies of the U.N.; A curtailment of military aid;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Improved access to the markets of industrial nations for the products of the developing countries;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

A greater role in international monetary affairs for poor countries; in particular distributing the new Special Drawing Rights in support of the poor countries; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

A fair share for poor countries in the resources of the seabeds.

The Methods and Structures of U.S. Foreign and Military Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

The needed fundamental reordering of U.S. foreign and military policy calls for changes in the structure of decision-making, as well as in particular policies. This means:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Greater sharing with Congress of real decisions on issues of war and peace, and providing Congress with the information and resources needed for a more responsible role;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

More honest information policies, beginning with a fundamental reform of the document classification system and including regular press conferences by the President, his cabinet and senior advisors;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Ending the present drastic overbalance in favor of military opinion by redefining the range of agencies and points of view with a proper claim to be heard on foreign and military policies;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Subjecting the military budget to effective civilian control and supervision;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Establishing effective executive control and legislative oversight of the intelligence agencies;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Ending political domination of USIA's reporting and Peace Corps dedication and, in general, making it clear that the White House understands the crucial distinction between dissent and disloyalty; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

Urging the appointment of minority Americans to top positions of ambassadors and diplomats, to let the world know that America is a multi-racial nation and proud of it.

IX. The People and the Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.817

"Our people are dispirited because there seems to be no way by which they can call to office a government which will cut the ties to the past, meeting the challenge of leadership and begin a new era of bold action.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

[p.818] "Bold action by innovative government—responsive to the people's needs and desires—is essential to the achievement of our national hopes."—Leonard Woodcock, President, United Auto Workers, New York Hearing, June 22, 1972.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Representative democracy fails when citizens cannot know:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

When public officials ignore or work against the principles of due process;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

How their public officials conduct the public's business;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Whether public officials have personal financial stakes in the very matters they are legislating, administering or enforcing; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

What special interest pressures are being exerted on public officials by lobbyists.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Today, it is imperative that the Democratic Party again take the lead in reforming those practices that limit the responsiveness of government and remove it from the control of the people.

Seniority

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

The seniority system is one of the principal reasons that party platforms—and parties themselves—have lost meaning and importance in our political life. Seniority has weakened Congress as an effective and responsive institution in a changing society. It has crippled effective Congressional leadership and made it impossible to present and enact a coherent legislative program. It has permitted the power of the Democratic majority to be misused and abused. It has stifled initiative and wasted the talents of many members by making length of service the only criterion for selection to the vital positions of Congressional power and leadership.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

We, therefore, call on the Democratic Members of the Congress to use the powers inherent in their House and Senate caucuses to implement the policies and programs of the National Democratic Party. It is specifically not intended that Democratic members be directed how to vote on issues on the floor. But, in order that they be responsive to broad party policies and programs, we nonetheless call upon Members of Congress to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Choose committee chairmen as provided in existing caucus rules and procedures, but by separate open ballot; chair-people should be chosen who will carry out party policies and programs which come within the jurisdiction of their committees;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Assure that Democratic programs and policies receive full and fair consideration and are brought to a vote in each house;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Discipline committee members, including chair-people, who refuse to comply with caucus instructions regarding the reporting of legislation from their committees; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Withhold any seniority benefits from a Member of Congress who fails to overtly identify with the Democratic organization in his state which is recognized by the National Democratic Party.

Secrecy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Public business should be transacted publicly, except when national security might be jeopardized.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

To combat secrecy in government, we call on the Democratic Members of Congress and state legislatures to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Enact "open meetings" legislation, barring the practice of conducting the public business behind closed doors. This should include so-called mark-up sessions by legislative committees, but should allow for exceptions involving national security and invasions of privacy. To the extent possible, the same principle should apply to the Executive Branch;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Assure that all committee and floor votes are taken in open session, recorded individually for each legislator; record caucus votes, and make all of these available to the public;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Urge reservation of executive privilege for the President alone;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Urge that the judgment in the U.S. Senate in a contested election case be rendered in open Senate session;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Immediately strengthen the Federal Freedom of Information Act. Congress should improve its oversight of Executive secrecy by requiring federal agencies to report annually on every refusal to grant information requested under the Act. Citizens should have full recourse to the courts to deal with violation or circumvention of the Act. It should be amended to allow courts to review the reasonableness of a claim of executive privilege; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.818

Administer the security system so as to limit the number of officials who can make a document secret, and provide for frequent declassification of documents. Congress should be given the means to obtain documents necessary to fulfill its responsibilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

We also call on the Democratic Members of [p.819] the House of Representatives to take action through their caucus to end the "closed rule," which is used to prevent amendments and votes on vital tax matters and other important issues, and we call on the Democratic Members of the Senate to liberalize the cloture rule, which is used to prevent votes in that body, so that after full and extensive debate majority rule can prevail.

Administrative Agencies

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

There is, among more and more citizens, a growing revolt against large, remote and impersonal government agencies that are not responsive to human needs. We pledge to build a representative process into the Executive Branch, so that individuals affected by agency programs can be involved in formulating, implementing and revising them. This requires a basic restructuring of procedures—public hearings before guidelines and regulations are handed down, the processing of citizen complaints, the granting of citizen standing and the recovery of litigation fees for those who win suits against the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

We recommend these specific changes in the rule making and adjudication process of the federal government:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

There should be no non-written communication between an agency and outside parties about pending decisions. All written communications should promptly be made a part of the public record;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

All communications between government employees and outside parties about possible future action should be made a part of the public record;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

All government employees involved in rule-making and adjudication should be subject to conflict of interest laws;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

The Justice Department should make available to the public any consent decree 90 days prior to its submission to court, to allow any interested party to comment on it to the Court; and The Justice Department should report to Congress each year, to explain its action on major suits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

In addition, we must more effectively protect consumer rights before the government. The consumer must be made an integral part of any relationship between government and institutions (public or private) at every level of proceedings whether formal or informal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

A Democratic Administration would instruct all federal agencies to identify American Indians, Asian Americans and Spanish-speaking Americans in separate categories in all statistical data that note racial or ethnic heritage. Only in this way can these Americans be assured their rights under federal programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

Finally, in appropriate geographical areas, agencies of the federal government should be equipped to conduct business in such a fashion that Spanish-speaking citizens should not be hampered by language difficulties.

Conflict of Interest

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

The public interest must not be sacrificed to personal gain. Therefore, we call for legislation requiring full disclosure of the financial interests of Members of Congress and their staffs and high officials of the Executive Branch and independent agencies. Disclosure should include business directorships held and associations with individuals or firms lobbying or doing business with the government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

Further, Congress should forbid its members to engage in the practice of law or to retain association with a law firm while in office. Legislators serving on a committee whose jurisdiction includes matters in which they have financial interest should divest themselves of the interest or resign from the committee.

Campaign Finance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

A total overhaul of the present system of financing elections is a national necessity. Candidates should not be dependent on large contributors who seek preferential treatment. We call for Congressional action to provide for public financing of more election costs by 1974. We recommend a statutory ceiling on political gifts at a reasonable limit. Publicly owned communications facilities such as television, radio and the postal service should be made available, but on a limited basis, to candidates for federal Office.

Regulation of Lobbyists

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.819

We also call upon Congress to enact rigorous lobbying disclosure legislation, to replace the present shockingly ineffective law. There should be full disclosure of all organized lobbying—including names of lobbyists, identity of the source of funds, total receipts and expenditures, the nature of the lobbying operation and specific target issues or bills. Reports should be filed at least [p.820] quarterly, with criminal penalties for late filing. Lobbying regulations should cover attempts to influence both legislative and Executive Branch decisions. The legislation should specifically cover lobbying appeals in subscription publications.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

As a safeguard, we urge the availability of subpoena and cease-and-desist powers to enforce these conflict of interest, campaign financing and lobby disclosure laws. We also affirm the citizens' right to seek enforcement through the courts, should public officials fail in enforcement.

Taking Part in the Political Process

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

The Presidential primary system today is an unacceptable patchwork. The Democratic Party supports federal laws that will embody the following principles:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Protect the opportunity for less-known candidates to build support;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Establish uniform ground rules; Reduce the cost of primary campaigns; Promote maximum voter turnout; Ensure that issues are clarified;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Foster the selection of nominees with broad popular support to assure the continued viability of the two party system;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Ensure every citizen the ability to take part in the Presidential nomination process; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Equalize the ability of people from all income levels to participate in the political decision-making processes of the Democratic Party, by providing financial assistance through party funds for delegates, alternates and standing committee members to state and national conventions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

We also call for full and uniform enforcement of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. But further steps are needed to end all barriers to participation in the political process:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Universal voter registration by post card; Bilingual means of registration and voting; Bilingual voter education programs; Liberalized absentee voting;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Lower minimum age requirements for service in the Senate and House of Representatives;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Minimum residency requirements of 30 days for all elections, including primaries;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Student voting where they attend schools; Study and review of the Hatch Act, to see what can be done to encourage good citizenship and reasonable participation by government employees;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Full home rule for the District of Columbia, including an elected mayor-city council government, broad legislative power, control over appointments, automatic federal payment and voting representation in both Houses of Congress; No discriminatory districting;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

We favor a Constitutional change to abolish the Electoral College and to give every voter a direct and equal voice in Presidential elections. The amendment should provide for a run-off election, if no candidate received more than 40 percent of the popular vote;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Early ratification of the equal rights amendment to the Constitution;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Appointment of women to positions of top responsibilities in all branches of the federal government, to achieve an equitable ratio of women and men;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Inclusion of women advisors in equitable ratios on all government studies, commissions and hearings; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

Laws authorizing federal grants on a matching basis for financing state commissions of the status of women.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform of 1972, p.820

These changes in themselves will not solve the problems of government for all time. As our society changes, so must the ways we use to make government more responsive to the people. Our challenge, today, as always, is to ensure that politics and institutions belong in spirit and in practice to all the people of our nation. In 1972, Americans are deciding that they want their country back again.[p.847]

Republican Platform of 1972

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

This year our Republican Party has greater reason than ever before for pride in its stewardship.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

When our accomplishments are weighed—when our opponents' philosophy, programs and candidates are assessed—we believe the American people will rally eagerly to the leadership which since January 1969 has brought them a better life in a better land in a safer world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

This political contest of 1972 is a singular one. No Americans before have had a clearer option. The choice is between going forward from dramatic achievements to predictable new achievements, or turning back toward a nightmarish time in which the torch of free America was virtually snuffed out in a storm of violence and protest. It is so easy to forget how frightful it was. There was Vietnam—so bloody, so costly, so bitterly divisive—a war in which more than a half-million of America's sons had been committed to battle—a war, it seemed, neither to be won nor lost, but only to be endlessly fought—a war emotionally so tormenting as almost to obliterate America's other worldly concerns.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

And yet, as our eyes were fixed on the carnage in Asia, in Europe our alliance had weakened. The Western will was dividing and ebbing. The isolation of the People's Republic of China with one-fourth of the world's population, went endlessly on.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

At home our horrified people watched our cities burn, crime burgeon, campuses dissolve into chaos. A mishmash of social experimentalism, producing such fiscal extravaganzas as the abortive war on poverty, combined with war pressures to drive up taxes and balloon the cost of living. Working men and women found their living standards fixed or falling, the victim of inflation. Nationwide, welfare skyrocketed out of control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

The history of our country may record other crises more costly in material goods, but none so demoralizing to the American people. To millions of Americans it seemed we had lost our way. So it was when our Republican Party came to power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

Now, four years later, a new leadership with new policies and new programs has restored reason and order and hope. No longer buffeted by internal violence and division, we are on course in calmer seas with a sure, steady hand at the helm. A new spirit, buoyant and confident, is on the rise in our land, nourished by the changes we have made. In the past four years:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

We have turned toward concord among all Americans;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

We have turned toward reason and order;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

We have turned toward government responding sensitively to the people's hopes and needs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

We have turned toward innovative solutions to the nation's most pressing problems;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

We have turned toward new paths for social progress—from welfare rolls to payrolls; from wanton pollution to vigorous environmental protection;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

We have moved far toward peace: withdrawal of our fighting men from Vietnam, constructive new relationships with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the nuclear arms race checked, the Mid-East crisis dampened, our alliances revitalized.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.847

So once again the foreign policy of the United States is on a realistic footing, promising us a nation [p.848] secure in a full generation of peace, promising the end of conscription, promising a further allocation of resources to domestic needs. It is a saga of exhilarating progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

We have come far in so short a time. Yet, much remains to be done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

Discontents, frustrations and concerns still stir in the minds and hearts of many of our people, especially the young. As long as America falls short of being truly peaceful, truly prosperous, truly secure, truly just for all, her task is not done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

Our encouragement is in the fact that things as they are, are far better than things that recently were. Our resolve is that things to come can be, and will be, better still.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

Looking to tomorrow, to President Nixon's second term and on into the third century of this Republic, we of the Republican Party see a quarter-billion Americans peaceful and prospering as never before, humane as never before, their nation strong and just as never before.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

It is toward this bright tomorrow that we are determined to move, in concert with millions of discerning Democrats and concerned Independents who will not, and cannot, take part in the convulsive leftward lurch of the national Democratic Party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

The election of 1972 requires of the voters a momentous decision—one that will determine the kind of nation that is to be on its 200th birthday four years hence. In this year we must choose between strength and weakness for our country in the years to come. This year we must choose between negotiating and begging with adversary nations. This year we must choose between an expanding economy in which workers will prosper and a hand-out economy in which the idle live at ease. This year we must choose between running our own lives and letting others in a distant bureaucracy run them. This year we must choose between responsible fiscal policy and fiscal folly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

This year the choice is between moderate goals historically sought by both major parties and far-out goals of the far left. The contest is not between the two great parties Americans have known in previous years. For in this year 1972 the national Democratic Party has been seized by a radical clique which scorns our nation's past and would blight her future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

We invite our troubled friends of other political affiliations to join with us in a new coalition for progress. Together let us reject the New Left prescription for folly and build surely on the solid achievements of President Nixon's first term.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

Four years ago we said, in Abraham Lincoln's words, that Americans must think anew and act anew. This we have done, under gifted leadership. The many advances already made, the shining prospects so clearly ahead, are presented in this Platform for 1972 and beyond.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

May every American measure our deeds and words thoughtfully and objectively, and may our opponents' claims be equally appraised. Once this is done and judgment rendered on election day, we will confidently carry forward the task of doing for America what her people need and want and deserve.

Toward a Full Generation of Peace

Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

When Richard Nixon became President, our country was still clinging to foreign policies fashioned for the era immediately following World War II. The world has changed dramatically in the 1960's, but our foreign policies had not.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

America was hopelessly enmeshed in Vietnam. In all parts of the globe our alliances were frayed. With the principal Communist powers our relations showed little prospect of improvement. Trade and monetary problems were grave. Periodic crises had become the way of international economic life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

The nation's frustrations had fostered a dangerous spirit of isolationism among our people. America's influence in the world had waned.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

In only four years we have fashioned foreign policies based on a new spirit of effective negotiation with our adversaries, and a new sense of real partnership with our allies. Clearly, the prospects for lasting peace are greater today than at any time since World War II.

New Era of Diplomacy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.848

Not all consequences of our new foreign policy are yet visible, precisely because one of its great purposes is to anticipate crises and avoid them rather than merely respond. Its full impact will be realized over many years, but already there are vivid manifestations of its success:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

Before this Administration, a Presidential visit [p.849] to Peking would have been unthinkable. Yet our President has gone there to open a candid airing of differences so that they will not lead some day to war. All over the world tensions have eased as, after a generation of hostility, the strongest of nations and the most populous of nations have started discoursing again.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

During the 1960's, Presidential visits to Moscow were twice arranged and twice cancelled. Now our President has conferred, in the Soviet Union, with Soviet leaders, and has hammered out agreements to make this world a much safer place. Our President's quest for peace has taken him to 20 other countries, including precedent-shattering visits to Rumania, Yugoslavia and Poland.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

Around the globe America's alliances have been renewed and strengthened. A new spirit of partnership shows results in our NATO partners' expenditures for the common defense—up by some $2 billion in two years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

Historians may well regard these years as a golden age of American diplomacy. Never before has our country negotiated with so many nations on so wide a range of subjects—and never with greater success. In the last four years we have concluded agreements:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To limit nuclear weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To ban nuclear weapons from the world's sea-beds.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To reduce the risk of an accidental nuclear war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To end the threat of biological and toxin warfare.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To terminate American responsibility for the administration of Okinawa.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To end the recurrent crises over Berlin.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To provide for U.S.-Soviet cooperation in health and space research.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To reduce the possibility of dangerous incidents at sea.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To improve emergency communications between the White House and the Kremlin.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To exercise restraint in situations threatening conflict.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To realign the world's currencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To reduce barriers to American exports. To combat the international drug traffic. To protect the international environment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To expand cultural relations with peoples of Eastern Europe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To settle boundary disputes with Mexico.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

To restore the water quality of the Great Lakes in cooperation with Canada.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

In Vietnam, too, our new policies have been dramatically effective.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

In the 1960's, our nation was plunged into another major war—for the fourth time in this century, the third time in a single generation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

More than a half-million Americans were fighting in Vietnam in January 1969. Fatalities reached 562 in a single week. There was no plan for bringing Americans home; no hope for an end of the war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

In four years, we have marched toward peace and away from war. Our forces in Vietnam have been, cut by 93 per cent. No longer do we have a single ground combat unit there. Casualties are down by 95 per cent. Our young draftees are no longer sent there without their consent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

Through it all, we have not abandoned an ally to aggression, not turned our back on their brave defense against brutal invasion, not consigned them to the bloodbath that would follow Communist conquest. By helping South Vietnam build a capability to withstand aggression, we have laid the foundation for a just peace and a durable peace in Southeast Asia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

From one sector of the globe to another, a sure and strong America, in partnership with other nations, has once again resumed her historic mission—the building of lasting peace.

The Nixon Doctrine

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

When President Nixon came into office, America's foremost problem was the bloody, costly, divisive involvement in Vietnam. But there was an even more profound task—to redefine the international role of the United States in light of new realities around the globe and new attitudes at home. Precisely and clearly, the President stated a new concept of a positive American role. This—the Nixon Doctrine—is monumentally important to every American and to all other people in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

The theme of this Doctrine is that America will remain fully involved in world affairs, and yet do this in ways that will elicit greater effort by other nations and the sustaining support of our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.849

For decades, our nation's leaders regarded virtually every problem of local defense or economic development anyplace in the world as an exclusive American responsibility. The Nixon Doctrine [p.850] recognizes that continuing defense and development are impossible unless the concerned nations shoulder the principal burden.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

Yet, strong economic and military assistance programs remain essential. Without these, we are denied a middle course—the course between abruptly leaving allies to struggle alone against economic stagnation or aggression, or intervening massively ourselves. We cannot move from the over-involvement of the Sixties to the selective involvement of the Seventies if we do not assist our friends to make the transition with us.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

In the Nixon Doctrine, therefore, we define our interests and commitments realistically and clearly; we offer, not an abdication of leadership, but more rational and responsible leadership.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We pledge that, under Republican leadership, the United States will remain a leader in international affairs. We will continue to shape our involvement abroad to national objectives and realities in order to sustain a strong, effective American role in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

Over time we hope this role will eventually lead the peace-loving nations to undertake an exhaustive, coordinated analysis of the root causes of war and the most promising paths of peace, so that those causes may in time be removed and the prospects for enduring peace strengthened year by year.

Peace in the 1970's

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We stand with our President for his strategy for Peace—a strategy of national strength, a new sense of international partnership, a willingness to negotiate international differences.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We will strengthen our relationships with our allies, recognizing them as full-fledged partners in securing the peace and promoting the common well being.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

With our adversaries, we will continue to negotiate in order to improve our security, reduce tension, and extend the realm of cooperation. Especially important is continued negotiation to maintain the momentum established by the Strategic Arms Limitation agreements to limit offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems and further to reduce the danger of nuclear conflict. In addition, we will encourage increased trade for the benefit of our consumers, businessmen, workers, and farmers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

Along with NATO allies, we will seek agreement with the Warsaw Pact nations on a mutual and balanced reduction of military forces in Europe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We will press for expansion of contacts with the people of Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China, so long isolated from most of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We will continue to seek a settlement of the Vietnam war which will permit the people of Southeast Asia to live in peace under political arrangements of their own choosing. We take specific note of the remaining major obstacle to settlement—Hanoi's demand that the United States overthrow the Saigon government and impose a Communist-dominated government on the South Vietnamese. We stand unequivocally at the side of the President in his effort to negotiate honorable terms, and in his refusal to accept terms which would dishonor this country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We commend his refusal to perform this act of betrayal—and we most emphatically say the President of the United States should not go begging to Hanoi. We believe that the President's proposal to withdraw remaining American forces from Vietnam four months after an internationally supervised cease-fire has gone into effect throughout Indochina and all prisoners have been returned is as generous an offer as can be made by anyone—by anyone, that is, who is not bemused with surrender—by anyone who seeks, not a fleeting peace at whatever cost, but a real peace that will be both just and lasting.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We will keep faith with American prisoners of war held by the enemy, and we will keep faith, too, with their families here at home who have demonstrated remarkable courage and fortitude over long periods of uncertainty. We will never agree to leave the fate of our men unclear, dependent upon a cruel enemy's whim. On the contrary-we insist that, before all American forces are withdrawn from Vietnam, American prisoners must be returned and a full accounting made of the missing in action and of those who have died in enemy hands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We pledge that upon repatriation our returned prisoners will be received in a manner befitting their valor and sacrifice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.850

We applaud the Administration's program to assure each returned prisoner the finest medical care, personal counseling, social services and career orientation. This around-the-clock personal [p.851] service will ease their reintegration into American life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

North Vietnam's violation of the Geneva Convention in its treatment of our prisoners of war has called forth condemnation from leaders around the world—but not by our political opposition at home. We denounce the enemy's flagrant breach of international law and common decency. We will continue to demand full implementation of the rights of the prisoners.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

If North Vietnam continues obdurately to reject peace by negotiation, we shall nevertheless achieve peace for our country through the successful program of Vietnamization, phasing out our involvement as our ally strengthens his defense against aggression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

In the Middle East, we initiated arrangements leading to a cease-fire which has prevailed for two years. We pledge every effort to transform the cease-fire into lasting peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

Since World War II, our country has played the major role in the international effort to assist the developing countries of the world. Reform of our foreign assistance program, to induce a greater international sharing of the aid effort, is long overdue. The reforms proposed by the President have been approved only in part. We call for further reforms to make our aid more effective and protect the taxpayer's interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

We stand for an equitable, non-discriminatory immigration policy, reaffirming our support of the principles of the 1965 Immigration Act—non-discrimination against national origins, reunification of families, and the selective admission of the specially talented. The immigration process must be just and orderly, and we will increase our efforts to halt the illegal entry of aliens into the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

We also pledge to strengthen the agencies of international cooperation. We will help multilateral organizations focus on international issues affecting the quality of life—for example the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and the protection of man's cultural heritage and freedom of communication, as well as drug abuse, pollution, overpopulation, exploitation of the oceans and sea-beds, aircraft hijacking and international crime. We will seek to improve the performance of the United Nations, including more objective leadership. We support a more equitable sharing of the costs of international organizations and have serious concerns over the delinquency of many UN members in meeting their financial obligations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

Our country, which from its beginnings has proclaimed that all men are endowed with certain rights, cannot be indifferent to the denial of human rights anywhere in the world. We deplore oppression and persecution, the inevitable hallmarks of despotic systems of rule. We will continue to strive to bring them to an end, both to reestablish the right of self-determination and to encourage where and when possible the political freedom of subjugated peoples everywhere in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

We firmly support the right of all persons to emigrate from any country, and we have consistently upheld that doctrine. We are fully aware of and share the concern of many citizens for the plight of Soviet Jews with regard to their freedoms and emigration. This view, together with our commitment to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, was made known to Soviet leaders during the President's discussions in Moscow.

The Middle East

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

We support the right of Israel and its courageous people to survive and prosper in peace. We have sought a stable peace for the Middle East and helped to obtain a cease-fire which contained the tragic conflict. We will help in any way possible to bring Israel and the Arab states to the conference table, where they may negotiate a lasting peace. We will continue to act to prevent the development of a military imbalance which would imperil peace in the region and elsewhere by providing Israel with support essential for her security, including aircraft, training and modern and sophisticated military equipment, and also by helping friendly Arab governments and peoples, including support for their efforts to diminish their dependence on outside powers. We support programs of economic assistance to Israel pursued by President Nixon that have helped her achieve a nine-per cent annual economic growth rate. This and the special refugee assistance ordered by the President have also helped to provide resettlement for the thousands of immigrants seeking refuge in Israel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.851

We will maintain our technical forces in Europe and the Mediterranean area at adequate strength and high levels of efficiency. The irresponsible [p.852] proposals of our political opposition to slash the defense forces of the United States-specifically, by cutting the strength of our fleet, by reducing our aircraft carriers from 16 to six and by unilateral withdrawals from Europe—would increase the threat of war in the Middle East and gravely menace Israel. We flatly reject these dangerous proposals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

With a settlement fair to all nations of the Middle East, there would be an opportunity for their peoples to look ahead to shared opportunities rather than backward to rancorous animosities. In a new environment of cooperation, Israel will be able to contribute much to economic renaissance in the Mid-East crossroads of the world.

The Atlantic Community

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

We place high priority on the strengthening of the North Atlantic Alliance. One of the President's first initiatives was to visit Western European capitals to reinvigorate the NATO alliance and indicate its importance in U.S. foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

Right now, with plaintive cries of "come home America" echoing a new isolationism, the Republican Party states its firm belief that no nation can be an island or a fortress unto itself. Now, more than ever, there is need for interdependence among proven friends and old allies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

The North Atlantic Alliance remains the strongest most successful peacetime association ever formed among a group of free nations. The continued strengthening of the Alliance will remain an important clement in the foreign policies of the second Nixon Administration.

Japan

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

During the 1960's a number of economic and political issues developed in our country's relations with Japan, our major ally in Asia. To resolve these, President Nixon terminated our responsibility for the administration of Okinawa and initiated action to reduce our trade deficit with Japan. We are consulting closely to harmonize our two countries' separate efforts to normalize relations with Peking. In these ways we have shifted our vital alliance with Japan to a more sustainable basis for the long term, recognizing that the maintenance of United States-Japanese friendship advances the interests of both countries.

The Soviet Union

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

Over many years our relations with the Soviet Nation have oscillated between superficial improvements and new crises. False hopes have been repeatedly followed by disillusioned confrontation. In the closing months of 1968, our relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated steadily, forcing the cancellation of a scheduled Presidential visit to Moscow and immobilizing projected negotiations on strategic arms limitation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

President Nixon immediately began the difficult task of building a new relationship—one based on a realistic acceptance of the profound differences in the values and systems of our two nations. He moved decisively on key issues—such as the Berlin problem and strategic arms limitation—so that progress in one area would add momentum to progress in other areas. The success of these efforts was demonstrated at the summit in Moscow. Agreements were reached on new areas of cooperation—public health, environmental control, space exploration and trade. The first historic agreements limiting strategic arms were signed last May 26 in Moscow, and the Soviet Union subscribed to a broad declaration of principles governing our relations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

We pledge to build upon these promising beginnings in reorienting relations between the world's strongest nuclear powers to establish a truly lasting peace.

China

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

In the 1960's it seemed beyond possibility that the United States could dispel the ingrained hostility and confrontation with the China mainland. President Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China was, therefore, an historic milestone in his effort to transform our era from one of confrontation to one of negotiation. While profound differences remain between the United States and China, at least a generation of hostility has been replaced by frank discussions. In February 1972 rules of international conduct were agreed upon which should make the Pacific region a more peaceful area now and in the future. Both the People's Republic and the United States affirmed the usefulness of promoting trade and cultural exchanges as ways of improving understanding between our two peoples.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.852

All this is being done without affecting our mutual defense treaty or our continued diplomatic [p.853] relations with our valued friend and ally on Taiwan, the Republic of China.

Latin America

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Our common long-range interests, as well as history and geography, give the relations among nations of the Western Hemisphere a special importance. We will foster a more mature partnership among the nations of this hemisphere, with a wider sharing of ideas and responsibility, a broader understanding of diversities, and firm commitment to the common pursuit of economic progress and social justice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

We believe the continuing campaign by Cuba to foment violence and support subversion in other countries makes it ineligible for readmission to the community of American states. We look forward to the day when changes in Cuba's policies will justify its re-entry into the American community—and to the day when the Cuban people achieve again their freedom and their true independence.

Africa

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Our ties with Africa are rooted in the heritage of many Americans and in our historic commitment to self-determination. We respect the hard-earned sovereignty of Africa's new states and will continue to do our utmost to make a meaningful contribution to their development. We have no illusions that the United States can single-handedly solve the seemingly intractable problems of apartheid and minority rule, but we can and will encourage non-violent, evolutionary change by supporting international efforts peacefully to resolve the problems of southern Africa and by maintaining our contacts with all races on the Continent.

Defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

We believe in keeping America strong. In times past, both major parties shared that belief. Today this view is under attack by militants newly in control of the Democratic Party. To the alarm of free nations everywhere, the New Democratic Left now would undercut our defenses and have America retreat into virtual isolation, leaving us weak in a world still not free of aggression and threats of aggression. We categorically reject this slash-now, beg-later, approach to defense policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Only a strong America can safely negotiate with adversaries. Only a strong America can fashion partnerships for peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

President Nixon has given the American people their best opportunity in this century to achieve lasting peace. The foundations are well laid. By adhering to a defense policy based on strength at home, partnership abroad and a willingness to negotiate everywhere, we hold that lasting peace is now achievable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

We will surely fail if we go crawling to the conference table. Military weakness is not the path to peace; it is invitation to war.

A Modern, Well-Equipped Force

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

We believe that the first prerequisite of national security is a modern, well-equipped armed force. From 1965 to 1969 the Vietnam war so absorbed the resources of the Defense Department that maintenance, modernization, and research and development fell into neglect. In the late 1960's the Soviet Union outspent the United States by billions of dollars for force modernization, facing the United States with the dangerous prospect that its forces would soon be qualitatively inferior. Our Reserve Forces and the National Guard had become a dumping ground for cast-off arms and equipment. The military posture of our country became seriously undermined.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

To assure our strength and counter the mounting Soviet threat, President Nixon directed:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

The most significant ship construction and modernization program since World War II;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

The development of new types of tactical aircraft such as the F-155, a lightweight fighter, and a fighter plane for close support of ground troops;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Improvements in our strategic bomber force and development of the new B-1 strategic bomber;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Development of a new Trident submarine and undersea missile system;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Greatly increasing the capability of existing strategic missiles through multiple warheads;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Strengthening of strategic defenses, including initial deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

The largest research and development budget in history to insure continued technological superiority;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Equipping of the National Guard and Reserves with the most modern and sophisticated weapons;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.853

Improved command and control communications systems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

[p.854] We draw a sharp distinction between prudent reductions in defense spending and the meat-ax slashes with which some Americans are now beguiled by the political opposition. Specifically, we oppose plans to stop the Minuteman III and Poseidon programs, reduce the strategic bomber force by some 60 per cent, cancel the B-1 bomber, reduce aircraft carriers from 16 to 6, reduce tactical air wings by a third, and unilaterally reduce U.S. forces in Europe by half.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

These slashes are worse than misguided; they are dangerous.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

They world torpedo negotiations on arms and troop reductions, create a crisis of confidence with our allies, damage our own industrial and technological capacity, destabilize Europe and the Middle East, and directly endanger the nation's security.

A New Partnership

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

The Nixon Doctrine has led to a new military strategy of realistic deterrence. Its essence is the sharing of the responsibilities and the burdens of defense. The strategy is based on the efficient utilization of the total force available—our own and our allies', and our civilian reserve elements as well as our regular forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

For years our country shouldered the responsibility for the defense of other nations. There were fears that we were attempting to be the policeman of the world. Our country found it necessary to maintain a military force of 3.5 million persons, more than a million overseas at 2,270 installations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

A new partnership is emerging between the United States and other nations of the free world. Other countries are assuming a much greater responsibility for the common defense. Twice in the last two years our European allies have agreed to substantial increases in their support fear NATO forces. In Asia we have been heartened by the efforts of the Koreans, Vietnamese, Thais, Nationalist Chinese, Australians, New Zealanders and others who have sought improvements in their own forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

We have been able to reduce our military forces by more than one million men and women. We have cut by half the number deployed overseas, reduced overseas installations by more than 10 per cent, and sharply reduced the economic burden of defense spending from the Vietnam high. All this has been done by virtue of our new security posture, without impairing our own or our allies' security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

We pledge to press on toward a lasting peace. To that end we declare ourselves unalterably opposed to a unilateral slash of our military power, and we reject a whimpering "come back America" retreat into isolationism.

An All-Volunteer Armed Force

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

We wholeheartedly support an all-volunteer armed force and are proud to our historic initiatives to bring it to pass.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

Four years ago, the President pledged to work toward an early end of the draft that promise has been kept. Today we approach a zero draft that will enlarge the personal freedom of millions of young Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

Prior to 1969, annual draft calls exceeded 300,000. The Selective Service System was inequitable in operation, and its rules caused prolonged uncertainty for young men awaiting call.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

Since 1969, the Selective Service System has been thoroughly reorganized, and local draft hostels are more representative than ever before. Today draftees are called by random selection of the youngest first, so that the maximum length of vulnerability is no longer seven years but one year only. Youth advisory committees are in operation all across the country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

Of critical importance, we are nearing the elimination of draft calls altogether. In every year since 1968, draft calls have been reduced. Monthly draft calls are now down to a few thousand, and no draftees are sent involuntarily to Vietnam. We expect to achieve our goal by July 1973. Then, for the first time in a quarter-century, we hope and expect that young Americans of all ages will be free from conscription.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

Our political opponents have talked for years of their concern for young people. It is our Republican Administration that has taken the strong, effective action required to end the draft, with its many hardships and uncertainties for the youth of America.

Improvements in Service Life

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.854

We believe that the men and women in the uniformed services deserve the gratitude and respect of all Americans and are entitled to better treatment than received in the past.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

For years most servicemen have been under-paid, [p.855] harassed with restrictions, and afforded few opportunities for self-development. Construction of military housing was allowed to fall badly behind.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

Since 1968 improvements in service life have been many and major:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

The largest pay raises in military history have been enacted. While increases have been in all grades, the largest have gone to new recruits whose base pay will have risen more than 300 per cent by the end of this year.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

Construction of new housing for military personnel and their families has increased sixfold since January 1969.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

Without sacrificing discipline, needlessly harsh, irksome and demeaning practices of the past have been abandoned.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

An effective program against dangerous drugs has been initiated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

Educational and training opportunities have been expanded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

Major strides have been made toward wiping out the last vestiges of racial discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We regard these tasks as never completed, but we are well on the way and pledge ourselves to press forward assuring all men and women in the armed forces rewarding careers.

Better Defense Management

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

In the 1960's, the Department of Defense became administratively top-heavy and inefficient. The acquisition of new weapons systems was handled with inadequate attention to cost or performance, and there was little recognition of the truman dimensions of the Department. Morale was low.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

Our improvements have been many and substantial. Healthy decentralization has taken place. The methods of acquiring new weapons systems have been reformed by such procedures as "fly before you buy," the use of prototypes and the elimination of frills. Service personnel and civilian employees are now treated as the most important asset of the Department.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We have sharply reduced defense spending. In 1968, 45 per cent of the Federal budget was spent for defense and 32 per cent for human resources. In the 1973 budget the proportions were reversed—45 per cent for human resources, 32 per cent for defense. The 1973 defense budget imposes the smallest economic burden on the country of any defense budget in more than 20 years, consuming only 6.4 per cent of the estimated Gross National Product.

Arms Limitation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We believe in limiting arms—not unilaterally, but by mutual agreement and with adequate safeguards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

When the Nixon Administration began, the Soviet Union was rapidly building its strategic armaments, and any effort to negotiate limitations on such weapons seemed hopeless. The Soviet buildup threatened the efficacy of our strategic deterrent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

The Nixon years have achieved a great breakthrough in the long-term effort to curb major armaments by international agreement and given new momentum to arms limitations generally. Of greatest importance were agreements with the Soviet leaders to limit offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. The SALT accords established mutually agreed restraints between the United States and the Soviet Union and reduced tensions throughout the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

With approval of the SALT agreements by the Congress, negotiations will be resumed to place further restrictions on nuclear weapons, and talks will begin on mutual, balanced force reductions in Europe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We believe it is imperative that these negotiations go forward under President Nixon's continuing leadership. We pledge him our full support.

For the Future

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We will continue the sound military policies laid down by the President—policies which guard our interests but do not dissipate our resources in vain efforts to police the world. As stated by the President:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We will maintain a nuclear deterrent adequate to meet any threat to the security of the United States or of our allies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We will help other nations develop the capability of defending themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We will faithfully honor all of our treaty commitments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We will act to defend our interests whenever and wherever they are threatened.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

But where our vital interests or treaty commitments are not involved our role will be limited.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.855

We are proud of the men and women who wear our country's uniform, especially of those [p.856] who have borne the burden of fighting a difficult and unpopular war. Here and now we reject all proposals to grant amnesty to those who have broken the law by evading military service. We reject the claim that those who fled are more deserving, or obeyed a higher morality, than those next in line who served in their places.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

In carrying out our defense policies, we pledge to maintain at all times the level of military strength required to deter conflict, to honor our commitments to our allies, and to protect our people and vital interests against all foreign threats. We will not let America become a second-class power, dependent for survival on the good will of adversaries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

We will continue to pursue arms control agreements—but we recognize that this can be successful only if we maintain sufficient strength and will fail if we allow ourselves to slip into inferiority.

A New Prosperity

Jobs, Inflation and the Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

The goal of our Party is prosperity, widely shared, sustainable in peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

We stand for full employment a job for everyone willing and able to work in an economy freed of inflation, its vigor not dependent upon war or massive military spending.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

Under the President's leadership our country is once again moving toward these peacetime goals. We have checked the inflation which had started to skyrocket when our Administration took office, making the difficult transition from inflation toward price stability and from war toward peace. We have brought about a rapid rise in both employment and in real income, and laid the basis for a continuing decline in the rate of unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

All Americans painfully recall the grave economic troubles we faced in January 1969. The Federal budget in fiscal 1968 had a deficit of more than $25 billion even though the economy was operating at capacity. Predictably, consumer prices soared by an annual rate of 6.6 per cent in the first quarter of 1969. "Jawboning" or labor and business had utterly failed. The inevitable tax increase had come too late. The kaleidoscope of "Great Society" programs added to the inflationary fires. Our international competitive position slumped from a trade surplus of $7 billion in 1964 to $800 million in 1968. Foreign confidence in the value of the dollar plummeted.

Strategies and Achievements

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

Our Administration took these problems head on, accepting the unpopular tasks of holding down the budget, extending the temporary tax surcharge, and checking inflation. We welcomed the challenge of reorienting the economy from war to peace, as the more than two and one-half million Americans serving the military or working in defense-related industries had to be assimilated into the peacetime work force.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

At the same time, we kept the inflation fight and defense employment cuts from triggering a recession.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

The struggle to restore the health of our nation's economy required a variety of measures. Most important, the Administration developed and applied sound economic and monetary policies which provided the fundamental thrust against inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

To supplement these basic policies, Inflation Alerts were published; a new National Commission on Productivity enlisted labor, business and public leaders against inflation and in raising real incomes through increased output per worker; proposed price increases in lumber, petroleum, steel and other commodities were modified. A new Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, with the cooperation of unions and management, braked the dangerously skyrocketing costs in the construction industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

Positive results from these efforts were swift and substantial. The rate of inflation, more than 6 per cent in early 1969, declined to less than 4 per cent in early 1971.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

Even so, the economic damage inflicted by past excesses had cut so deeply as to make a timely recovery impossible, forcing the temporary use of wage and price controls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

These controls were extraordinary measures, not needed in a healthy free economy, last needed temporarily to recapture lost stability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

Our mix of policies has worked. The nation's economic growth is once again strong and steady.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

The rate of increase of consumer prices is now down to 2.7 per cent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.856

On the employment front, expenditures for manpower programs were increased from $2.3 billion to a planned $5.1 billion; new enrollees receiving [p.857] training or employment under these programs were increased by more than half a million; computerized job banks were established in all cities; more than a million young people received jobs this summer through Federal programs, 50 per cent more than last year; engineers, scientists and technicians displaced by defense reductions were given assistance under the nation-wide Technology Mobilization and Reemployment program; 13 additional weeks of unemployment compensation were authorized; and a Special Revenue Sharing Program for Manpower was proposed to train more people for more jobs—a program still shelved by the opposition Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

Civilian employment increased at an annual rate of about 2.4 million from August 1971 to July 1972. Almost four and one-half million new civilian jobs have been added since President Nixon took office, and total employment is at its highest level in history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

The total productive output of this country increased at an annual rate of 9.4 per cent in the second quarter of 1972, the highest in many years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

Workers' real weekly take-home pay—the real value left after taxes and inflation—is increasing at an annual rate of 4.5 per cent, compared to less than one per cent from 1960 to 1970. For the first time in six years real spendable income is going up, while the rate of inflation has been cut in half. Time lost from strikes is at the lowest level in many years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

The rate of unemployment has been reduced from 6.1 per cent to 5.5 per cent, lower than the average from 1961 through 1964 before the Vietnam buildup began, and is being steadily driven down.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

In negotiation with other countries we have re-valued the dollar relative to other currencies, helping to increase sales at home and abroad and increasing the number of jobs. We have initiated a reform of the international monetary and trading system and made clear our determination that this reform must lead to a strong United States position in the balance of trade and payments.

The Road Ahead

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We will continue to pursue sound economic policies that will eliminate inflation, further cut unemployment, raise real incomes, and strengthen our international economic position.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We will fight for responsible Federal budgets to help assure steady expansion of the economy without inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We will support the independent Federal Reserve Board in a policy of non-inflationary monetary expansion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We have already removed some temporary controls on wages and prices and will remove them all once the economic distortions spawned in the late 1960's are repaired. We are determined to return to an unfettered economy at the earliest possible moment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We reaffirm our support for the basic principles of capitalism which underlie the private enterprise system of the United States. At a time when a small but dominant faction of the opposition Party is pressing for radical economic schemes which so often have failed around the world, we hold that nothing has done more to help the American people achieve their unmatched standard of living than the free-enterprise system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

It is our conviction that government of itself cannot produce the benefits to individuals that flow from our unique combination of labor, management and capital.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We will continue to promote steady expansion of the whole economy as the best route to a long-term solution of unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We will devote every effort to raising productivity, primarily to raise living standards but also to hold down costs and prices and to increase the ability of American producers and workers to compete in world markets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

In economic policy decisions, including tax revisions, we will emphasize incentives to work, innovate and invest; and research and development will have our full support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We are determined to improve Federal manpower programs to reduce unemployment and increase productivity by providing better information on job openings and more relevant job training. Additionally, we reaffirm our commitment to removing barriers to a full life for the mentally and physically handicapped, especially the barriers to rewarding employment. We commit ourselves to the full educational opportunities and the humane care, treatment and rehabilitation services necessary for the handicapped to become fully integrated into the social and economic main-stream.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.857

We will press on for greater competition in our economy. The energetic antitrust program of the past four years demonstrates our commitment to [p.858] free competition as our basic policy. The Antitrust Division has moved decisively to invalidate those "conglomerate" mergers which stifle competition and discourage economic concentration. The 87 antitrust cases filed in fiscal year 1972 broke the previous one-year record of more than a decade ago, during another Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

We will pursue the start we have made for reform of the international monetary and trading system, insisting on fair and equal treatment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

Since the 1930's it has been illegal for United States citizens to own gold. We believe it is time to reconsider that policy. The right of American citizens to buy, hold, or sell gold should be re-established as soon as this is feasible. Review of the present policy should, of course, take account of our basic objective of achieving a strengthened world monetary system.

Taxes and Government Spending

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

We pledge to spread the tax burden equitably, to spend the Federal revenues prudently, to guard against waste in spending, to eliminate unnecessary programs, and to make sure that each dollar spent for essential government services buys a dollar's worth of value.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

Federal deficit spending beyond the balance of the full employment budget is one sure way to refuel inflation, and the prime source of such spending is the United States Congress. Because of its present procedures and particularly because of its present political leadership, Congress is not handling Federal fiscal policies in a responsible manner. The Congress now permits its legislative committees—instead of its fiscal committees—to decide, independently of each other, how much should be devoted to individual programs. Total Federal spending is thus haphazard and uncontrolled. We pledge vigorous efforts to reform the Congressional budgeting process.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

As an immediate first step, we believe the Nation needs a rigid spending ceiling on Federal outlays each fiscal year—a ceiling controlling both the executive branch and the Congress—as President Nixon strongly recommended when he submitted his fiscal 1973 budget. Should the total of all appropriations exceed the ceiling, some or all of them would be reduced by Executive action to bring the total within the ceiling.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

Our tax system needs continual, timely reform. Early in this Administration we achieved the first comprehensive tax reform since 1954. The record shows that as a result of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 and the Revenue Act of 1971:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

9.5 million low-income Americans are removed from the Federal income tax rolls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

Persons in the lowest income tax bracket will pay 82 per cent less this year than they would have paid, had the 1969 and 1971 tax reforms not been enacted; those in the $10,000 to $15,000 income range will pay 13 per cent less, and those with incomes above $100,000 will pay about 7 per cent more.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

This year the tax reduction for a family of four earning $7,500 a year will be $270.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

In this fiscal year individual taxpayers will pay $22 billion less in Federal income taxes than they would have paid if the old tax rates and structures were still in force.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

The tax disadvantage of single taxpayers is sharply reduced and we urge further changes to assure full equality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

Working parents can now deduct more of their costs for the care of their children during working hours.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

The seven per cent automobile excise tax is repealed, saving the new-car buyer an average of $200 and creating more jobs in that part of the economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

This is sound tax reform, the kind that more equitably spreads the tax burden and avoids incentive-destroying tax levels which would cripple the economy and put people out of work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

We reject the deceitful tax "reform" cynically represented as one that would soak the rich, but in fact one that would sharply raise the taxes of millions of families in middle-income brackets as well. We reject as well the lavish spending promised by the opposition Party which would more than double the present budget of the United States Government. This, too, would cause runaway inflation or force heavy increases in personal taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

Taxes and government spending are inseparable. Only if the taxpayers' money is prudently managed can taxes be kept at reasonable levels.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.858

When our Administration took office, Federal spending had been mounting at an average annual rate of 17 per cent—a rate we have cut almost in half. We urge the Congress to serve all Americans by cooperating with the President in his efforts to curb increases in Federal spending—increases which will ordain more taxes or more inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

Since 1969 we have eliminated over $5 billion [p.859] of spending on unneeded domestic and defense programs. This large saving would have been larger still, had Congress passed the Federal Economy Act of 1970 which would have discontinued other programs. We pledge to continue our efforts to purge the Government of these wasteful activities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

Tax reform must continue. During the next session of Congress we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

To pursue such policies as Revenue Sharing that will allow property tax relief;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

Further tax reform to ensure that the tax burden is fairly shared;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

A simplified tax system to make it easier for all of us to pay no more and no less than we rightly owe;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

Prudent fiscal management, including the elimination of unnecessary or obsolete programs, to keep the tax burden to a minimum.

International Economic Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

In tandem with our foreign policy innovations, we have transformed our international economic policy into a dynamic instrument to advance the interests of farmers, workers, businessmen and consumers. These efforts are designed to make the products of American workers and farmers more competitive in the world. Within the last year we achieved the Smithsonian Agreements which re-valued our currency, making our exports more competitive with those of our major trading partners, and we pledge continuing negotiations further to reform the international monetary system. We also established negotiations to expand foreign market access for products produced by United States workers, with further comprehensive negotiations committed for 1973.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

As part of our effort to begin a new era of negotiations, we are expanding trade opportunities and the jobs related to them for American workers and businessmen. The President's Summit negotiations for example, yielded an agreement for the Soviet purchase, over a three-year period, of a minimum of $750 million in United States grains —the largest long-term commercial trade purchase agreement ever made between two nations. This amounts to a 17-percent increase in grain exports by United States farmers. A U.S.-Soviet Commercial Commission has been established, and negotiations are now underway as both countries seek a general expansion of trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

As we create a more open world market for American exports, we are not unmindful of dangers to American workers and industries from severe and rapid dislocation by changing patterns of trade. We have several agreements to protect these workers and industries—for example, for steel, beef, textiles and shoes. These actions, highly important to key American industries, were taken in ways that avoided retaliation by our trading partners and the resultant loss of American jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

As part of this adjustment process, we pledge improvement of the assistance offered by government to facilitate readjustment on the part of workers, businessmen and affected communities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

In making the world trading system a fairer one, we have vigorously enforced anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws to make them meaningful deterrents to foreign producers who would compete unfairly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

The growth of multinational corporations poses both new problems and new opportunities in trade and investment areas. We pledge to ensure that international investment problems are dealt with fairly and effectively—including consideration of effects on jobs, expropriation and treatment of investors, as well as equitable principles of taxation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

At the same time that we seek a better environment for American exports, we must improve our productivity and competitiveness. We must have a strong domestic economy with increased investment in new plants and equipment and an advancing technology.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

We pledge increased efforts to promote export opportunities, including coordination of tax policy and improved export financing techniques—designed to make America more competitive in exporting. Of critical importance will be new legislative proposals to equip American negotiators with the tools for constructing an open and fair world trading system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

We deplore the practice of locating plants in foreign countries solely to take advantage of low wage rates in order to produce goods primarily fur sale in the United States. We will take action to discourage such unfair and disruptive practices that result in the loss of American jobs.

Small Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.859

Small business, so vital to our economic system, is free enterprise in its purest sense. It holds forth opportunity to the individual, regardless of race or color, to fulfill the American dream. The seedbed [p.860] of innovation and invention, it is the starting point of many of the country's large businesses, and today its roll in our increasingly technological economy is crucial. We pledge to sustain and expand that role.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

We have translated this philosophy into many beneficial actions. Primarily through the Small Business Administration, we have delivered financial assistance to small business at a dramatically increasing rate. Today small business is receiving double the SBA funds it was receiving when our Administration took office. During the 1970-72 fiscal years the Agency loaned small business $3.3 billion—40 per cent of the total amount loaned in the entire 19-year history of the Small Business Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Financial help to minorities has been more than tripled, and now more than 17 per cent of the SBA dollar goes to minority businesses. Procurement of Federal contracts for small business has surged above $12 billion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

In his first year in office, the President established a Task Force to discover ways in which the prospects of the small businessman could be improved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

The findings, reported to Congress, were followed by legislative proposals to give small business tax and interest advantages, to provide incentives for more participation on small business, to make venture capital and long-term credit easier to obtain, and to open the doors for disadvantaged minorities to go into business for themselves. Some of these measures have been signed into law. Others are still in the hands of the indifferent opposition in control of Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

The results of our efforts have been significant. Today small business is once again gaining ground. Incorporations are at a record level and the number of business failures is dropping. The current new growth of small businesses is about 100,000 units a year. For tomorrow, the challenges are many. We will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Continue to fill the capital gap in the small business community by increasing SBA financing to upwards of $3 billion next year.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Provide more incentives for the private sector to join the SBA in direct action programs, such as lease guarantees, revolving lines of credit, and other sophisticated financial techniques, such as factoring and mortgage financing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Increase SBA's Community Development program so that growth-minded communities can help themselves by building industrial parks and shopping centers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Continue the rejuvenation of the Small Business Investment Company (SBIC) program, leading to greater availability of venture capital for new business enterprises.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

See that a fair share of all Federal dollars spent on goods and services goes to small business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Create established secondary financial markets for SBA loans, affording ready liquidity for financial institutions and opening up more financial resources to small firms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Through tax incentives, encourage the start-up of more new businesses, and work for a tax system that more fairly applies to small business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Establish special programs that will permit small firms to comply with consumer, environmental, and other new government regulations without undue financial burden.

Improving the Quality of Life

Health Care

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Our goal is to enable every American to secure quality health care at reasonable cost. We pledge a balanced approach—one that takes into account the problems of providing sufficient medical personnel and facilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

Last year President Nixon proposed one of the most all-inclusive health programs in our history. But the opposition Congress has dragged its feet and most of this program has yet to be enacted into law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

To increase the supply of medical services, we will continue to support programs to help our schools graduate more physicians, dentists, nurses, and allied health personnel, with special emphasis on family practitioners and others who deliver primary medical care.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

We will also encourage the use of such allied personnel as doctors' assistants, foster new area health education centers, channel more services into geographic areas which now are medically deprived, and improve the availability of emergency medical care;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

We note with pride that the President has already signed the most comprehensive health manpower legislation ever enacted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.860

To improve efficiency in providing health and medical care, we have developed and will continue to encourage a pluralistic approach to the delivery of quality health care, including innovative [p.861] experiments such as health maintenance organizations. We also support efforts to develop ambulatory medical care services to reduce hospitalization and keep costs down.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

To reduce the cost of health care, we stress our efforts to curb inflation in the economy; we will also expand the supply of medical services and encourage greater cost consciousness in hospitalization and medical care. In doing this we realize the importance of the doctor-patient relationship and the necessity of insuring that individuals have freedom of choice of health providers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

To assure access to basic medical care for all our people, we support a program financed by employers, employees and the Federal Government to provide comprehensive health insurance coverage, including insurance against the cost of long-term and catastrophic illnesses and accidents and renal failure which necessitates dialysis, at a cost which all Americans can afford. The National Health Insurance Partnership plan and the Family Health Insurance Plan proposed by the President meet these specifications. They would build on existing private health insurance systems, not destroy them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We oppose nationalized compulsory health insurance. This approach would at least triple in taxes the amount the average citizen now pays for health and would deny families the right to choose the kind of care they prefer. Ultimately it would lower the overall quality of health care for all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We believe that the most effective way of improving health in the long run is by emphasis on preventive measures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

The serious physical fitness problem in our country requires urgent attention. The President recently reorganized the Council on Physical Fitness and Sports to increase the leadership of representatives of medicine, physical education, sports associations and school administrations. The Republican Party urges intensification of these efforts, particularly in the Nation's school systems, to encourage widespread participation in effective physical fitness programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We have initiated this Nation's first all-out assault against cancer. Led by the new National Cancer Institute, the drive to eliminate this cruel killer will involve Federal spending of nearly $430 million in fiscal year 1973, almost twice the funding of just two years ago.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We have also launched a major new attack on sickle cell anemia, a serious blood disorder afflicting many black Americans, and developed a comprehensive program to deal with the menace of lead-based paint poisoning, including the screening of approximately 1,500,000 Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We support expanded medical research to find cures for the major diseases of the heart, blood vessels, lungs and kidneys—diseases which now account for over half the deaths in the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We have significantly advanced efforts to combat mental retardation and established a national goal to cut its incidence in half by the year 2000.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We continue to support the concept of comprehensive community mental health centers. In this fiscal year $135 million—almost three times the 1970 level—will be devoted to the staffing of 422 community mental health centers serving a population of 56 million people. We have intensified research on methods of treating mental problems, increasing our outlays from $76 million in 1969 to approximately $96 million for 1973. We continue to urge extension of private health insurance to cover mental illness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We have also improved consumer protection, health education and accident prevention programs. And in Moscow this year, President Nixon reached an agreement with the Soviet Union on health research which may yield substantial benefits in many fields in the years ahead.

Education

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

We take pride in our leadership these last four years in lifting both quality and equality in American education—from pre-school to graduate school —working toward higher standards than ever before.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

Our two most pressing needs in the 1970's are the provision of quality education for all children, an equitable financing of steadily rising costs. We pledge our best efforts to deal effectively with both.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.861

Months ago President Nixon sent Congress a two-part comprehensive proposal on school busing. The first is the Student Transportation Moratorium Act of 1972—legislation to halt immediately all further court-ordered busing and give Congress time to devise permanent new arrangements for assuring desegregated, quality education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

The details of such arrangements are spelled [p.862] out in a companion bill, the Equal Educational Opportunities Act. This measure would:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

Provide $2.5 billion in Federal aid funds to help promote quality education while preserving neighborhood schools;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

Accord equal educational opportunities to all children;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

Include an educational bill of rights for Spanish-speaking people, American Indians, and others who face special language problems in schools;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

Offer, for the first time, a real chance for good schooling for the hundreds of thousands of children who live in urban centers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

Assure that the people's elected representatives in Congress play their proper role in developing specific methods for protecting the rights guaranteed by the 14th amendment, rather than leaving this task to judges appointed for life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

We are committed to guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity and to completing the process of ending de jure school segregation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

At the same time, we are irrevocably opposed to busing for racial balance. Such busing fails its stated objective—improved learning opportunities —while it achieves results no one wants—division within communities and hostility between classes and races. We regard it as unnecessary, counter-productive and wrong.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

We favor better education for all children, not more transportation for some children. We favor the neighborhood school concept. We favor the decisive actions the President has proposed to support these ends. If it is necessary to accomplish these purposes, we would favor consideration of an appropriate amendment to the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

In the field of school finance, we favor a coordinated effort among all levels of government to break the pattern of excessive reliance on local property taxes to pay educational costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

Our nation's intellectual resources are remarkable for their strength and public availability, American intellectuals have at least two important historical roles of which we are deeply conscious. One is to inform the public, the other is to assist government by thoughtful criticism and consultation. We affirm our confidence in these functions and especially in the free play of ideas and discourse which they imply.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

We cherish the nation's universities as centers of learning, as conservers of our culture, and as analysts of our society and its institutions. We will continue to strive to assure their economic well-being. The financial aid we have given and will continue to give in the form of funds for scholarships, research, building programs and new teaching methods must never be used as a device for imposing political controls on our schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

We believe that universities should be centers of excellence-that they should recruit faculty on the basis of ability to teach and admit students on the basis of ability to learn. Yet, excellence can be too narrowly confined—abilities overlooked, and social conformity mistaken for educational preparation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

We pledge continued support of collegiate and university efforts to insure that no group in our society—racial, economic, sexual or regional—is denied access to the opportunities of higher education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

Our efforts to remedy ancient neglect of disadvantaged groups will continue in universities as well as in society at large, but we distinguish between such efforts and quotas. We believe the imposition of arbitrary quotas in the hiring of faculties or the enrollment of students has no place in our universities; we believe quotas strike at the excellence of the university.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

We recognize that the public should have access to the most rational and most effective kinds of education. Vocational training should be available to both young and old. We emphasize the importance of continuing education, of trades and technologies, and of all the honorable vocations which provide the society with its basic necessities. Such training must complement our more traditional forms of education; it will relieve the pressures on our universities and help us adapt to the rapid pace of technological change. Perhaps most important, it will help to restore a public sense, of importance to these essential jobs and trades.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.862

Moreover, we believe our educational system should not instruct in a vacuum, unmindful that the students ultimately will engage in a career. Our institutions of learning, from earliest years to graduate schools, can perform a vital function by coupling an awareness of the world of work to the delivery of fundamental education. We believe this kind of career education, blended into our school curricula, can help to prevent the aimlessness and frustration now experienced by large numbers of young people who leave the education system unable to cope with today's complex society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

[p.863] In recognizing the fundamental necessity for quality education of all children, including the exceptional child, we recommend research and assistance in programs directed to the problems of dyslectic and hyperkinetic children who represent an estimated ten per cent of the school population.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

By every measure, our record in the field of education is exceptionally strong. The United States Office of Education is operating this year under its highest budget ever—$5.1 billion. Federal aid to elementary and secondary education has increased 60 per cent over the past four years. Federal aid for college students has more than tripled.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

We are proud of these accomplishments. We pledge to carry them forward in a manner consistent with our conviction that the Federal Government should assist but never control the educational process. But we also believe that the output of results, not the input of dollars, is the best yardstick of effectiveness in education. When this Administration took office in 1969, it found American schools deficient at many points. Our reform initiatives have included:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

An Office of Child Development to coordinate all Federal programs targeted on the first five years of life and to make the Head Start Program work better;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

A Right to Read Program, aimed at massive gains in reading ability among Americans of all ages;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

A Career Education curriculum which will help to prepare students for the world of work;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

A National Institute of Education to be a center for research on the learning process; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

A proposed National Foundation for Higher Education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

We have also proposed grant and loan programs to support a national commitment that no qualified student should be barred from college by lack of money. The Education Amendment of 1972 embodied substantial portions of that proposal and marked the Nation's most far-reaching commitment to make higher education available to all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

Our non-public schools, both church-oriented and nonsectarian, have been our special concern. The President has emphasized the indispensable role these schools play in our educational system—from the standpoints of the large numbers of pupils they serve, the competition and diversity they help to maintain in American education, and the values they help to teach-and he has stated his determination to help halt the accelerating trend of nonpublic school closures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

We believe that means which are consistent with the Constitution can be devised for channeling public financial aid to support the education of all children in schools of their parents' choice, non-public as well as public. One way to provide such aid appears to be through the granting of income tax credits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

For the future, we also pledge Special Revenue Sharing for Education, continued work to develop and implement the Career Education concept, and continued efforts to establish a student financial aid system to bring together higher education within the reach of any qualified person.

Welfare Reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

The Nation's welfare system is a mess. It simply must be reformed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

This system, essentially unchanged since the 1930's has turned into a human and fiscal nightmare. It penalizes the poor. It provides discriminatory benefits. It kills any incentives its victims might have to work their way out of the morass.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

Among its victims are the taxpayers. Since 1961 the Federal cost of welfare has skyrocketed over 10 times—from slightly over $1 billion then to more than $11 billion now. State and local costs add to this gigantic expenditure. And here are things we are paying for:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

The present system drains work incentive from the employed poor, as they see welfare families making as much or more on the dole.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

Its discriminatory benefits continue to ensnare the needy, aged, blind and disabled in a web of inefficient rules and economic contradictions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

It continues to break up poor families, since a father's presence makes his family ineligible for benefits in many States. Its dehumanizing lifestyle thus threatens to envelop yet another "welfare generation."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

Its injustices and costs threaten to alienate taxpayer support for welfare programs of any kind.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

Perhaps nowhere else is there a greater contrast in policy and philosophy than between the Administration's remedy for the welfare ills and the financial orgy proposed by our political opposition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.863

President Nixon proposed to change our welfare system "to provide each person with a means [p.864] of escape from welfare into dignity." His goals were these:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

A decent level of payment to genuinely needy welfare recipients regardless of where they live. Incentives not to loaf, but to work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Requiring all adults who apply for welfare to register for work and job training and to accept work or training. The only exceptions would be the aged, blind and disabled and mothers of preschool children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Expanding job training and child care facilities so that recipients can accept employment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Temporary supplements to the incomes of the working poor to enable them to support their families while continuing to work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Uniform Federal payment standards for all welfare recipients.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

In companion actions, our efforts to improve the nutrition of poor people resulted in basic reforms in the Food Stamp Program. The number of recipients increased from some three million to 13 million, and now 8.4 million needy children participate in the School Lunch Program, almost three times the number that participated in 1968.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Now, nearly 10,000 nutrition aides work in low-income communities, in 1968 there were none.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Since 1969, we have increased the Federal support for family planning threefold. We will continue to support expanded family planning programs and will foster research in this area so that more parents will be better able to plan the number and spacing of their children should they wish to do so. Under no circumstances will we allow any of these programs to become compulsory or infringe upon the religious conviction or personal freedom of any individual.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

We all feel compassion for those who through no fault of their own cannot adequately care for themselves. We all want to help these men, women and children achieve a decent standard of living and become self-supporting.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

We continue to insist, however, that there are too many people on this country's welfare rolls who should not be there. With effective cooperation from the Congress, we pledge to stop these abuses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

We flatly oppose programs or policies which embrace the principle of a government-guaranteed income, We reject as unconscionable the idea that all citizens have the right to be supported by the government, regardless of their ability or desire to support themselves and their families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

We pledge to continue to push strongly for sound welfare reform until meaningful and helpful change is enacted into law by the Congress.

Law Enforcement

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

We have solid evidence that our unrelenting war on crime is being won. The American people know that once again the thrust of justice in our society will be to protect the law-abiding citizenry against the criminal, rather than absolve the criminal of the consequences of his own desperate acts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Serious crimes rose only one per cent during the first quarter of this year—down from six per cent last year and 13 per cent the year before. From 1960 to 1968 major crime went up 122 per cent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

The fact is, in the first quarter of 1972, 80 of our 155 largest cities had an actual decline in reported crime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

In our Nation's Capitol, our anti-crime programs have been fully implemented. Through such measures as increased police, street lighting, a Narcotics Treatment Administration, court reform and special prosecuting units for major offenders, we have steadily dropped the crime rate since November 1969. By the first quarter of this year, the serious crime rate was down to half its all-time high.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

When our Administration took office, a mood of lawlessness was spreading rapidly, undermining the legal and moral foundations of our society. We moved at once to stop violence in America. We have:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Greatly increased Federal aid to State and local law enforcement agencies across the country, with more than $1.5 billion spent on 50,000 crime-fighting projects.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Augmented Justice Department funding fourfold and provided more marshals, more judges, more narcotics agents, more Assistant United States Attorneys in the field.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Raised the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration budget ten-fold, earmarking $575 million of the $850 million for 1973 to upgrade State and local police and courts through revenue sharing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Added 600 new Special Agents to the FBI.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.864

Raised Federal spending on juvenile delinquency from $15 million to more than $180 million [p.865] and proposed legislation to launch a series of model youth services.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Appointed Attorneys General with a keen sense of the rights of both defendants and victims, and determination to enforce the laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Appointed judges whose respect for the rights of the accused is balanced by an appreciation of the legitimate needs of law enforcement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Added to the Supreme Court distinguished lawyers of firm judicial temperament and fidelity to the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Even more fundamentally, we have established a renewed climate of respect for law and law enforcement. Now those responsible for enforcing the law know they have the full backing of their Government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

We recognize that programs involving work release, study release and half-way houses have contributed substantially to the rehabilitation of offenders and we support these programs. We "further support training programs for the staffs in our correctional institutions and will continue to see that minority group staff members are recruited to work in these institutions.

The Fight against Organized Crime

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

To most of us, organized criminal activity seems remote and unreal—yet syndicates supply the narcotics pushed on our youth, corrupt local officials, terrify legitimate businesses and fence goods stolen from our homes. This Administration strongly supported the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, and under our Strike Force concept we have combined Federal enforcement agencies to wage a concerted assault on organized crime. We have expanded the number of these strike forces and set a high priority for a new campaign against the syndicates.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Last year we obtained indictments against more than 2,600 members or associates of organized crime syndicates—more than triple the number indicted in 1968.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

At last we have the lawless elements in our society on the run.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

The Republican Party intends to keep them running,

Rehabilitation of Offenders

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

We have given the rehabilitation of criminal offenders more constructive, top-level attention than it has received at any time in our Nation's history. In November 1969, the President ordered a ten-year improvement program in prison facilities, correctional systems and rehabilitation methods and procedures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

We believe the correctional system not only should punish, but also should educate and rehabilitate. We are determined to press ahead with reform of the system to make it more effective against crime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Almost a decade of inadequate Federal support of law enforcement has left deep scars in our society, but now a new mood pervades the country, Civil disorders and campus violence are no longer considered inevitable. Today, we see a new respect for law and order.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Our goal is justice—for everyone.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

We pledge a tireless campaign against crime—to restore safety to our streets, and security to law-abiding citizens who have a right to enjoy their homes and communities free from fear. We pledge to:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Continue our vigorous support of local police and law enforcement agencies, as well as Federal law enforcement agencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Seek comprehensive procedural and substantive reform of the Federal Criminal Code.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Accelerate the drive against organized crime. Increase the funding of the Federal judiciary to help clear away the logjam in the courts which obstructs the administration of justice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Push forward in prison reform and the rehabilitation of offenders.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Intensify efforts to prevent criminal access to all weapons, including special emphasis on cheap, readily-obtainable handguns, retaining primary responsibility at the State level, with such Federal law as necessary to enable the States to meet their responsibilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

Safeguard the right of responsible citizens to collect, own and use firearms for legitimate purposes, including hunting, target shooting and self-defense. We will strongly support efforts of all law enforcement agencies to apprehend and prosecute to the limit of the law all those who use firearms in the commission of crimes.

Drug Abuse

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.865

The permissiveness of the 1960's left no legacy more insidious than drug abuse. In that decade [p.866] narcotics became widely available, most tragically among our young people. The use of drugs became endowed with a sheen of false glamour identified with social protest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

By the time our Nation awakened to this cancerous social ill, it found no major combat weapons available.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

Soon after we took office, our research disclosed there were perhaps hundreds of thousands of heroin users in the United States. Their cravings multiplied violence and crime. We found many more were abusing other drugs, such as amphetamines and barbiturates. Marijuana had become commonplace. All this was spurred by criminals using modern methods of mass distribution against outnumbered authorities lacking adequate countermeasures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We quickly launched a massive assault against drug abuse.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We intercepted the supply of dangerous drugs at points of entry and impeded their internal distribution. The budget for international narcotics control was raised from $5 million to over $50 million. Narcotics control coordinators were appointed in 59 United States embassies overseas to work directly with foreign governments in stopping drug traffic. We have narcotics action agreements with over 20 countries. Turkey has announced a total ban on opium production and, with our cooperation, France has seized major heroin laboratories and drugs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

To inhibit the distribution of heroin in our own country, we increased the law enforcement budget for drug control more than 10 times—from $20 million to $244 million.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We are disrupting major narcotics distribution in wholesale networks through the combined efforts of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, Customs operations at our borders, and a specially credited unit of over 400 Internal Revenue agents who conduct systematic tax investigations of targeted middle and upper echelon traffickers, smugglers, and financiers. Last January we established the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement to disrupt street and mid-level heroin traffickers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We established the "Heroin Hot Line"—a nationwide toll free phone number (800/368-5363) —to give the public a single number for reporting information on heroin pushers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

Last year we added 2,000 more Federal narcotics agents, and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has trained over 170,000 State and local personnel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

And we are getting results. This past year four times as much heroin was seized as in the year this Administration took office. Since 1969, the number of drug-related arrests has nearly doubled.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

For drug abuse prevention and treatment we increased the budget from $46 million to over $485 million.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

The demand for illicit drugs is being reduced through a massive effort directed by a newly created office in the White House. Federally funded drug treatment and rehabilitation programs were more than doubled last fiscal year, and Federal programs now have the capacity to treat more than 60,000 drug abusers a year.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

To alert the public, particularly the youth, to the Dangers of drugs, we established a National Clearinghouse for Drug Abuse Information in 1970 as well as a $3.5 million Drug Education and Training Program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We realize that the problem of drug abuse cannot be quickly solved, but we have launched a massive effort where practically none existed before. Nor will we relax this campaign:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We pledge to seek further international agreements to restrict the production and movement of dangerous drugs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We pledge to expand our programs of education, rehabilitation, training and treatment. We will do more than ever before to conduct research into the complex psychological regions of disappointment and alienation which have led many young people to turn desperately toward drugs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We firmly oppose efforts to make drugs easily available. We equally oppose the legalization of marijuana. We intend to solve problems, not create bigger ones by legalizing drugs of unknown physical impact.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

We pledge the most intensive law enforcement war ever waged. We are determined to drive the pushers of dangerous drugs from the streets, schools and neighborhoods of America.

Agriculture and Rural Life

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.866

Our agriculture has become the economic marvel of the world. Our American farmers and ranchers have tripled per worker production in the last 20 years, while non-farm industries have increased theirs a little over half.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Yet when we took office three and a half years [p.867] ago, the farm community was being shockingly shortchanged for its remarkable achievements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Inflation was driving up both the cost of farming and the cost of living—indeed, driving up all prices except the prices of products the farmers were taking to market. Overall farm income was down. Farm exports were low. Bureaucratic planting regulations were oppressive. All across the country family farms were failing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Our moves to deal with these problems have been numerous and effective. The rate of inflation has been curbed without forcing down prices for commodities, even as we have stepped up our drive against rising food costs in the cities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Net farm income has soared to a record high of more than $18 billion. During these Republican years average net farm income has been over $2 billion a year higher than during the last two Administrations. For the same period average income per farm is up more than 40 percent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

And farm exports now stand at a record $8 billion, sharply up from the $5.7 billion when we took office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Operating loans to help young farmers have reached the highest levels in history. Administration-backed legislation has given farmers much greater freedom to plant what they choose, and we have given assistance to cooperatives to strengthen the farmers' bargaining positions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Rural development has been energetically carried forward, and small towns and rural areas have been helped to adjust and grow. The loan programs of the Farmers Home Administration for farm and rural people have been dramatically increased. Electric and telephone service in rural areas has been substantially expanded, a Rural Telephone Bank has been enacted, and the Farm Credit Administration has been streamlined. The total national investment in rural development has almost tripled. Heading the Department of Agriculture have been leaders who understand and forcefully speak out for the farming people of America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Farmers are benefiting markedly from our successful efforts to expand exports—notably a $750 million sale of United States grains to the Soviet Union, with prospects of much more. Last year we negotiated a similar sale amounting to $135 million.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

For the future, we pledge to intensify our efforts to:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Achieve a $10 billion annual export market by opening new foreign markets, while continuing to fight for fair treatment for American farm products in our traditional markets;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Follow sound economic policies to brake inflation and reduce interest rates;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Expand activities to assist farmers in bargaining for fair prices and reasonable terms in a rapidly changing marketing system;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Keep farm prices in the private sector, not subject to price controls;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Support family farms as the preferred method of organizing agricultural production, and protect them from the unfair competition of farming by tax-loss corporations and non-farm enterprises;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Reform Federal estate tax laws, which often force the precipitate sale of family farms to help pay the tax, in such ways as to help support the continuance of family farms as institutions of great importance to the American way of life;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Provide greater credit, technical assistance, soil and water conservation aid, environmental enhancement, economic stimulus and sympathetic leadership to America's rural areas and communities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Concentrate research on new uses of agricultural products;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Continue assistance to farm cooperatives, including rural electric and telephone cooperatives, in their efforts to improve their members;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Develop land and water policy that takes account of the many uses to which these resources may be put;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Establish realistic environmental standards which safeguard wise resource use, while avoiding undue burdens on farmers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

Use forums of national leaders to create a better understanding by all citizens, those in the cities and suburbs as well as those in small towns, of the difficult problems confronting farm and ranch families in a modern agriculture.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

We will not relax our efforts to increase net farm income, to narrow the spread between farm and non-farm income levels, and to pursue commodity programs that will enable farmers and ranchers to receive fair prices for what they produce.

Community Development

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.867

For more than a quarter century the Federal Government has sought to assist in the conservation [p.868] and rebuilding of our urban centers. Yet, after the spending of billions of dollars and the commitment of billions more to future years, we now know that many existing programs are unsuited to the complex problems of the 1970's. Programs cast in the mold of the "big government" philosophy of the 1930's are simply incapable of meeting the challenge of today.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

Our Party stands, therefore, for major reform of Federal community development programs and the development of a new philosophy to cope with urban ills.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

Republican urban strategy rejects throwing good money after bad money. Instead, through fundamental fiscal, management and program reforms, we have created a new Federal partnership through which State, county and municipal governments can best cope with specific problems such as education, crime, drug abuse, transportation, pollution and housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

We believe the urban problems of today fall into these categories:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

The fiscal crises of State, county and municipal governments;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

The need for a better quality and greater availability of urban services;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

The continual requirement of physical development;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

The need for better locally designed, locally implemented, locally controlled solutions to the problems of individual urban areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

In the last category—the importance of grass roots planning and participation—our Republican Party has made its most important contribution to solving urban problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

We hold the government planners should be guided by the people through their locally elected representatives. We believe that real solutions require the full participation of the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

To help ease the fiscal crises of State, county and municipal governments, we pledge increased Federal assistance—assistance we have more than doubled in the past four years. And, as stressed elsewhere in this Platform, we remain committed to General Revenue Sharing, which could reduce the oppressive property tax.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

Our proposals for Special Revenue Sharing for Urban Development, transportation, manpower and law enforcement—all still bottled up by the opposition Congress—are designed to make our towns and cities places where Americans can once again live and work without physical or environmental hazard. Urban areas are already benefiting from major funding increases which we fought for in the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration programs and in our $10 billion mass transit program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

Urban areas are also benefiting from our new Legacy of Parks program, which is bringing recreation opportunities closer to where people live.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

We are committed also to the physical development of urban areas. We have quadrupled subsidized housing starts for low and moderate income families since 1969, and effected substantial increases for construction of municipal waste treatment facilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

We strongly oppose the use of housing or community development programs to impose arbitrary housing patterns on unwilling communities. Neither do we favor dispersing large numbers of people away from their homes and neighborhoods against their will. We do believe in providing communities, with their full consent, guidance and cooperation with the means and incentives to increase the quantity and quality of housing in conjunction with providing increased access to jobs for their low-income citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

We also pledge to carry forward our policy on encouraging the development of new towns in order to afford all Americans a wider range of residential choices. Additionally, our Special Revenue Sharing for Urban and Rural Community Development, together with General Revenue Sharing and nationwide welfare reform, are basic building blocks for a balanced policy of national growth, leading to better lives for all Americans, whether they dwell in cities, suburbs or rural areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

Our Party recognizes counties as viable units of regional government with a major role in modernizing and restructuring local services, eliminating duplication and increasing local cooperation. We urge Federal and State governments, in implementing national goals and programs, to utilize the valuable resources of counties as area-wide, general-purpose governments.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

Our Republican Administration has made more and better housing available to more of our citizens than ever before.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.868

We are building two-and-a-third million new homes a year—65 per cent more than the average [p.869] in the eight years of the two previous Administrations. Progress has not been in numbers alone; housing quality has also risen to an all-time high—far above that of any other country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

We will maintain and increase this pattern of growth. We are determined to attain the goal of a decent home for every American.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

Significant numbers of Americans still lack the means for decent housing, and in such cases-where special need exists—we will continue to apply public resources to help people acquire better apartments and homes. We further pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

Continued housing production for low and moderate income families, which has sharply increased since President Nixon took office;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

Improvement of housing subsidy programs and expansion of mortgage credit activities of Federal housing agencies as necessary to keep Americans the best-housed people in the world;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

Continued development of technological and management innovations to lower housing costs—a program begun by Operation Breakthrough, which is assisting in the development of new methods for more economical production of low-cost, high-quality homes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

We urge prompt action by State, county and municipal governments to seek solutions to the serious problems caused by abandoned buildings in urban areas.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

When President Nixon took office a crisis in transportation was imminent, as indicated by declining mass transportation service, mounting highway deaths, congested urban streets, long delays at airports and airport terminals, deterioration of passenger train service, and a dwindling Merchant Marine. Within two years the President had proposed and signed into law:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

A $10 billion, 12-year program—the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1970—to infuse new life into mass transportation systems and help relieve urban congestion;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

A major 10 year program involving $280 million annually for airport development projects as well as an additional $250 million annually to expand airways systems and facilities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

The Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970 to streamline and improve the Nation's passenger train service;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

New research and development projects, including automatic people movers, improved Metroliner and Turbo-trains, quieter aircraft jet engines, air pollution reduction for mass transportation vehicles, and experimental safety automobiles. We strongly support these research and development initiatives of the Department of Transportation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

Four years ago we called attention to the decline of our Merchant Marine due to previous neglect and apathy. We promised a vigorous ship replacement program to meet the changing pattern of our foreign commerce. We also pledged to expand maritime research and development and the simplification and revision of construction and operating subsidy procedures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

By the enactment of the Merchant Marine Act of 1970, we have reversed the long decline of our Merchant Marine. We reaffirm our goals set forth in 1968 and anticipate the future development of a merchant fleet that will give us defensive mobility in time of emergency as well as economic strength in time of peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

To reduce traffic and highway deaths, the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has been reorganized and expanded, with dramatic results. In 1971, the number of traffic deaths per hundred million miles driven was the lowest in history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

To help restore decision-making to the people, we have proposed a new Single Urban Fund providing almost $2 billion a year by 1975 to State and metropolitan areas to assist local authorities in solving their own transportation problems in their own way.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

Our proposal for Special Revenue Sharing for Transportation would also help governments close to the people meet local needs and provide greater freedom to achieve a proper balance among the Nation's major transportation modes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

To revitalize the surface freight transportation industry, we have recommended measures to modernize railway equipment and operations and to update regulatory practices. These measures, on which Congress still dawdles, would help curb inflation by saving the public billions of dollars a year in freight costs. Their enactment would also expand employment and improve our balance of trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.869

The Nation's transportation needs are expected to double in the next 20 years. Our Party will continue to pursue policies and programs that will [p.870] meet these needs and keep the country well ahead of rapidly changing transportation demands.

Environment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

In January 1969, we found the Federal Government woefully unprepared to deal with the rapidly advancing environmental crisis. Our response was swift and substantial.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

First, new decision-making organizations were set in place—the first Council on Environmental Quality, the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. We also proposed a new Department of Natural Resources, but Congress has failed to act. We also created a National Industrial Pollution Control Council to enlist the private sector more actively against environmental decay, and Presidential Federal Property Review Board was appointed to ferret out Federal property for transfer to local park and recreational uses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

Second, we gave top priority in the Federal Budget to environmental improvements. This fiscal year approximately $2.4 billion will be expended for major environmental programs—three times more than was being spent when President Nixon took office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

Third, sweeping environment messages were sent to Congress in 1970, 1971 and 1972 covering air quality, water quality, toxic waste substances, ocean dumping, noise, solid waste management, land use, parklands and many other environmental concerns. Almost all of these proposals still languish in the opposition Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

Although the President cannot move until and unless Congress passes laws in many of these areas, he nevertheless can act—and has acted—forcefully on many fronts:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

He has directed the Federal Government to practice ecological leadership by using low-lead gasoline and recycled paper. He has cracked down on flagrant polluters, greatly increasing prosecutions and making the first use of Federal authority to shut down major industries during an air pollution crisis. The fragile and unique Everglades were saved from a jetport. Pesticide abuses were curtailed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

Strict new clean air standards were set, and in many urban centers the air is improving. Regulations were issued to make one grade of lead-free and phosphorous-free gasoline available throughout the Nation by July 1, 1974, and a phased reduction was required in the lead content of regular and premium gasolines. Auto makers were required to design air pollution control systems to assure that vehicles comply with Federal emission standards throughout their usual life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

Additionally, the President launched the Legacy of Parks program to convert underutilized Federal properties to park and recreational use, with special emphasis on new parks in or near urban areas. More than 140 areas have already been made available to States, counties and municipalities for such use, including priceless stretches of ocean beach. Moreover, nearly two million acres of land have been purchased by Federal, State and local governments for recreation and for historical and natural preservation purposes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

A system of recreational trails for hiking, bicycling and horseback riding will help meet the pressing recreational needs of our increasingly urbanized society. Many State, county and municipal governments are developing bicycle, hiking, and horseback trails with our active assistance through various Federal programs. We pledge our continued commitment to seeking out practical ways for more and safer bicycling opportunities within our cities and metropolitan areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

We have also provided effective leadership in international environmental activity. The President has negotiated the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement with Canada and a Cooperative Agreement on Environmental Protection with the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm adopted our government's initiatives for the creation of an international fund for the environment, a continuing United Nations agency for environmental problems, and the control of ocean dumping. Our President has led the effort for a ten-year moratorium on commercial whaling everywhere in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

We call upon the Congress to act promptly on the President's environmental proposals still stalled there more than 20 in all. These include:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

Legislation to control, and in some cases prohibit, the dumping of wastes into the oceans, estuaries and the Great Lakes;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

A Federal Noise Control Act to reduce and regulate unwanted sound from aircraft, construction and transportation equipment;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.870

Authority to control hundreds of chemical substances newly marketed each year; Legislation to encourage the States to step up [p.871] to pressing decisions on how best to use land. Both environmentally critical areas such as wetlands and growth-inducing developments such as airports would have particular scrutiny;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

A proposal to provide for early identification and protection of endangered wildlife species. This would, for the first time, make the taking of endangered species a Federal offense;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

Establishment of recreational areas near metropolitan centers such as the Gateway National Recreational Area in New York and New Jersey and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area in and around San Francisco Bay.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

The nostalgic notion of turning the clock back to a simpler time may be appealing but is neither practical nor desirable. We are not going to abandon the automobile, but we are going to have a clean burning engine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

We are not going to give up electric lighting and modern industry, but we do expect cleanly-produced electric power to run them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

We are not going to be able to do without containers for our foods and materials, but we can improve them and make them reusable or biodegradable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

We pledge a workable balance between a growing economy and environmental protection. We will resolve the conflicts sensibly within that framework.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

We commit ourselves to comprehensive pollution control laws, vigorous implementation of those laws and rigorous research into the technological problems of pollution control. The beginnings we have made in these first years of the 1970's are evidence of our determination to follow through.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

We intend to leave the children of America a legacy of clean air, clean water, vast open spaces and easily accessible parks.

Natural Resources and Energy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

Wilderness areas, forests, fish and wildlife are precious natural resources. We have proposed 36 new wilderness areas, adding another 3.6 million acres to the National Wilderness Preservation System. We have made tough new proposals to protect endangered species of wildlife.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

Public lands provide us with natural beauty, wilderness and great recreational opportunities as well as minerals, timber, food and fiber. We pledge to develop and manage these lands in a balanced way, both to protect the irreplaceable environment and to maximize the benefits of their use to our society. We will continue these conservation efforts in the years ahead.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

We recognize and commend the humane societies and the animal welfare societies in their work to protect animals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

Water supplies are not a boundless resource. The Republican Party is committed to developing additional water supplies by desalinization, the discovery of new groundwater stocks, recycling and wiser and more efficient use of the waters we have.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

We will continue the development of flood control, navigation improvement and reclamation projects based on valid cost-benefit estimates, including full consideration of environmental concerns.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

No modern nation can thrive without meeting its energy needs, and our needs are vast and growing. Last year we proposed a broad range of actions to facilitate research and development for clean energy, provide energy resources on Federal lands, assure a timely supply of nuclear fuels, use energy more efficiently, balance environmental and energy needs and better organize Federal efforts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

The National Minerals Policy Act of 1970 encourages development of domestic resources by private enterprise. A program to tap our vast shale resources has been initiated consistent with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

We need a Department of Natural Resources to continue to develop a national, integrated energy policy and to administer and implement that policy as the United States approaches the 21st Century. Energy sources so vitally important to the welfare of our Nation are becoming increasingly interchangeable. There is nothing inherently incompatible between an adequate energy supply and a healthy environment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

Indeed, vast quantities of energy are needed to do the work necessary to clean up our air and streams. Without sufficient supplies of power we will not be able to attain our goals of reducing unemployment and poverty and enhancing the American standard of living.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.871

Responsible government must consider both the short-term and the long-term aspects of our energy supplies. Avoidance of brown-outs and power disruptions now and in the future call for sound policies supporting incentives that will encourage [p.872] the exploration for, and development of, our fossil fuels. Such policies will buy us time to develop the sophisticated and complex technologies needed to utilize the exotic energy sources of the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

National security and the importance of a favorable balance of trade and balance of payments dictate that we must not permit our Nation to become overly dependent on foreign sources of energy. Since more than half our Nation's domestic fossil resources now lie under Federal lands, high priority must be given to the governmental steps necessary to the development of these resources by private industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

A liquid metal fast breeder reactor demonstration plant will be built with the financial support of the Atomic Energy Commission, the electric power industry and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

We will accelerate research on harnessing thermo-nuclear energy and continue to provide leadership in the production of energy from the sun and geothermal steam. We recognize the serious problem of assuring adequate electric generating capacity in the Nation, and pledge to meet this need without doing violence to our environment.

Oceans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

The oceans are a vast, largely untapped reservoir of resources, a source of food, minerals, recreation and pleasure, with great potential for economic development. For their maintenance we must:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Encourage the development of coastal zone management systems by the States, in cooperation with the Federal Government, to preserve the coastal environment while allowing for its prudent social and economic development;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Protect the oceans from pollution through the creation of binding domestic and international legal and institutional arrangements;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Foster arrangements to develop the untapped mineral resources of the seas in an equitable and environmentally sound manner;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Establish domestic and international institutions for the management of the ocean fisheries. Fishing in international waters, a way of life for many Americans, must be maintained without harassment on the high seas or unreasonable restrictions;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Protect and conserve marine mammals and other marine species to ensure their abundance and especially to protect species whose survival is endangered;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Maintain a national capability in ocean science and technology and, through the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, work to codify an international legal framework for the peaceful conduct of ocean activities.

Science and Technology

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Basic and applied scientific research and development are indispensable to our national security, our international competitive position, and virtually every aspect of the domestic economy. We have initiated a new research-and-development strategy which emphasizes a public-private partnership in searching out new ideas and technologies to create new jobs, new internationally competitive industries and new solutions for complex domestic problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

In support of this strategy we have increased Federal efforts in civilian research and development by 65 per cent—from $3.3 billion to $5.4 billion—and expanded research in drug abuse, law enforcement, health care, home building, motor vehicle safety, energy and child development as well as many other fields.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

We will place special emphasis on these areas in which breakthroughs are urgently needed: Abundant, clean energy sources;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Safe, fast and pollution-free transportation; Improved emergency health care;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Reduction of loss of life, health and property in natural disasters;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Rehabilitation of alcoholics and addicts to dangerous drugs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

Additionally, we urge the fair and energetic enforcement of all fire-prevention laws and applaud the work of the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control. We encourage accelerated research on methods of fire prevention and suppression, including studies on flammable fabrics, hazardous materials, fire equipment and training procedures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.872

The space program is yielding impressive dividends in earth-oriented applications of space technology—advances in medicine, industrial techniques and consumer products that would still be unknown had we not developed the technology to reach the moon. We will press ahead with the space shuttle program to replace today's expendable launch vehicles and provide low-cost access [p.873] to space for a wide variety of missions, including those related to earth resources. We pledge to continue to extend our knowledge of the most distant frontiers in space.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

We will also extend our exploration of the sea-bed and the sea. We will seek food for the hungry, power for future technologies, new medicines for the sick and new treatments of water for arid regions of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

The quantities of metals and minerals needed to maintain our economic health and living standards are so huge as to require the re-use of all recoverable commodities from solid waste materials. We pledge a vigorous program of research and development in order to seek out more economical methods to recover and recycle such commodities, including the processing of municipal solid wastes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

We pledge to extend the communications frontier, and to foster the development of orbiting satellite systems that will make possible wholly new, world-wide educational and entertainment programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

We recognize that the productivity of our Nation's research and development efforts can be enhanced through cooperative international projects. The signing of the Moscow agreements for cooperation in space, environment, health and science and technology has opened a new era in international relations. A similar agreement between the United States and Polish Governments will permit expansion of programs such as the jointly-funded Copernicus Astronomical Center and Krakow Children's Hospital.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

Finally, we pledge expanded efforts to aid unemployed scientists and engineers. We are determined to see that such on-going efforts as the Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program are effective.

The Individual and Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

Even though many urgently-needed Administration proposals have been long delayed or stopped by the oppositions Congress, we have kept our 1968 promise to make government more accountable and more responsive to the citizen. One such proposal is General Revenue Sharing with State and local governments—a means of returning to the people powers which for 40 years have grown increasingly centralized in the remote Washington bureaucracy. Another is consolidation of scores of categorical grant programs into six Special Revenue Sharing programs which would make available some $12 billion annually in broad policy fields for States and localities to apply in their own ways to their own needs. Yet another is our proposal to modernize the Executive Branch of the Federal Government by combining six Cabinet departments and several independent agencies into four new departments. So far, the opposition controlled Congress has blocked or ignored all of these proposals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

In addition, we have:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

Improved domestic policy formulation and implementation by the new Domestic Council and Office of Management and Budget within the Executive Office of the President;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

Established stronger liaison between the Federal Government and the States, counties and municipalities by a new Office of Intergovernmental Relations, headed by the Vice President;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

Overhauled the fragmented and poorly coordinated Federal agencies concerned with drug abuse and the environment;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

Utilized voluntary citizen effort through the formation of the ACTION agency in government and the National Center for Voluntary Action outside of government;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

Proposed reorganization of the Federal regulatory agencies and appointed distinguished people to those agencies;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

Assured more open government, ending abuse of document classification and providing fuller information to the public.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

We pledge continuing reform and revitalization of government to assure a better response to individual needs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

We express deep concern for the flood victims of tropical Storm Agnes, the worst natural disaster in terms of property damage in our Nation's history. Past laws were totally inadequate to meet this crisis, and we commend the President's leadership in urgently recommending the newly-enacted $1.8 billion flood relief measure, greatly expanding and enlarging the present program. We pledge to reevaluate and enlarge the national flood disaster insurance program so that it will be adequate for future emergencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.873

We will continue to press for the enactment of General and Special Revenue Sharing and to pursue further initiatives both to decentralize governmental activities and to transfer more such activities to the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

We will continue to defend the citizen's right [p.874] to privacy in our increasingly interdependent society. We oppose computerized national data banks and all other "Big Brother" schemes which endanger individual rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

We reaffirm our view that voluntary prayer should be freely permitted in public places—particularly, by school children while attending public schools—providing that such prayers are not prepared or prescribed by the state or any of its political subdivisions and that no person's participation is coerced, thus preserving the traditional separation of church and state.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

We remain committed to a comprehensive program of human rights, social betterment and political participation for the people of the District of Columbia. We will build on our strong record in this area—a record which includes cutting the District of Columbia crime rate in half, aggressive support for a balanced transportation system in metropolitan Washington, initiation of a Bicentennial program and celebration in the national capital region, and support for the first Congressional Delegate in nearly a century. We support voting representation for the District of Columbia in the United States Congress and will work for a system of self-government for the city which takes fair account of the needs and interests of both the Federal Government and the citizens of the District of Columbia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

The Republican Party adheres to the principle of self-determination for Puerto Rico. We will welcome and support statehood for Puerto Rico if that status should be the free choice of its people in a referendum vote.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

Additionally, we will pursue negotiations with the Congress of Micronesia on the future political status of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands to meet the mutual interests of both parties. We favor extending the right of electing the territorial Governor to the people of American Samoa, and will take complementary steps to increase local self-government in American Samoa. We vigorously support such action as is necessary to permit American citizens resident in Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to vote for President and Vice President in national elections. We support full voting rights in committees for the Delegates to Congress from Guam and the Virgin Islands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

In our territorial policy we seek a maximum degree of local self-sufficiency and self-government, while encouraging greater inclusion in Federal services and programs and greater participation in national decision-making.

Volunteerism

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

In our free system, the people are not only the source of our social problems but also the main source of solutions. Volunteerism, therefore, an indispensable national resource, is basic to our Republican philosophy. We applaud the Administration's efforts to encourage volunteerism by all Americans and commend the millions of volunteers who are working in communities and states across the country on myriad projects. We favor further implementation of voluntary action programs throughout the fifty States to assist public and private agencies in working to assure quality life for all human beings.

Arts and Humanities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

The United States is experiencing a cultural renaissance of inspiring dimension. Scores of millions of our people are now supporting and participating in the arts and humanities in quest of a richer life of the mind and the spirit. Our national culture, no longer the preserve of the elite, is becoming a people's heritage of importance to the whole world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

We believe, with the President, that "the Federal Government has a vital role as catalyst, innovator, and supporter of public and private efforts for cultural development."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

We have supported a three-year extension of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, and increased the funding of its two endowments by more than four times the level of three years ago. The State Arts Councils, which operate in all 50 States and the five special jurisdictions, have also been strengthened.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

The Arts Endowment has raised its support for the Nation's museums, orchestras, theatre, dance, opera companies and film centers and encouraged the creativity of individual artists and writers. In addition, the new Federal Expansion Arts Program has been sharply increased.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.874

We have encouraged Federal agencies to use the arts in their programs, sponsored an annual Design Assembly for Federal administrators, requested the National Endowment for the Arts to recommend a program for upgrading the design of Federal buildings, and moved to set new standards [p.875] of excellence in all design endeavors of the Federal Government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

Moreover, the National Endowment for the Humanities, now greatly enlarged, is fostering improved teaching and scholarship in history, literature, philosophy and ethics. The Endowment also supports programs to raise levels of scholarship and teaching in Afro-American, American Indian and Mexican-American studies, has broadened its fellowship programs to include junior college teachers, and stresses adult or continuing education, including educational television and film series. We have also expanded the funding of public broadcasting.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

For the future, we pledge continuance of our vigorous support of the arts and humanities.

A Better Future for All

Children

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

We believe, with the President, that the first five years of life are crucial to a child's development, and further, that every child should have the opportunity to reach his full potential as an individual.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

We have, therefore, established the Office of Child Development, which has taken a comprehensive approach to the development of young children, combining programs dealing with their physical, social and educational needs and development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

We have undertaken a wide variety of demonstration programs to assure our children, particularly poor children, a good start in life—for example, the Parent and Child Center program for infant care, Home Start to strengthen the environment of the preschool child, and Health Start to explore new delivery systems of health care for young children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

We have redirected Head Start to perform valuable full-day child care and early education services, and more than 380,000 preschool children are now in the program. We have doubled funds for early childhood demonstration programs which will develop new tools and new teaching techniques to serve children who suffer from deafness, blindness and other handicaps.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

So that no child will he denied the opportunity for a productive life because of inability to read effectively, we have established the Right to Read Program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

To add impetus to the entire educational effort, our newly-created National Institute of Education ensures that broad research and experimentation will develop the best educational opportunities for all children. Additionally, we have taken steps to help ensure that children receive proper care while their parents are at work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

Moreover, as stated elsewhere in this Platform, we have broadened nutritional assistance to poor children by nearly tripling participation in the Food Stamp Program, more than doubling the number of needy children in the school lunch program, operating a summer feeding program for three million young people, increasing the breakfast program fivefold, and doubling Federal support for child nutritional programs. We are improving medical care for poor children through more vigorous treatment procedures under Medicaid and more effectively targeting maternal and child health services to low-income mothers. We will continue to seek out new means to reach and teach children in their crucial early years.

Youth

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

We believe that what our youth most want and need is not special treatment as a group apart, but just the opposite—the opportunity for full participation by exercising the rights and responsibilities of adults.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

In 1970 the President approved legislation which gave the vote to more than 11 million 18-to-20 year olds. The 26th Amendment, which places this important new right in the Constitution, has our enthusiastic backing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

Our Administration has already made the draft a far less arbitrary factor in young men's lives. Now we near the point where we can end conscription altogether and achieve our goal of an all-volunteer armed force.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

Our total war on drug abuse has had special benefits for youth, hardest hit by this menace. Last year we held the first White House Conference ever held by and for young people themselves. The Administration gave the Conference's more than 300 recommendations a searching re view, and last spring the President returned a detailed response and action report to the conferees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.875

The anarchy which swept major campuses in the late 1960's penalized no one more severely than the young people themselves. The recent calm on campus is, we believe, in part the result of the President's leadership in winding down the [p.876] war in Vietnam, reducing the draft, and taking a strong stand against lawlessness, but our view is that colleges themselves are responsible for maintaining a campus climate that will preserve academic freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

We have proposed legislation to ensure that no qualified student is denied a higher education by lack of funds, and have also moved to meet the often-overlooked concerns of the two-thirds of the college-age young not in school. We have developed a new job-oriented, career-education concept, expanded Federal manpower programs and provided a record number of summer job opportunities for young men and women.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

To engage youthful idealism and energies more effectively, we have created the new ACTION volunteer service agency, bringing together the Peace Corps, VISTA, and other volunteer programs; and we encouraged the establishment of the independent National Center for Voluntary Action.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

We stand for lowering the legal age of majority in all jurisdictions to 18; and we will seek to broaden the involvement of young people in every phase of the political process—as voters, party workers and leaders, candidates and elected officials, and participants in government at municipal, State and Federal levels.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

We will continue to build on these solid achievements in keeping with our conviction that these young people should have the opportunity to participate fully in the affairs of our society.

Equal Rights for Women

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

The Republican Party recognizes the great contributions women have made to our society as homemakers and mothers, as contributors to the community through volunteer work, and as members of the labor force in careers outside the home. We fully endorse the principle of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities for women, and believe that progress in these areas is needed to achieve the full realization of the potentials of American women both in the home and outside the home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

We reaffirm the President's pledge earlier this year: "The Administration will . . . continue its strong efforts to open equal opportunities for women, recognizing clearly that women are often denied such opportunities today. While every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes—and an equal chance to pursue it."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

This Administration has done more than any before it to help women of America achieve equality of opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

Because of its efforts, more top-level and middle-management positions in the Federal Government are held by women than ever before. The President has appointed a woman as his special assistant in the White House, specifically charged with the recruitment of women for policy-making jobs in thee United States Government. Women have also been named to high positions in the Civil Service Commission and the Department of Labor to ensure equal opportunities for employment and advancement at all levels of the Federal service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

In addition we have:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

Significantly increased resources devoted to enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act, providing equal pay for equal work;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

Required all firms doing business with the Government to have affirmative action plans for the hiring and promotion of women;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

Requested Congress to expand the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights to cover sex discrimination;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

Recommended and supported passage of Title IX of the Higher Education Act opposing discrimination against women in educational institutions;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

Supported the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforcement power in sex discrimination cases;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

Continued our support of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, our Party being the first national party to back this Amendment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

Other factors beyond outright employer discrimination—the lack of child care facilities, for example—can limit job opportunities for women. For lower and middle income families, the President supported and signed into law a new tax provision which makes many child care expenses deductible for working parents. Part of the President's recent welfare reform proposal would provide comprehensive day care services so that women on welfare can work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.876

We believe the primary responsibility for a child's care and upbringing lies with the family. However, we recognize that for economic and [p.877] many other reasons many parents require assistance in the care of their children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

To help meet this need, we favor the development of publicly or privately run, voluntary, comprehensive, quality day care services, locally controlled but federally assisted, with the requirement that the recipients of these services will pay their fair share of the costs according to their ability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

We oppose ill-considered proposals, incapable of being administered effectively, which would heavily engage the Federal Government in this area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

To continue progress for women's rights, we will work toward:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; Appointment of women to highest level positions in the Federal Government, including the Cabinet and Supreme Court;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Equal pay for equal work;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Elimination of discrimination against women at all levels in Federal Government;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Elimination of discrimination against women in the criminal justice system, in sentencing, rehabilitation and prison facilities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Increased opportunities for the part time employment of women, and expanded training programs for women who want to reenter the labor force;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Elimination of economic discrimination against women in credit, mortgage, insurance, property, rental and finance contracts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

We pledge vigorous enforcement of all Federal statutes and executive orders barring job discrimination on the basis of sex.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

We are proud of the contributions made by women to better government. We regard the active involvement of women at all levels of the political process, from precinct to national status, as of great importance to our country. The Republican Party welcomes and encourages their maximum participation.

Older Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

We believe our Nation must develop a new awareness of the attitudes and needs of our older citizens. Elderly Americans are far too often forgotten Americans, relegated to lives of idleness and isolation by a society bemused with the concerns of other groups. We are distressed by the tendency of many Americans to ignore the heart-break and hardship resulting from the generation gap which separates so many of our people from those who have reached the age of retirement. We deplore what is tantamount to cruel discrimination—age discrimination in employment, and the discrimination of neglect and indifference, perhaps the cruelest of all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

We commit ourselves to helping older Americans achieve greater self-reliance and greater opportunities for direct participation in the activities of our society. We believe that the later years should be, not isolated years, not years of dependency, but years of fulfillment and dignity. We believe our older people are not to be regarded as a burden but rather should be valuable participants in our society. We believe their judgement, their experience, and their talents are immensely valuable to our country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Because we so believe, we are seeking and have sought in many ways to help older Americans—for example:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Federal programs of direct benefit to older Americans have increased more than $16 billion these past four years;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

As part of this, social security benefits are more than 50 per cent higher than they were four years ago, the largest increase in the history of social security;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Social security benefits have become inflation proof by making them rise automatically to match cost of-living increases, a protection long advocated by the Republican Party;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

We have upgraded nursing homes. Expenditures under the Older Americans Act have gone up 800 per cent since President Nixon took office, with a strong emphasis on programs enabling older Americans to live dignified, independent lives in their own homes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

The valuable counsel of older people has been sought directly through the White House Conference on Aging. The President has appointed high-level advisers on the problems of the aging to his personal staff.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

We have urged upon the opposition Congress—again, typically to no avail—numerous additional programs of benefit to the elderly. We will continue pressing for these new initiatives:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Increase the amount of money a person can earn without losing social security benefits;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.877

Increase widow, widower, and delayed retirement benefits;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

Improve the effectiveness of Medicare, including [p.878] elimination of the monthly premium required under Part B of Medicare—the equivalent of more than a three per cent social security increase;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

Strengthen private pension plans through tax deductions to encourage their expansion, improved vesting, and protection of the investments in these funds;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

Reform our tax system so that persons 65 or over will receive increased tax-free income;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

Encourage volunteer service activities for older Americans, such as the Retired Senior Volunteer Program and the Foster Grandparents Program;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

Give special attention to bringing full government services within the reach of the elderly in rural areas who are often unable to share fully in their deserved benefits because of geographic inaccessibility;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

Upgrade other Federal activities important to the elderly including programs for nutrition, housing and nursing homes, transportation, consumer protection, and elimination of age discrimination in government and private employment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We encourage constructive efforts which will help older citizens to be better informed about existing programs and services designed to meet their needs, and we pledge to cut away excessive Federal red tape to make it easier for older Americans to receive the benefits to which they are entitled.

Working Men and Women

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

The skill, industry and productivity of American workers are the driving force of our free economy. The Nation's labor unions, comprised of millions of working people, have advanced the well-being not only of their members but also of our entire free-enterprise system. We of the Republican Party reaffirm our strong endorsement of Organized Labor's key role in our national life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We salute the statesmanship of the labor union movement. Time and time again, at crucial moments, it has voiced its outspoken support for a firm and effective foreign policy and for keeping the Armed Forces of the United States modern and strong.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

The American labor movement and the Republican Party have always worked against the spread of totalitarian forms of government. Together we can continue to preserve in America the best system of government ever devised for human happiness and fulfillment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We are for the right of American workers and their families to enjoy and to retain to the greatest possible extent the rewards of their own labor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We regard collective bargaining as the cornerstone of the Nation's labor relations policy. The government's role is not to encroach upon this process but rather to aid the differing parties to make collective bargaining more effective both for themselves and for the public. In furtherance of that concept, we will continue to develop procedures whereby the imagination, ingenuity and knowledge of labor and management can more effectively seek solutions for such problems as structural adjustment and productivity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

In the construction industry, for example, we will build on a new joint effort between government and all parts of the industry to solve such problems as seasonality and varying peaks of demand to ensure a stable growth in the number of skilled craftsmen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We call upon management and labor to devote their best efforts to finding better ways to conduct labor-management relations so the good of all the people can be advanced without strikes or lockouts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We will continue to search for realistic and fair solutions to emergency labor disputes, guided by two basic principles; first, that the health and safety of the people of the United States should always be paramount; and second, that collective bargaining should be kept as free as possible from government interference.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

For mine health and safety, we have implemented the most comprehensive legislation in the Nation's history, resulting in a major reduction in mine-related accidents. We pledge continued advancement of the health and safety of workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We will continue to press for improved pension vesting and other statutory protections to assure that Americans will not lose their hard-earned retirement income.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We pledge further modernization of the Federal Civil Service System, including emphasis on executive development. We rededicate ourselves to promotion on merit, equal opportunity, and the setting of clear incentives for higher productivity. We will give continuing close attention to the evolving labor-management relationship in the Federal service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.878

We pledge realistic programs of education and training so that all Americans able to do so can make their own way, on their own ability, receiving [p.879] an equal and fair chance to advance themselves. We flatly oppose the notion that the hard-earned tax dollars of American workers should be used to support those who can work but choose not to, and who believe that the world owes them a living free from any responsibility or care.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

We are proud of our many other solid achievements on behalf of America's working people—for example:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Nearly five million additional workers brought under the coverage of the unemployment insurance system, and eligibility deadlines twice extended;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Funding for more than 166,000 jobs under the Emergency Employment Act;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Expansion of vocational education and manpower training programs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Use of the long-neglected Trade Expansion Act to help workers who lose their jobs because of imports. We strongly favor vigorous competition by American business in the world market but in ways that do not displace American jobs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Negotiation of long-needed limitations on imports of man-made fibers, textiles and other products, thus protecting American jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

We share the desire of all Americans for continued prosperity in peacetime. We will work closely with labor and management toward our mutual goal of assuring a job for every man and woman seeking the dignity of work.

Ending Discrimination

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

From its beginning, our Party has led the way for equal rights and equal opportunity. This great tradition has been carried forward by the Nixon Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Through our efforts de jure segregation is virtually ended. We pledge continuation of these efforts until no American schoolchild suffers educational deprivation because of the color of his skin or the language he speaks and all school children are receiving high quality education. In pursuit of this goal we have proposed $2.5 billion of Federal aid to school districts to improve educational opportunities and build facilities for disadvantaged children. Further to assure minority progress, we have provided more support to predominantly black colleges than ever before—twice the amount being spent when President Nixon took office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Additionally, we have strengthened Federal enforcement of equal opportunity laws. Spending for civil rights enforcement has been increased from $75 million to $602 million—concrete evidence of our commitment to equal justice for all. The President also supported and signed into law the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, which makes the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission a much more powerful body.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Working closely with leaders of construction unions, we have initiated 50 "home-town" plans which call for more than 35,000 additional minority hirings in the building trades during the next four years. We will continue to search out new employment opportunities for minorities in other fields as well. We believe such new jobs can and should be created without displacing those already at work. We will give special consideration to minority Americans who live and make their way in the rural regions of our Country—Americans too often bypassed in the advances of the general society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

We have made unprecedented progress in strengthening minority participation in American business. We created the Office of Minority Business Enterprise in March 1969 to coordinate the Federal programs assisting members of minority groups who seek to establish or expand businesses. We have more than tripled Federal loans, guarantees and grants to minority-owned businesses. More minority Americans are now in our Nation's economic mainstream than at any other time in our history, and we pledge every effort to expand these gains.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

Minority businesses now receive 16 per cent of the Small Business Administration dollar—more than double the proportion in 1968. Many Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies have been licensed since 1969 to provide venture capital for minority enterprises. More than $200 million is now available through this program, and we have requested additional funding.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

In late 1970, we initiated a combined Government-private program to increase minority bank deposits. This year our goal of $100 million has been reached four times over.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.879

We pledge to carry forward our efforts to place minority citizens in responsible positions—efforts we feel are already well under way. During the last four years the percentage of minority Federal employees has risen to a record high of almost 20 per cent and, perhaps more important, the quality of jobs for minority Americans has improved. We [p.880] have recruited more minority citizens for top managerial posts in Civil Service than ever before. We will see that our progress in this area will continue and grow.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

In 1970 President Nixon approved strong new amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and we pledge continued vigilance to ensure that the rights affirmed by this act are upheld.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

The cultural diversity of America's heritage groups has always been a source of strength for our society and our Party. We reaffirm our commitment to the basic American values which have made this Nation the land of opportunity for these groups, originating from all sectors of the world, from Asia to Africa to Europe to Latin America. We will continue our Party's open-door policy and work to assure all minorities full opportunity for participation in the political process. We pledge vigorous support of the Bilingual Act and the Ethnic Studies Heritage Act.

Spanish-Speaking Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

In recognition of the significant contributions to our country by our proud and independent Spanish-speaking citizens, we have developed a comprehensive program to help achieve equal opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

During the last four years Spanish-speaking Americans have achieved a greater role in national affairs. More than thirty have been appointed to high federal positions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

To provide the same learning opportunities enjoyed by other American children, we have increased bilingual education programs almost six-fold since 1969. We initiated a 16-point employment program to help Spanish-speaking workers, created the National Economic Development Association to promote Spanish-speaking business development and expanded economic development opportunities in Spanish-speaking communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

We will work for the use of bilingual staffs in localities where this language capability is desirable for effective health care.

Indians, Alaska Natives, and Hawaiians

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

President Nixon has evolved a totally new Indian policy which we fully support. The opposition Congress, by inaction on most of the President's proposals, has thwarted Indian rights and opportunities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

We commend the Department of the Interior for its stalwart defense of Indian land and water rights, and we urge the Congress to join in support of that effort. We further request Congress to permit Indian tribal governments to assume control over the programs of the Departments of Interior and Health, Education and Welfare in their homelands, to assure Indians a role in determining how funds can best be used for their children's schools, to expand Indian economic development opportunity, to triple the funds for Indian credit and create a new Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian and Territorial Affairs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

These reforms, all urged by the President, have been ignored by the Congress. We—with the Indian people are impatiently waiting.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

Knowing the Indians' love for their land and recognizing the many wrongs committed in years past, the President has restored Blue Lake in New Mexico to the Taos Pueblo and the Mr. Adams area in Washington to the Yakima Nation. We are seeking to protect Indian water rights in Pyramid Lake by bringing suit in the Supreme Court.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

We are fully aware of the severe problems facing the Menominee Indians in seeking to have Federal recognition restored to their tribe and promise a complete and sympathetic examination of their pleas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

We have increased the Bureau of Indian Affairs' budget by 214 per cent, nearly doubled funds for Indian health, and are arranging with tribal leaders for the allocation of Bureau funds in accordance with priorities set by the tribal governments themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

We pledge continued attention to the needs of off-reservation Indians and have launched demonstration projects at Indian centers in nine major cities. We are determined that the first Americans will not be the forgotten Americans, and that their rights will be respected.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

We will continue the policy of Indian preference in hiring and promotion and apply it to all levels, including management and supervisory positions in those agencies with programs affecting Indian peoples.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.880

The standard of living of Indian Americans is still far below that of any of the peoples of the United States. This intolerable level of existence should be alleviated by the enactment of new legislation designed to further Indian self-determination without termination and to close this economic gap and raise the Indian standard of life [p.881] to that of the rest of America. We favor the development of such legislation in the 93d Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

At the President's recommendation, the Congress voted an Alaska Native Claims Settlement which confirms the titles of the Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts to 40 million acres and compensates them with a generous cash settlement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

We will also preserve and continue to protect the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act which provides land already set aside for Hawaiians for homes and the opportunity to preserve their culture.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Our achievements for human dignity and opportunity are specific and real, not idle promises. They have brought tremendous progress to many thousands of minority citizens and made our society more just for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

We will press on with our fight against social injustice and discrimination, building upon the achievements already made. Knowing that none of us can reap the fullest blessings of liberty until all of us can, we reaffirm our commitment to the upward struggle for universal freedom led by Abraham Lincoln a century ago.

Consumers

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

The American consumer has a right to product safety; clearly specified qualities and values, honest descriptions and guarantees, fair credit procedures, and due recourse for fraud and deception. We are addressing these concerns forcefully, with executive action and legislative and legal initiatives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

The issues involved in this accelerating awareness on the part of consumers lie close to the heart of the dynamic American market: Good products at fair prices made it great; the same things will keep it great.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Enlightened business management is as interested in consumer protection and consumer education as are consumers themselves. In a market-place as competitive and diverse as ours, a company's future depends on the reputation of its products. One safety error can wipe out an established firm overnight.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Unavoidably, the remoteness of business management from the retail counter tends to hamper consumers in resolving quality and performance questions. Technical innovations make it harder for the consumer to evaluate new products. Legal complexities often deny efficient remedies for deception or product failure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

To assist consumers and business, President Nixon established the first Office of Consumer Affairs in the White House and made its Director a member of his personal staff and of the Cost of Living Council. We have also proposed a Buyer's Bill of Rights, including:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Federal authority for the regulation of hazardous consumer products;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Requirement of full disclosure of the terms of warranties and guarantees in language all can understand.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

We support the establishment of an independent Consumer Protection Agency to present the consumer's case in proceedings before Federal agencies and also a consumer product safety agency in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. We oppose punitive proposals which are more anti-business than pro-consumer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

We pledge vigorous enforcement of all consumer protection laws and to foster more consumer education as a vital necessity in a market-place ever increasing in variety and complexity.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

We regard our Nation's veterans precisely as our President does:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

"Americans have long known that those who defended the great values of our Nation in wartime are of great value to the Nation when the war is over. It is traditional that the American veteran has been helped by his Nation so that he can create his own 'peace story', a story of prosperity, independence and dignity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

"Veterans benefit programs have therefore become more than a recognition for services performed in the past; they have become an investment in the future of the veteran and of his country."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Under Republican leadership, far more for our veterans is being done than ever before:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

G.I. Bill education benefits have been increased more than 35 per cent. Vietnam-era veterans have the highest assistance levels in history to help them pursue educational opportunities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Major cost-of-living adjustments have been made in Compensation and pension payments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Medical services are the best in the history of the Veterans Administration and now include a strong new drug treatment and rehabilitation program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.881

Disability benefits have been increased.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

[p.882] G.I. home loan benefits have been expanded and improved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

The total Administration commitment is massive—$12.4 billion for this fiscal year. This is the largest Veterans Administration budget in history, and the third largest of all Federal agencies and departments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

We are giving the highest priority to the employment problems of Vietnam veterans. In 1971 we initiated a comprehensive program which recently placed more than one million Vietnam-era veterans in jobs, training and education programs. For the future, we pledge:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Continuation of the Veterans Administration as a strong, independent agency;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Continuation of an independent system of Veterans Administration health care facilities to provide America's veterans with the best medical care available, including appropriate attention to the problems of the ex-serviceman afflicted with drug and alcohol problems;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Continuing attention to the needs of the Vietnam-era veteran, with special emphasis on employment opportunities, education and housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Continuation of our efforts to raise GI Bill education benefits to a level commensurate with post-World War II benefits in adjusted dollars;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Continued effort for a better coordinated national policy on cemeteries and burial benefits for veterans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

We will not fail our obligation to the Nation's 29 million veterans and will stand ever watchful of their needs and rights.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

The record is clear.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

More than any President, Richard Nixon has achieved major changes in policy and direction in our government. He has restored faith—faith that our system will indeed reflect the will of the people—faith that there will be a new era of peace and human progress at home and around the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

To be sure there is unfinished business on the agenda of our ever-restless Nation. We have great concern for those who have not participated more fully in the general prosperity. The twin evils of crime and drug abuse are still to be conquered. Peace in the world is not yet won.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

But Republican leadership has restored stability and sanity to our land once again. We have vigorously attacked every major problem.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Once again our direction is peace; once again our determination is national strength; once again we are prospering; once again, on a host of fronts, we are making progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Now we look to tomorrow.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

We pledge ourselves to go forward at an accelerated pace—with a determination and zeal unmatched before.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

In four years we mark the 200th anniversary of the freest, most productive, most benevolent Nation of all human history. In four years we celebrate one of man's highest achievements—two hundred years as a constitutional republic founded on the noble concept that every person is a sovereign being, possessed of dignity and inalienable rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Almost two centuries ago, the Founding Fathers envisioned a Nation of free people, at peace with themselves and the world—each with equal opportunity to pursue happiness in his own way. Much of that dream has come true; much is still to be fulfilled.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

We, the Republican Party, pledge ourselves to go forward, hand-in-hand with every citizen, to solve those problems that yet stand in the way of realizing that more perfect union, the dream of the Founding Fathers—a dream enhanced by the free and generous gift of people working together, not in shifting alliances of separated minorities, but in unison of spirit and purpose. We cannot favor, nor can we respect, the notion of group isolation in our United States of America. We must not divide and weaken ourselves by attitudes or policies which would segregate our citizens into separate racial, ethnic, economic, religious or social groups. It is the striving of all of us—our striving together as Americans—that will move our Nation continually onward to our Founders' dream.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

Building on the foundations of peace in the world, and reason and prosperity at home, our Republican Party pledges a new era of progress for man—progress toward more freedom, toward greater protection of individual rights, toward more security from want and fear, toward greater fulfillment and happiness for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform of 1972, p.882

We pledge to the American people that the 200th anniversary of this Nation in 1976 will be more than a celebration of two centuries of unequaled success; we pledge it also to be the beginning of the third and greatest century for all of our countrymen and, we pray, for all people in the world.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1976

Democratic Platform of 1976

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.915

We meet to adopt a Democratic platform, and to nominate Democratic candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, almost 200 years from the day that our revolutionary founders declared this country's independence from the British crown.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.915

The founder of the Democratic Party—Thomas Jefferson of Virginia—set forth the reasons for this separation and expressed the basic tenets of democratic government: That all persons are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among People, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.915

These truths may still be self-evident, but they have been tragically abused by our national government during the past eight years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.915

Two Republican Administrations have both misused and mismanaged the powers of national government, obstructing the pursuit of economic and social opportunity, causing needless hardship and despair among millions of our fellow citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.915

Two Republican Administrations have betrayed the people's trust and have created suspicion and [p.916] distrust of government through illegal and unconstitutional actions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

We acknowledge that no political party, nor any President or Vice President, possesses answers to all of the problems that face us as a nation, but neither do we concede that every human problem is beyond our control. We recognize further that the present distrust of government cannot be transformed easily into confidence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

It is within our power to recapture, in the governing of this nation, the basic tenets of fairness, equality, opportunity and rule of law that motivated our revolutionary founders.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

We do pledge a government that has as its guiding concern, the needs and aspirations of all the people, rather than the perquisites and special privilege of the few.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

We do pledge a government that listens, that is truthful, and that is not afraid to admit its mistakes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

We do pledge a government that will be committed to a fairer distribution of wealth, income and power.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

We do pledge a government in which the new Democratic President will work closely with the leaders of the Congress on a regular, systematic basis so that the people can see the results of unity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

We do pledge a government in which the Democratic members in both houses of Congress will seek a unity of purpose on the principles of the party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

Now, as we enter our 200th year as a nation, we as a party, with a sense of our obligations, pledge a reaffirmation of this nation's founding principles.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

In this platform of the Democratic Party, we present a clear alternative to the failures of preceding administrations and a projection of the common future to which we aspire: a world at peace; a just society of equals; a society without violence; a society in consonance with its natural environment, affording freedom to the individual and the opportunity to develop to the fullest human Potential.

I. Full Employment, Price Stability and Balanced Growth

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

The Democratic Party's concern for human dignity and freedom has been directed at increasing the economic opportunities for all our citizens and reducing the economic deprivation and inequities that have stained the record of American democracy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

Today, millions of people are unemployed. Unemployment represents mental anxiety, fear of harassment over unpaid bills, idle hours, loss of self-esteem, strained family relationships, deprivation of children and youth, alcoholism, drug abuse and crime. A job is a key measure of a person's place in society—whether as a full-fledged participant or on the outside. Jobs are the solution to poverty, hunger and other basic needs of workers and their families. Jobs enable a person to translate legal rights of equality into reality.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

Our industrial capacity is also wastefully under-utilized. There are houses to build, urban centers to rebuild, roads and railroads to construct and repair, rivers to clean, and new sources of energy to develop. Something is wrong when there is work to be done, and the people who are willing to do it are without jobs. What we have lacked is leadership.

Republican Mismanagement

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

During the past 25 years, the American economy has suffered five major recessions, all under Republican administrations. During the past eight years, we have had two costly recessions with continuing unprecedented peacetime inflation. "Stagflation" has become a new word in our language just as it has become a product of Republican economic policy. Never before have we had soaring inflation in the midst of a major recession.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

Stagnation, waste and human suffering are the legacy left to the American people by Republican economic policies. During the past five years, U.S. economic growth has averaged only 1-1/2 per cent per year compared with an historical average of about 4 per cent. Because of this shortfall, the nation has lost some $500–billion in the production of goods and services, and, if Republican rule continues, we can expect to lose another $600–$800–billion by 1980.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.916

Ten million people are unemployed right now, and twenty to thirty million were jobless at some time in each of the last two years. For major groups in the labor force—minorities, women, youth, older workers, farm, factory and construction workers—unemployment has been, and remains, at depression levels.[p.917]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

The rising cost of food, clothing, housing, energy and health care has eroded the income of the average American family, and has pushed persons on fixed incomes to the brink of economic disaster. Since 1970, the annual rate of inflation has averaged more than 6 percent and is projected by the Ford administration to continue at an unprecedented peacetime rate of 6 to 7 per cent until 1978.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

The depressed production and high unemployment rates of the Nixon-Ford administrations have produced federal deficits totaling $242 billion. Those who should be working and paying taxes are collecting unemployment compensation or other welfare payments in order to survive. For every one per cent increase in the unemployment rate—for every one million Americans out of work —we all pay $3 billion more in unemployment compensation and $2 billion in welfare and related costs, and lose $14 billion in taxes. In fiscal 1976, $76 billion was lost to the federal government through increased recession-related expenditures and lost revenues. In addition, state and local governments lost $27 billion in revenues. A return to full employment will eliminate such deficits. With prudent management of existing programs, full employment revenues will permit the financing of national Democratic initiatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

For millions of Americans, the Republican Party has substituted welfare for work. Huge sums will be spent on food stamps and medical care for families of the unemployed. Social insurance costs are greatly increased. This year alone the federal government will spend nearly $20 billion on unemployment compensation. In contrast, spending on job development is only $2–1/2 billion. The goal of the new Democratic administration will be to turn unemployment cheeks into pay cheeks.

What Democrats Can Achieve

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

In contrast to the record of Republican mismanagement, the most recent eight years of Democratic leadership, under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, produced economic growth that was virtually uninterrupted. The unemployment rate dropped from 6.7 per cent in 1961 to 3.6 per cent in 1968, and most segments of the population benefited. Inflation increased at an average annual rate of only 2 per cent, and the purchasing power of the average family steadily increased. In 1960, about 40 million people were living in poverty. Over the next eight years, 14–1/2 million people moved out of poverty because of training opportunities, increased jobs and higher incomes. Since 1968, the number of persons living in poverty has remained virtually unchanged.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

We have met the goals of full employment with stable prices in the past and can do it again. The Democratic Party is committed to the right of all adult Americans willing, able and seeking work to have opportunities for useful jobs at living wages. To make that commitment meaningful, we pledge ourselves to the support of legislation that will make every responsible effort to reduce adult unemployment to 3 per cent within 4 years.

Modernizing Economic Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

To meet our goals we must set annual targets for employment, production and price stability; the Federal Reserve must be made a full partner in national economic decisions and become responsive to the economic goals of Congress and the President; credit must be generally available at reasonable interest rates; tax, spending and credit policies must be carefully coordinated with our economic goals, and coordinated within the framework of national economic planning.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

Of special importance is the need for national economic planning capability. This planning capability should provide roles for Congress and the Executive as equal partners in the process and provide for full participation by the private sector, and state and local government. Government must plan ahead just like any business, and this type of planning can be implemented without the creation of a new bureaucracy but rather through the well-defined use of existing bodies and techniques. If we do not plan, but continue to react to crisis after crisis, our economic performance will be further eroded.

Full Employment Policies

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

Institutional reforms and the use of conventional tax, spending and credit policies must be accompanied by a broad range of carefully-targeted employment programs that will reduce unemployment in the private sector, and in regions, states and groups that have special employment problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.917

[p.918] The lack of formal coordination among federal, state and local governments is a major obstacle to full employment. The absence of economic policy coordination is particularly visible during times of high unemployment. Recessions reduce tax revenues, and increase unemployment-related expenditures for state and local governments. To maintain balanced budgets or reduce budget deficits these governments are forced to increase taxes and cut services—actions that directly undermine federal efforts to stimulate the economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.918

Consistent and coherent economic policy requires federal anti-recession grant programs to state and local government, accompanied by public employment, public works projects and direct stimulus to the private sector. In each case, the programs should be phased in automatically when unemployment rises and phased out as it declines.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.918

Even during periods of normal economic growth there are communities and regions of the country—particularly central cities and rural areas —that do not fully participate in national economic prosperity. The Democratic Party has supported national economic policies which have consciously sought to aid regions in the nation which have been afflicted with poverty, or newer regions which have needed resources for development. These policies were soundly conceived and have been successful. Today, we have different areas and regions in economic decline and once again face a problem of balanced economic growth. To restore balance, national economic policy should be designed to target federal resources in areas of greatest need. To make low interest loans to businesses and state and local governments for the purpose of encouraging private sector investment in chronically depressed areas, we endorse consideration of programs such as a domestic development bank or federally insured taxable state and local bonds with adequate funding, proper management and public disclosure.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.918

Special problems faced by young people, especially minorities, entering the labor force persist regardless of the state of the economy. To meet the needs of youth, we should consolidate existing youth employment programs; improve training, apprenticeship, internship and job-counseling programs at the high school and college levels; and permit youth participation in public employment projects.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.918

There are people who will be especially difficult to employ. Special means for training and locating jobs for these people in the private sector, and, to the extent required, in public employment, should be established. Every effort should be made to create jobs in the private sector. Clearly, useful public jobs are far superior to welfare and unemployment payments. The federal government has the responsibility to ensure that all Americans able, willing and seeking work are provided opportunities for useful jobs.

Equal Employment Opportunity

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.918

We must be absolutely certain that no person is excluded from the fullest opportunity for economic and social participation in our society on the basis of sex, age, color, religion or national origin. Minority unemployment has historically been at least double the aggregate unemployment rate, with incomes at two-thirds the national average. Special emphasis must be placed on closing this gap.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.918

Accordingly, we reaffirm this Party's commitment to full and vigorous enforcement of all equal opportunities laws and affirmative action. The principal agencies charged with anti-discrimination enforcement in jobs—the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Department of Labor, and the Justice Department—are locked into such overlapping and uncoordinated strategies that a greatly improved government-wide system for the delivery of equal job and promotion opportunities must be developed and adequate funding committed to that end. New remedies to provide equal opportunities need exploration.

Anti-Inflation Policies

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.918

The economic and social costs of inflation have been enormous. Inflation is a tax that erodes the income of our workers, distorts business investment decisions, and redistributes income in favor of the rich, Americans on fixed incomes, such as the elderly, are often pushed into poverty by this cruel tax.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.918

The Ford administration and its economic advisors have been consistently wrong about the sources and cures of the inflation that has plagued our nation and our people. Fighting inflation by curtailing production and increasing unemployment has done nothing to restrain it. With the [p.919] current high level of unemployment and low level of capacity utilization, we can increase production and employment without rekindling inflation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

A comprehensive anti-inflation policy must be established to assure relative price stability. Such a program should emphasize increased production and productivity and should take other measures to enhance the stability and flexibility of our economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

The see-saw progress of our economy over the past eight years has disrupted economic growth. Much of the instability has been created by stop-and-go monetary policies. High interest rates and the recurring underutilization of our manufacturing plant and equipment have retarded new investment. The high cost of credit has stifled small businesses and virtually halted the housing industry. Unemployment in the construction industry has been raised to depression levels and home ownership has been priced beyond the reach of the majority of the people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

Stable economic growth with moderate interest rates will not only place downward pressure on prices through greater efficiency and productivity, but will reduce the prospects for future shortages of supply by increasing the production of essential goods and services and by providing a more predictable environment for business investment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

The government must also work to improve the ability of our economy to respond to change. Competition in the private sector, a re-examination, reform and consolidation of the existing regulatory structure, and promotion of a freer but fair system of international trade will aid in achieving that goal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

At times, direct government involvement in wage and price decisions may be required to insure price stability. But we do not believe that such involvement requires a comprehensive system of mandatory controls at this time. It will require that businesses and labor must meet fair standards of wage and price change. A strong domestic council on price and wage stability should be established with particular attention to restraining price increases in those sectors of our economy where prices are "administered" and where price competition does not exist.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

The federal government should hold public hearings, investigate and publish facts on price, profit, wage and interest rate increases that seriously threaten national price stability. Such investigations and proper planning can focus public opinion and awareness on the direction of price, profit, wage and interest rate decisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

Finally, tax policy should be used if necessary to maintain the real income of workers as was done with the 1975 tax cut.

Economic Justice

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

The Democratic Party has a long history of opposition to the undue concentration of wealth and economic power. It is estimated that about three-quarters of the country's total wealth is owned by one-fifth of the people. The rest of our population struggles to make ends meet in the face of rising prices and taxes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

Anti-trust enforcement. The next Democratic administration will commit itself to move vigorously against anti-competitive concentration of power within the business sector. This can be accomplished in part by strengthening the anti-trust laws and insuring adequate commitment and resources for the enforcement of these laws. But we must go beyond this negative remedy to a positive policy for encouraging the development of a small business, including the family farm.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

Small businesses. A healthy and growing small business community is prerequisite for increasing competition and a thriving national economy. While most people would accept this view, the federal government has in the past impeded the growth of small businesses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

To alleviate the unfavorable conditions for small businesses, we must make every effort to assure the availability of loans to small business, including direct government loans at reasonable interest rates particularly to those in greatest need, such as minority-owned businesses. For example, efforts should be made to strengthen minority business programs, and increase minority opportunities for business ownership. We support similar programs and opportunities for women. Federal contract and procurement opportunities in such areas as housing, transportation and energy should support efforts to increase the volume of minority and small business involvement. Regulatory agencies and the regulated small business must work together to see that federal regulations are met, without applying a stranglehold on the small firm or farm and with less paper work and red tape.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.919

Tax reform. Economic [p.920] justice will also require a firm commitment to tax reform at all levels. In recent years there has been a shift in the tax burden from the rich to the working people of this country. The Internal Revenue Code offers massive tax welfare to the wealthiest income groups in the population and only higher taxes for the average citizen. In 1973, there were 622 people with adjusted income of $100,000 or more who still managed to pay no tax. Most families pay between 20 and 25 per cent of their income in taxes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We have had endless talk about the need for tax reform and fairness in our federal tax system. It is now time for action.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We pledge the Democratic Party to a complete overhaul of the present tax system, which will review all special tax provisions to ensure that they are justified and distributed equitably among our citizens. A responsible Democratic tax reform program could save over $5–billion in the first year with larger savings in the future.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We will strengthen the internal revenue tax code so that high income citizens pay a reasonable tax on all economic income.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We will reduce the use of unjustified tax shelters in such areas as oil and gas, tax-loss farming, real estate, and movies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We will eliminate unnecessary and ineffective tax provisions to business and substitute effective incentives to encourage small business and capital formation in all businesses. Our commitment to full employment and sustained purchasing power will also provide a strong incentive for capital formation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We will end abuses in the tax treatment of income from foreign sources; such as special tax treatment and incentives for multinational corporations that drain jobs and capital from the American economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We will overhaul federal estate and gift taxes to provide an effective and equitable structure to promote tax justice and alleviate some of the legitimate problems faced by farmers, small business men and women and others who would otherwise be forced to liquidate assets in order to pay the tax.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We will seek and eliminate provisions that encourage uneconomic corporate mergers and acquisitions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We will eliminate tax inequities that adversely affect individuals on the basis of sex or marital status.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

We will curb expense account deductions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

And we will protect the rights of all taxpayers against oppressive procedures, harassment and invasions of privacy by the Internal Revenue Service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

At present, many federal government tax and expenditure programs have a profound but unintended and undesirable impact on jobs and on where people and business locate. Tax policies and other indirect subsidies have promoted deterioration of cities and regions. These policies should be reversed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

There are other areas of taxation where change is also needed. The Ford administration's unwise and unfair proposal to raise the regressive social security tax gives new urgency to the Democratic Party's goal of redistributing the burden of the social security tax by raising the wage base for earnings subject to the tax with effective exemptions and deductions to ease the impact on low income workers and two-earner families. Further revision in the Social Security program will be required so that women are treated as individuals.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

The Democratic Party should make a reappraisal of the appropriate sources of federal revenues. The historical distribution of the tax burden between corporations and individuals, and among the various types of federal taxes, has changed dramatically in recent years. For example, the corporate tax share of federal revenue has declined from 30 per cent in 1954 to 14 per cent in 1975.

Labor Standards and Rights

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

The purpose of fair labor standards legislation has been the maintenance of the minimum standards necessary for the health, efficiency and general well-being of workers. Recent inflation has eroded the real value of the current minimum wage. This rapid devaluation of basic income for working people makes a periodic review of the level of the minimum wage essential. Such a review should insure that the minimum wage rate at least keep pace with the increase in the cost of living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.920

Raising the pay standard for overtime work, additional hiring of part-time persons and flexible work schedules will increase the independence of [p.921] workers and create additional job opportunities, especially for women. We also support the principle of equal pay for comparable work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

We are committed to full implementation and enforcement of the Equal Credit Opportunity Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

Over a generation ago this nation established a labor policy whose purpose is to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and the right of workers to organize to obtain this goal. The Democratic Party is committed to extending the benefit of the policy to all workers and to removing the barriers to its administration. We support the right of public employees and agricultural workers to organize and bargain collectively. We urge the adoption of appropriate federal legislation to ensure this goal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

We will seek to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to speed up redress of grievances of workers asserting their legal rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

We will seek to enforce and, where necessary, to amend the National Labor Relations Act to eliminate delays and inequities and to provide for more effective remedies and administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

We will support the full right of construction workers to picket a job site peacefully.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

We will seek repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which allows states to legislate the anti-union open shop.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

We will maintain strong support for the process of voluntary arbitration, and we will enact minimum federal standards for workers compensation laws and for eligibility, benefit amounts, benefit duration and other essential features of the unemployment insurance program. Unemployment insurance should cover all wage and salary workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 should cover all employees and be enforced as intended when the law was enacted. Early and periodic review of its provisions should be made to insure that they are reasonable and workable.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

The Democratic Party will also seek to enact a comprehensive mine safety law, utilizing the most effective and independent enforcement by the federal government and support special legislation providing adequate compensation to coal miners and their dependents who have suffered disablement or death as a result of the black lung disease.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

We believe these policies will put America back to work, bring balanced growth to our economy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

and give all Americans an opportunity to share in the expanding prosperity that will come from a new Democratic administration.

II. Government Reform and Business Accountability

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

The current Republican administration did not invent inept government, but it has saddled the country with ineffective government; captive government, subservient to the special pleading of private economic interests; insensitive government, trampling over the rights of average citizens; and remote government, secretive and unresponsive.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

Democrats believe that the cure for these ills is not the abandonment of governmental responsibility for addressing national problems, but the restoration of legitimate popular control over the organs and activities of government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

There must be an ever-increasing accountability of government to the people. The Democratic Party is pledged to the fulfillment of four fundamental citizen rights of governance: the right to competent government; the right to responsive government; the right to integrity in government; the right to fair dealing by government.

The Right to Competent Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

The Democratic Party is committed to the adoption of reforms such as zero-based budgeting, mandatory reorganization timetables, and sunset laws which do not jeopardize the implementation of basic human and political rights. These reforms are designed to terminate or merge existing agencies and programs, or to renew them, only after assuring elimination of duplication, overlap, and conflicting programs and authorities, and the matching of funding levels to public needs. In addition, we seek flexibility to reflect changing public needs, the use of alternatives to regulation and the elimination of special interest favoritism and bias.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.921

To assure that government remains responsive to the people's elected representatives, the Democratic Party supports stepped-up congressional agency oversight and program evaluation, including full implementation of the congressional budget process; an expanded, more forceful role for the General Accounting Office in performing legislative audits for Congress; and restraint by [p.922] the President in exercising executive privilege designed to withhold necessary information from Congress.

The Right to Responsive Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

To begin to restore the shaken faith of Americans that the government in Washington is their government—responsive to their needs and desires, not the special interests of wealth, entrenched political influence, or bureaucratic self-interest—government decision-making must be opened up to citizen advocacy and participation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

Governmental decision-making behind closed doors is the natural enemy of the people. The Democratic Party is committed to openness throughout government: at regulatory commissions, advisory committee meetings and at hearings. Public calendars of scheduled meetings between regulators and the regulated, and freedom of information policies, should be designed to facilitate rather than frustrate citizen access to documents and information.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

All persons and citizen groups must be given standing to challenge illegal or unconstitutional government action in court and to compel appropriate action. Where a court or an agency finds evidence of government malfeasance or neglect those who brought forward such evidence should be compensated for their reasonable expenses in doing so.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

Democrats have long sought—against fierce Republican and big business opposition—the creation and maintenance of an independent consumer agency with the staff and power to intervene in regulatory matters on behalf of the consuming and using public. Many states have already demonstrated that such independent public or consumer advocates can win important victories for the public interest in proceedings before state regulatory agencies and courts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

This nation's Civil Service numbers countless strong and effective public servants. It was the resistance of earnest and steadfast federal workers that stemmed the Nixon-Ford efforts to undermine the integrity of the Civil Service. The reorganization of government which we envision will protect the job rights of civil servants and permit them to more effectively serve the public.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

The Democratic Party is committed to the review and overhaul of Civil Service laws to assure:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

insulation from political cronyism, accountability for nonfeasance as well as malfeasance, protection for the public servant who speaks out to identify corruption or failure, performance standards and incentives to reward efficiency and innovation and to assure nondiscrimination and affirmative action in the recruitment, hiring and promotion of civil service employees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

We support the revision of the Hatch Act so as to extend to federal workers the same political rights enjoyed by other Americans as a birthright, while still protecting the Civil Service from political abuse.

The Right to Integrity in Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

The Democratic Party is pledged to the concept of full public disclosure by major public officials and urges appropriate legislation to effectuate this policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

We support divestiture of all financial holdings which directly conflict with official responsibilities and the development of uniform standards, review procedures and sanctions to identify and eliminate potential conflicts of interest.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

Tough, competent regulatory commissioners with proven commitment to the public interest are urgently needed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

We will seek restrictions on "revolving door" careerism—the shuttling back and forth of officials between jobs in regulatory or procurement agencies and in regulated industries and government contractors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

All diplomats, federal judges and other major officials should be selected on a basis of qualifications. At all levels of government services, we will recruit, appoint and promote women and minorities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

We support legislation to ensure that the activities of lobbyists be more thoroughly revealed both within the Congress and the Executive agencies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.922

The Democratic Party has led the fight to take the presidency off the auction block by championing the public financing of presidential elections. The public has responded with enthusiastic use of the $1 income tax checkoff. Similar steps must now be taken for congressional candidates. We call for legislative action to provide for partial public financing on a matching basis of the congressional elections, and the exploration of further [p.923] reforms to insure the integrity of the electoral process.

The Right to Fair Dealing by Government

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

A citizen has the right to expect fair treatment from government. Democrats are determined to find a means to make that right a reality.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

An Office of Citizen Advocacy should be established as part of the executive branch, independent of any agency, with full access to agency records and with both the power and the responsibility to investigate complaints.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

Freedom of information requirements must be interpreted in keeping with the right of the individual to be free from anonymous accusation or slander. Each citizen has the right to know and to review any information directly concerning him or her held by the government for any purpose whatsoever under the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy Act of 1974, other than those exceptions set out in the Freedom of Information Act. Such information should be forthcoming promptly, without harassment and at a minimal cost to the citizen.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

Appropriate remedies must be found for citizens who suffer hardship as the result of abuse of investigative or prosecutorial powers.

Business Accountability

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

The Democratic Party believes that competition is preferable to regulation and that government has a responsibility to seek the removal of unreasonable restraints and barriers to competition, to restore and, where necessary, to stimulate the operation of market forces. Unnecessary, regulation should be eliminated or revised, and the burden of excessive paperwork and red tape imposed on citizens and businesses should be removed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

The Democratic Party encourages innovation and efficiency in the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

The Democratic Party also believes that strengthening consumer sovereignty—the ability of consumers to exercise free choice, to demand satisfaction, and to obtain direct redress of grievances—is similarly preferable to the present indirect government protection of consumers. However, government must not shirk its responsibility to impose and rigorously enforce regulation where necessary to ensure health, safety and fairness.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

We reiterate our support for unflinching antitrust enforcement, and for the selection of an Attorney General free of political obligation and committed to rigorous antitrust prosecution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

We shall encourage consumer groups to establish and operate consumer cooperatives that will enable consumers to provide themselves marketplace alternatives and to provide a competitive spur to profit-oriented enterprises.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

We support responsible cost savings in the delivery of professional services including the use of low-cost paraprofessionals, efficient group practice and federal standards for state no-fault insurance programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

We reiterate our support for full funding of neighborhood legal services for the poor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

The Democratic Party is also committed to strengthening the knowledge and bargaining power of consumers through government-supported systems for developing objective product performance standards; advertising and labeling requirements for the disclosure of essential consumer information; and efficient and low-cost redress of consumer complaints including strengthened small claims courts, informal dispute settlement mechanisms, and consumer class actions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

The Democratic Party is committed to making the U.S. Postal Service function properly as an essential public service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

We reaffirm the historic Democratic commitment to assure the wholesomeness of consumer products such as food, chemicals, drugs and cosmetics, and the safety of automobiles, toys and appliances. Regulations demanding safe performance can be developed in a way that minimizes their own costs and actually stimulates product innovation beneficial to consumers.

III. Government and Human Needs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

The American people are demanding that their national government act more efficiently and effectively in those areas of urgent human needs such as welfare reform, health care and education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.923

However, beyond these strong national initiatives, state and local governments must be given an increased, permanent role in administering social programs. The federal government's role should be the constructive one of establishing standards and goals with increased state and local participation. There is a need for a new blueprint for the public sector, one which identifies and [p.924] responds to national problems, and recognizes the proper point of administration for both new and existing programs. In shifting administrative responsibility, such programs must meet minimum federal standards.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

Government must concentrate, not scatter, its resources. It should not divide our people by inadequate and demanding programs. The initiatives we propose do not require larger bureaucracy. They do require committed government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

The Democratic Party realizes that accomplishing our goals in the areas of human needs will require time and resources. Additional resources will become available as we implement our full-employment policies. Federal revenues also grow over time. After full-employment has been achieved, $20 billion of increased revenue will be generated by a fully operating economy each year. The program detailed in the areas of human needs cannot be accomplished immediately, but an orderly beginning can be made and the effort expanded as additional resources become available.

Health Care

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

In 1975, national health expenditures averaged $547 per person—an almost 40 per cent increase in four years. Inflation and recession have combined to erode the effectiveness of the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

An increasingly high proportion of health costs have been shifted back to the elderly. An increasing Republican emphasis on restricting eligibility and services is emasculating basic medical care for older citizens who cannot meet the rising costs of good health.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

We need a comprehensive national health insurance system with universal and mandatory coverage. Such a national health insurance system should be financed by a combination of employer-employee shared payroll taxes and general tax revenues. Consideration should be given to developing a means of support for national health insurance that taxes all forms of economic income. We must achieve all that is practical while we strive for what is ideal, taking intelligent steps to make adequate health services a right for all our people. As resources permit, this system should not discriminate against the mentally ill.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

Maximum personal interrelationships between patients and their physicians should be preserved. We should experiment with new forms of medical care delivery to mold a national health policy that will meet our needs in a fiscally responsible manner.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

We must shift our emphasis in both private and public health care away from hospitalization and acute-care services to preventive medicine and the early detection of the major cripplers and killers of the American people. We further support increased federal aid to the government laboratories as well as private institutions to seek the cure to heart disease, cancer, sickle cell anemia, paralysis from spinal cord injury, drug addiction and other such afflictions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

National health insurance must also bring about a more responsive consumer-oriented system of health care delivery. Incentives must be used to increase the number of primary health care providers, and shift emphasis away from limited-application, technology-intensive programs. By reducing the barriers to primary preventive care, we can lower the need for costly hospitalization. Communities must be encouraged to avoid duplication of expensive technologies and meet the genuine needs of their populations. The development of community health centers must be resumed. We must develop new health careers, and promote a better distribution of health care professionals, including the more efficient use of paramedics. All levels of government should concern themselves with increasing the number of doctors and para-medical personnel in the field of primary health care.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

A further need is the comprehensive treatment of mental illness, including the development of Community Mental Health Centers that provide comprehensive social services not only to alleviate, but to prevent mental stresses resulting from social isolation and economic dislocation. Of particular importance is improved access to the health care system by underserved population groups.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

We must have national health insurance with strong built-in cost and quality controls. Rates for institutional care and physicians' services should be set in advance, prospectively. Alternative approaches to health care delivery, based on prepayment financing, should be encouraged and developed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.924

Americans are currently spending $133 billion for health care—8.3% of our Gross National Product. A return to full employment and the maintenance thereafter of stable economic growth will [p.925] permit the orderly and progressive development of a comprehensive national health insurance program which is federally financed. Savings will result from the removal of inefficiency and waste in the current multiple public and private insurance programs and the structural integration of the delivery system to eliminate duplication and waste. The cost of such a program need not exceed the share of the GNP this nation currently expends on health care; but the resulting improvement of health service would represent a major improvement in the quality of life enjoyed by Americans at all economic levels.

Welfare Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

Fundamental welfare reform is necessary. The problems with our current chaotic and inequitable system of public assistance are notorious. Existing welfare programs encourage family instability. They have few meaningful work incentives. They do little or nothing for the working poor on substandard incomes. The patchwork of federal, state and local programs encourages unfair variations in benefit levels among the states, and benefits in many states are well below the standards for even lowest-income budgets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

Of the current programs, only Food Stamps give universal coverage to all Americans in financial need. Cash assistance, housing aid and health care subsidies divide recipients into arbitrary categories. People with real needs who do not fit existing categories are ignored altogether.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

The current complexity of the welfare structure requires armies of bureaucrats at all levels of government. Food Stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Medicaid are burdened by unbelievably complex regulations, statutes and court orders. Both the recipients of these benefits, and the citizen who pays for them, suffer as a result. The fact that our current system is administered and funded at different levels of government makes it difficult to take initiatives to improve the status of the poor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

We should move toward replacement of our existing inadequate and wasteful system with a simplified system of income maintenance, substantially financed by the federal government, which includes a requirement that those able to work be provided with appropriate available jobs or job training opportunities. Those persons who are physically able to work (other than mothers with dependent children) should be required to accept appropriate available jobs or job training. This maintenance system should embody certain basic principles. First and most important, it should provide an income floor both for the working poor and the poor not in the labor market. It must treat stable and broken families equally. It must incorporate a simple schedule of work incentives that guarantees equitable levels of assistance to the working poor. This reform may require an initial additional investment, but it offers the prospect of stabilization of welfare costs over the long run, and the assurance that the objectives of this expenditure will be accomplished.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

As an interim step, and as a means of providing immediate federal fiscal relief to state and local governments, local governments should no longer be required to bear the burden of welfare costs. Further, there should be a phased reduction in the states' share of welfare costs.

Civil and Political Rights

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

To achieve a just and healthy society and enhance respect and trust in our institutions, we must insure that all citizens are treated equally before the law and given the opportunity, regardless of race, color, sex, religion, age, language or national origin, to participate fully in the economic, social and political processes and to vindicate their legal and constitutional rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

In reaffirmation of this principle, an historic commitment of the Democratic Party, we pledge vigorous federal programs and policies of compensatory opportunity to remedy for many Americans the generations of injustice and deprivation; and full funding of programs to secure the implementation and enforcement of civil rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

We seek ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, to insure that sex discrimination in all its forms will be ended, implementation of Title IX, and elimination of discrimination against women in all federal programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.925

We support the right of all Americans to vote for President no matter where they live; vigorous enforcement of voting rights legislation to assure the constitutional rights of minority and language-minority citizens; the passage of legislation providing for registration by mail in federal elections to erase existing barriers to voter participation; and full home rule for the District of Columbia, including authority over its budget and local [p.926] revenues, elimination of federal restrictions in matters which are purely local and voting representation in the Congress, and the declaration of the birthday of the great civil rights leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., as a national holiday.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

We pledge effective and vigorous action to protect citizens' privacy from bureaucratic technological intrusions, such as wiretapping and bugging without judicial scrutiny and supervision; and a full and complete pardon for those who are in legal or financial jeopardy because of their peace fill opposition to the Vietnam War, with deserters to be considered on a case-by-case basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

The Democratic Party reaffirms and strengthens its legal and moral trust responsibilities to the American Indian. We believe it is honorable to obey and implement our treaty obligations to the first Americans. In discharging our duty, we shall exert all and necessary assistance to afford the American Indians the protection of their land, their water and their civil rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

Federal laws relating to American Indians and the functions and purposes of the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be reexamined.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

We support a provision in the immigration laws to facilitate acquisition of citizenship by Resident Aliens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

We are committed to Puerto Rico's right to enjoy full self-determination and a relationship that can evolve in ways that will most benefit U.S. citizens in Puerto Rico. The Democratic Party respects and supports the present desire of the people of Puerto Rico to freely associate in permanent union with the United States, as an autonomous commonwealth or as a State.

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

The goal of our educational policy is to provide our citizens with the knowledge and skills they need to live successfully. In pursuing this goal, we will seek adequate funding, implementation and enforcement of requirements in the education programs already approved by Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

We should strengthen federal support of existing programs that stress improvement of reading and math skills. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act must reach those it is intended to benefit to effectively increase these primary skills. "Break-throughs" in compensatory education require a concentration of resources on each individual child and a mix of home and school activities that is not possible with the underfunded Republican programs. Compensatory education is realistic only when there is a stable sequence of funding that allows proper planning and continuity of programs, an impossibility under Republican veto and impoundment politics.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

We should also work to expand federal support in areas of educational need that have not yet been addressed sufficiently by the public schools—education of the handicapped, bilingual education and vocational education, and early childhood education. We propose federally financed, family centered developmental and educational child care programs—operated by the public schools or other local organizations, including both private and community—and that they be available to all who need and desire them. We support efforts to provide for the basic nutritional needs of students.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

We recognize the right of all citizens to education, pursuant to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, and the need in affected communities for bilingual and bicultural educational programs. We call for compliance with civil rights requirements in hiring and promotion in school systems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

For the disadvantaged child, equal opportunity requires concentrated spending. And for all children, we must guarantee that jurisdictions of differing financial capacity can spend equal amounts on education. These goals do not conflict but complement each other.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

The principle that a child's education should depend on the property wealth of his or her school jurisdiction has been discredited in the last few years. With increased federal funds, it is possible to enhance educational opportunity by eliminating spending disparities within state borders. State-based equalizations, even state takeover of education costs, to relieve the overburdened property taxpayer and to avoid the inequities in the existing finance system, should be encouraged.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.926

The essential purpose of school desegregation is to give all children the same educational opportunities. We will continue to support that goal. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the aftermath were based on the recognition that separate educational facilities are inherently [p.927] unequal. It is clearly our responsibility as a party and as citizens to support the principles of our Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

The Democratic Party pledges its concerted help through special consultation, matching funds, incentive grants and other mechanisms to communities which seek education, integrated both in terms of race and economic class, through equitable, reasonable and constitutional arrangements. Mandatory transportation of students beyond their neighborhoods for the purpose of desegregation remains a judicial tool of the last resort for the purpose of achieving school desegregation. The Democratic Party will be an active ally of those communities which seek to enhance the quality as well as the integration of educational opportunities. We encourage a variety of other measures, including the redrawing of attendance lines, pairing of schools, use of the "magnet school" concept, strong fair housing enforcement, and other techniques for the achievement of racial and economic integration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

The Party reaffirms its support of public school education. The Party also renews its commitment to the support of a constitutionally acceptable method of providing tax aid for the education of all pupils in non-segregated schools in order to insure parental freedom in choosing the best education for their children. Specifically, the Party will continue to advocate constitutionally permissible federal education legislation which provides for the equitable participation in federal programs of all low- and moderate-income pupils attending all the nation's schools.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

The Party commits itself to support of adult education and training which will provide skills upgrading.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

In higher education, our Party is strongly committed to extending postsecondary opportunities for students from low- and middle-income families, including older students and students who eau attend only part-time. The Basic Educational Opportunity Grants should be funded at the full payment schedule, and campus-based programs of aid must be supported to provide a reasonable choice of institutions as well as access. With a coordinated and reliable system of grants, loans and work study, we can relieve the crisis in costs that could shut all but the affluent out of our colleges and universities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

The federal government and the states must develop strategies to support institutions of higher education from both public and private sources. The federal government should directly provide cost of education payments to all higher education institutions, including predominantly black colleges, to help cover per-student costs, which far exceed those covered by tuition and fees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

Finally, government must systematically support basic and applied research in the liberal arts, the sciences, education and the professions—without political interference or bureaucratic restraint. The federal investment in graduate education should be sustained and selectively increased to meet the need for highly trained individuals. Trainee-ships and fellowships should be provided to attract the most talented students, especially among minority groups and women.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

Libraries should receive continuous guaranteed support and the presently impounded funds for nationwide library planning and development should be released immediately.

Social Services

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

The Nixon-Ford administration would limit eligibility for federally-subsidized social services to the very poor. Social services can make significant changes in the lives of the non-poor, as well. The problems of alcoholism, drug abuse, mental retardation, child abuse or neglect, and mental illness arise at every income level, and quality day-care has become increasingly urgent for low- and middle-income families. Federal grants to the states should support a broad community-based program of social services to low- and middle-income families, to assure that these programs reach their intended populations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

The states are now being required to take over an increasing share of existing social service programs. In 1972, the ceiling for federal social service grants was frozen at $2.5 billion, and subsequent inflation of 28 per cent has reduced the effective federal aid to existing programs. While there must certainly be a ceiling on such grants, it should be raised to compensate for inflation and to encourage states and localities to expand social services to low- and moderate-income families.

Disabled Citizens

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.927

We support greater recognition of the problems of the disabled and legislation assuring that all people with disabilities have reasonable access to all public accommodations and facilities. The [p.928] Democratic Party supports affirmative action goals for employment of the disabled.

Older Citizens

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

The Democratic Party has always emphasized that adequate income and health care for senior citizens are basic federal government responsibilities. The recent failure of government to reduce unemployment and alleviate the impact of the rising costs of food, housing and energy have placed a heavy burden on those who live on fixed and limited incomes, especially the elderly. Our other platform proposals in these areas are designed to help achieve an adequate income level for the elderly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

We will not permit an erosion of social security benefits, and while our ultimate goal is a health security system ensuring comprehensive and quality care for all Americans, health costs paid by senior citizens under the present system must be reduced.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

We believe that Medicare should be made available to Americans abroad who are eligible for Social Security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

Democrats strongly support employment programs and the liberalization of the allowable earnings limitation under Social Security for older Americans who wish to continue working and living as productive citizens. We will put an end to delay in implementation of nutrition programs for the elderly and give high priority to a transportation policy for senior citizens under the Older Americans Act. We pledge to enforce vigorously health and safety standards for nursing homes, and seek alternatives which allow senior citizens where possible to remain in their own homes.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

America's veterans have been rhetorically praised by the Nixon-Ford administration at the same time that they have been denied adequate medical, educational, pension and employment benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

Vietnam veterans have borne the brunt of unemployment and economic mismanagement at home. As late as December 1975, the unemployment rate for Vietnam veterans was over 10 per cent. Younger Vietnam veterans (ages 20–24) have had unemployment rates almost twice the rate of similarly-aged non-veterans. Job training, placement, and information and counseling programs for veterans are inadequate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

The Veterans Administration health care program requires adequate funding and improved management and health care delivery in order to provide high quality service and effectively meet the changing needs of the patient population.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

The next Democratic administration must act to rescue pensioner veterans below the poverty line. Thirty per cent of the veterans and 50 per cent of the widows receiving pensions have total incomes below the poverty line. Cost of living increases should be automatic in the veterans' pension and disability system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

Educational assistance should be expanded two years for those veterans already enrolled and drawing benefits in VA-approved educational and training programs.

The Arts and Humanities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

We recognize the essential role played by arts and humanities in the development of America. Our nation cannot afford to be materially rich and spiritually poor. We endorse a strong role for the federal government in reinforcing the vitality and improving the economic strength of the nation's artists and arts institutions, while recognizing that artists must be absolutely free of any government control. We would support the growth and development of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities through adequate funding, the development of special anti-recession employment programs for artists, copyright reforms to protect the rights of authors, artists and performers, and revision of the tax laws that unfairly penalize artists. We further pledge our support for the concept and adequate financing of public broadcasting.

IV. States, Counties and Cities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

More than eight years ago, the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders concluded that the disorders of the 1960s were caused by the deteriorating conditions of life in our urban centers—abject poverty, widespread unemployment, uninhabitable housing, declining services, rampant crime and disintegrating families. Many of these same problems plagued rural America as well. Little has been done by the Republican administrations to deal with the fundamental challenges to our society. This policy of neglect gives the lie to the current administration's rhetorical commitment to state and local governments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.928

By tolerating intolerable unemployment, by [p.929] vetoing programs for the poor, the old, and the ill, by abandoning the veterans and the young, and by withholding necessary funds for the decaying cities, the Nixon-Ford years have been years of retrogression in the nation's efforts to meet the needs of our cities. By abdicating responsibility for meeting these needs at the national level, the current administration has placed impossible burdens on fiscally hard-pressed state and local governments. In turn, local governments have been forced to rely excessively on the steadily diminishing and regressive property tax—which was originally designed to cover property related services and was never intended to support the services now required in many of our cities and towns.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

Federal policies and programs have inadvertently exacerbated the urban crisis. Within the framework of a new partnership of federal, state and local governments, and the private sector, the Democratic Party is pledged to the development of America's first national urban policy. Central to the success of that policy are the Democratic Party's commitments to full employment, incentives for urban and rural economic development, welfare reform, adequate health care, equalization of education expenditures, energy conservation and environmental quality. If progress were made in these areas, much of the inappropriately placed fiscal burden would be removed, and local governments could better fulfill their appropriate responsibilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

To assist further in relieving both the fiscal and service delivery problems of states and local governments, the Democratic Party reaffirms its support for general revenue sharing as a base for the fiscal health of all levels of government, acknowledging that the civil rights and citizens' participation provisions must be strengthened. We further believe that there must be an increase in the annual funding to compensate for the erosion of inflation. We believe the distribution formula should be adjusted to reflect better community and state needs, poverty levels, and tax effort.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

Finally, to alleviate the financial burden placed on our cities by the combination of inflation and recession, the Democratic Party restates its support for an emergency anti-recession aid to states and cities particularly hard hit by recession.

Housing and Community Development

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

In the past eight Republican years, housing has become a necessity priced as a luxury. Housing prices have nearly doubled in the past six years and housing starts have dropped by almost one-quarter. The effect is that over three-fourths of American families cannot afford to buy an average-priced home. The basic national goal of providing decent housing and available shelter has been sacrificed to misguided tax, spending and credit policies which were supposed to achieve price stability but have failed to meet that goal. As a result, we do not have decent housing or price stability. The vision of the Housing Act of 1968, the result of three decades of enlightened Democratic housing policy, has been lost. The Democratic Party reasserts these goals, and pledges to achieve them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

The Democratic Party believes it is time for a housing and urban development policy which recognizes the needs and difficulties of both the buying and renting public and the housing industry. We support a revitalized housing program which will be able to meet the public's need for housing at reasonable cost and the industry's need for relief from years of stagnation and now-chronic unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

We support direct federal subsidies and low interest loans to encourage the construction of low and moderate income housing. Such subsidies shall not result in unreasonable profit for builders, developers or credit institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

We support the expansion of the highly successful programs of direct federal subsidies to provide housing for the elderly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

We call for greatly increased emphasis on the rehabilitation of existing housing to rebuild our neighborhoods—a priority which is undercut by the current pattern of federal housing money which includes actual prohibitions to the use of funds for rehabilitation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

We encourage public and private commitments to the preservation and renovation of our country's historic landmarks so that they can continue as a vital part of our commercial and residential architectural heritage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

We will work to assure that credit institutions make greater effort to direct mortgage money into the financing of private housing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.929

We will take all necessary steps to prohibit the practice of red-lining by private financial institutions, the FHA, and the secondary mortgage market which have had the effect of depriving certain areas of the necessary mortgage funds which [p.930] they need to upgrade themselves. We will further encourage an increase in loans and subsidies for housing and rehabilitation, especially in poverty stricken areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

We support greater flexibility in the use of community development block grants at the local level.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

The current Housing and Community Development Act should be reformed and restructured so that its allocation, monitoring, and citizen participation features better address the needs of local communities, major cities and underdeveloped rural areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

The revitalization of our cities must proceed with an understanding that housing, jobs and related community facilities are all critical to a successful program. The Democratic Party will create the necessary incentives to insure that private and public jobs are available to meet the employment needs of these communities and pledges a more careful planning process for the location of the federal government's own employment-creating facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

The Democratic Party proposes a revitalization of the Federal Housing Administration as a potent institution to stabilize new construction and existing housing markets. To this end, the Agency's policies must be simplified, its operating practices and insurance rate structures modernized and the sense of public service which was the hallmark of the FHA for so many years must be restored. In addition, we propose automatic triggering of direct production subsidies and a steady flow of mortgage funds during periods when housing starts fall below acceptable levels.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

Women, the elderly, single persons and minorities are still excluded from exercising their right to select shelter in the areas of their choice, and many "high-risk" communities are systematically denied access to the capital they require. The Democratic Party pledges itself to the aggressive enforcement of the Fair Housing Act; to the promotion and enforcement of equal opportunity in housing; and to the pursuit of new regulatory and incentive policies aimed at providing minority groups and women with equal access to mortgage credit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

In addition to direct attacks upon such known violations of the law, a comprehensive approach to these problems must include policies aimed at the underlying causes of unequal credit allocations. The Democratic Party pledges itself to aggressive policies designed to assure lender that their commitments will be backed by government resources, so that investment risks will be shared by the public and private sectors.

The Special Needs of Older Cities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

The Democratic Party recognizes that a number of major, older cities—including the nation's largest city—have been forced to undertake even greater social responsibilities, which have resulted in unprecedented fiscal crises. There is a national interest in helping such cities in their present travail, and a new Democratic President and the Congress shall undertake a massive effort to do so.

Law Enforcement and Law Observance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

The total crime bill in the United States has been estimated at $90 billion a year, almost as much as the cost of our national defense. But over and above the economic impact, the raging and unchecked growth of crime seriously impairs the confidence of many of our citizens in their ability to walk on safe streets, to live securely in peaceful and happy homes, and to work safely in their places of business. Fear mounts along with the crime rate. Homes are made into fortresses. In large sections of every major city, people are afraid to go out at night. Outside big cities, the crime rate is growing even faster, so that suburbs, small towns and rural areas are no longer secure havens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

Defaulting on their "law and order" promises, the Republicans in the last eight years have let the rising tide of crime soil the highest levels government, allowed the crime rate to skyrocket and failed to reform the criminal justice system. Recognizing that law enforcement is essentially a local responsibility, we declare that control of crime is an urgent national priority and pledge the efforts of the Democratic Party to insure that the federal government act effectively to reverse these trends and to be an effective partner to reverse cities and states in a well-coordinated war on crime.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.930

We must restore confidence in the criminal justice system by insuring that detection, conviction and punishment of lawbreakers is swift and sure; that the criminal justice system is just and efficient; that jobs, decent housing and educational opportunities provide a real alternative to crime to those who suffer enforced poverty and injustice We pledge equally vigorous [p.931] prosecution and punishment for corporate crime, consumer fraud and deception; programs to combat child abuse and crimes against the elderly; criminal laws that reflect national needs; application of the law with a balanced and fair hand; a judiciary that renders equal justice for all; criminal sentences that provide punishment that actually punishes and rehabilitation that actually rehabilitates; and a correctional system emphasizing effective job training, educational and post-release programs. Only such measures will restore the faith of the citizens in our criminal justice system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

Toward these ends, we support a major reform of the criminal justice system, but we oppose any legislative effort to introduce repressive and anti-civil libertarian measures in the guise of reform of the criminal code.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has not done its job adequately. Federal funding for crime-fighting must be wholly revamped to more efficiently assist local and state governments in strengthening their law enforcement and criminal justice systems, rather than spend money on the purchase of expensive equipment, much of it useless.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

Citizen confidence in law enforcement can be enhanced through increased citizen participation, by informing citizens of police and prosecutor policies, assuring that police departments reflect a cross-section of the communities they serve, establishing neighborhood forums to settle simple disputes, restoring the grand jury to fair and vigorous independence, establishing adequate victim compensation programs, and reaffirming our respect for the individual's right to privacy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

Coordinated action is necessary to end the vicious cycle of drug addiction and crime. We must break up organized crime syndicates dealing in drugs, take necessary action to get drug pushers off the streets, provide drug users with effective rehabilitation programs, including medical assistance, ensure that all young people are aware of the costs of a life of drug dependency, and use worldwide efforts to stop international production and trafficking in illict drugs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

A Democratic Congress in 1974 passed the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act to come to grips with the fact that juveniles account for almost half of the serious crimes in the United States, and to remedy the fact that federal programs thus far have not met the crisis of juvenile delinquency. We pledge funding and implementation of this Act, which has been ignored by the Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

Handguns simplify and intensify violent crime. Ways must be found to curtail the availability of these weapons. The Democratic Party must provide the leadership for a coordinated federal and state effort to strengthen the presently inadequate controls over the manufacture, assembly, distribution and possession of handguns and to ban Saturday night specials.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

Furthermore, since people and not guns commit crimes, we support mandatory sentencing for individuals convicted of committing a felony with a gun.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

The Democratic Party, however, affirms the right of sportsmen to possess guns for purely hunting and target-shooting purposes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

The full implementation of these policies will not in themselves stop lawlessness. To insure professionally trained and equitably rewarded police forces, law enforcement officers must be properly recruited and trained, and provided with decent wages, working conditions, support staff, and federal death benefits for those killed in line of duty.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

Effective police forces cannot operate without just and speedy court systems. We must reform bail and pre-trial detention procedures. We must assure speedy trials and ease court congestion by increasing the number of judges, prosecutors and public defenders. We must improve and streamline courthouse management procedures, require criminal justice records to be accurate and responsible, and establish fair and more uniform sentencing for crimes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

Courts should give priority to crimes which are serious enough to deserve imprisonment. Law enforcement should emphasize the prosecution of crimes against persons and property as a higher priority than victimless crimes. Current rape laws need to be amended to abolish archaic evidence rules that discriminate against rape victims.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

We pledge that the Democratic Party will not tolerate abuses of governmental processes and unconstitutional action by the government itself. Recognizing the value of legitimate intelligence efforts to combat espionage and major crime, we call for new legislation to ensure that these efforts will no longer be used as an excuse for abuses such as bugging, wiretaps, mail opening and disruption aimed at lawful political and private activities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.931

The Attorney General in the next [p.932] Democratic administration will be an independent, non-political official of the highest integrity. If lawlessness is found at any level, in any branch, immediate and decisive action will be taken to root it out. To that end, we will establish the machinery for appointing an independent Special Prosecutor whenever needed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

As a party, as a nation, we must commit ourselves to the elimination of injustice wherever it plagues our government, our people and our future.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

An effective national transportation policy must be grounded in an understanding of all transportation systems and their consequences for costs, reliability, safety, environmental quality and energy savings. Without public transportation, the rights of all citizens to jobs and social services cannot be met.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

To that end, we will work to expand substantially the discretion available to states and cities in the use of federal transportation money, for either operating expenses or capital programs on the modes of transportation which they choose. A greater share of Highway Trust Fund money should also be available on a flexible basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

We will change further the current restrictive limits on the use of mass transit funds by urban and rural localities so that greater amounts can be used as operating subsidies; we emphatically oppose the Republican administration's efforts to reduce federal operating subsidies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

We are committed to dealing with the transportation needs of rural America by upgrading secondary roads and bridges and by completion of the original plan of 1956 for the interstate highway system where it benefits rural Americans. Among other benefits, these measures would help overcome the problems of getting products to market, and services to isolated persons in need.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

We will take whatever action is necessary to reorganize and revitalize our nation's railroads.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

We are also committed to the support of healthy trucking and bus, inland waterway and air transport systems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

A program of national rail and road rehabilitation and improved mass transit would not only mean better transportation for our people, but it would also put thousands of unemployed construction workers back to work and make them productive tax-paying citizens once again.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

Further, it would move toward the Democratic Party's goal of assuring balanced transportation services for all areas of the nation—urban and rural. Such a policy is intended to reorganize both pressing urban needs and the sorry state of rural public transportation.

Rural Development

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

The problems of rural America are closely linked to those of our cities. Rural poor and the rural elderly suffer under the same economic pressures and have at least as many social needs as their counterparts in the cities. The absence of rural jobs and rural vitality and the continuing demise of the family farm have promoted a migration to our cities which is beyond the capacity of the cities to absorb. Over 20 million Americans moved to urban areas between 1940 and 1960 alone. We pledge to develop programs to make the family farm economically healthy again so as to be attractive to young people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

To that end, the Democratic Party pledges to strengthen the economy and thereby create jobs in our great agricultural and rural areas by the full implementation and funding of the Rural Development Act of 1972 and by the adoption of an agricultural policy which recognizes that our capacity to produce food and fiber is one of our greatest assets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

While it is bad enough to be poor, or old, or alone in the city, it is worse in the country. We are therefore committed to overcome the problems of rural as well as urban isolation and poverty by insuring the existence of adequate health facilities, critically-needed community facilities such as water supply and sewage disposal systems, decent housing, adequate educational opportunity and needed transportation throughout rural America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

As discussed in the transportation section, we believe that transportation dollars should be available in a manner to permit their flexible use. In rural areas this means they could be used for such needs as secondary road improvement, taxi systems, buses, or other systems to overcome the problems of widely dispersed populations, to facilitate provisions of social services and to assure access of citizens to meet human needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.932

Two thousand family farms are lost per week. To help assure that family farms stay in the family [p.933] where they belong, we will push increases in relevant estate tax exemptions. This increased exemption, when coupled with programs to increase generally the vitality of rural America, should mean that the demise of the family farm can be reversed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

We will seek adequate levels of insured and guaranteed loans for electrification and telephone facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

Only such a coordinated program can make rural America again attractive and vigorous, as it needs to be if we are to deal with the challenges facing the nation as a whole.

Administration of Federal Aid

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

Federal aid programs impose jurisdictional and administrative complications which substantially diminish the good accomplished by the federal expenditure of about $50 billion annually on state and local governments. An uncoordinated policy regarding eligibility requirements, audit guidelines, accounting procedures and the like comprise the over 800 categorical aid programs and threaten to bog down the more broadly conceived flexible block grant programs. The Democratic Party is committed to cutting through this chaos and simplifying the grant process for both recipient governments and program administrators.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

The Democratic Party also reaffirms the role of state and general purpose local governments as the principal governments in the orderly administration of federal aid and revenue sharing programs.

V. Natural Resources and Environmental Quality

Energy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

Almost three years have passed since the off embargo. Yet, by any measure, the nation's energy lifeline is in far greater peril today. America is running out of energy—natural gas, gasoline and oil.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

The economy is already being stifled. The resulting threat of unemployment and diminished production is already present.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

If America, as we know it, is to survive, we must move quickly to develop renewable sources of energy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

The Democratic Party will strive to replace the rapidly diminishing supply of petroleum and natural gas with solar, geothermal, wind, tide and other forms of energy, and we recommend that the federal government promptly expand whatever funds are required to develop new systems of energy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

We have grown increasingly dependent on imported oil. Domestic production, despite massive price increases, continues to decline. Energy stockpiles, while authorized, are yet to be created. We have no agreements with any producing nations for security of supply. Efforts to develop alternative energy sources have moved forward slowly. Production of our most available and plentiful alternative—coal—is not increasing. Energy conservation is still a slogan, instead of a program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

Republican energy policy has rafted because it is based on illusions; the illusion of a free market in energy that does not exist, the illusion that ever-increasing energy prices will not harm the economy, and the illusion of an energy program based on unobtainable independence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

The time has come to deal with the realities of the energy crisis, not its illusions. The realities are that rising energy prices, falling domestic supply, increasing demand, and the threat to national security of growing imports, have not been contained by the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

The Democratic energy platform begins with a recognition that the federal government has an important role to play in insuring the nation's energy future, and that it must he given the tools it needs to protect the economy and the nation's consumers from arbitrary and excessive energy price increases and help the nation embark on a massive domestic energy program focusing on conservation, coal conversion, exploration and development of new technologies to insure an adequate short-term and long-term supply of energy for the nation's needs. A nation advanced enough and wealthy enough to send a man to the moon must dedicate itself to developing alternate sources of energy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

Energy pricing. Enactment of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 established oil ceiling prices at levels sufficient to maximize domestic production but still below OPEC equivalents. The act was a direct result of the Democratic Congress' commitment to the principle that beyond certain levels, increasing energy prices simply produce high-cost energy—without producing any additional energy supplies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.933

This oil-pricing lesson should also be applied to natural gas. Those not pressing to turn natural [p.934] gas price regulation over to OPEC, while arguing the rhetoric of so-called deregulation, must not prevail. The pricing of new natural gas is in need of reform. We should narrow the gap between oil and natural gas prices with new natural gas ceiling prices that maximize production and investment while protecting the economy and the consumer. Any reforms in the pricing of new natural gas should not be at the cost of severe economic dislocations that would accelerate inflation and increase unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

An examination must be made of advertising cost policies of utilities and the imposition of these costs on the consumer. Advertising costs used to influence public policy ought to be borne by stockholders of utility companies and not by the consumers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

Domestic supply and demand. The most promising neglected domestic option for helping balance our energy budget is energy conservation. But major investments in conservation are still not being made.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

The Democratic Party will support legislation to establish national building performance standards on a regional basis designed to improve energy efficiency. We will provide new incentives for aiding individual homeowners, particularly average income families and the poor in undertaking conservation investments. We will support the reform of utility rate structures and regulatory rules to encourage conservation and ease the utility rate burden on residential users, farmers and other consumers who can least afford it; make more efficient use of electrical generating capacity; and we will aggressively pursue implementation of automobile efficiency standards and appliance labeling programs already established by Democratic initiative in the Energy Policy and Conservation Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

Coal currently comprises 80 percent of the nation's energy resources, but produces only 16 per cent of the nation's energy. The Democratic Party believes that the United States' coal production can and must be increased without endangering the health and safety of miners, diminishing the land and water resources necessary for increased food production, and sacrificing the personal and property rights of farmers, ranchers and Indian tribes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

We must encourage the production of the highest quality coal, closest to consumer markets, in order to insure that investments in energy production reinforce the economics of energy producing and consuming regions. Improved rail transportation systems will make coal available where it is actually needed, and will insure a rail transport network required for a healthy industrial and agricultural economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

We support an active federal role in the research and development of clean burning and commercially competitive coal burning systems and technologies, and we encourage the conversion to coal of industrial users of natural gas and imported oil. Air quality standards that make possible the burning of coal without danger to the public health or degradation of the nation's clear air must be developed and implemented.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

The Democratic Party wants to put an end to the economic depression, loss of life and environmental destruction that has long accompanied irresponsible coal development in Appalachia. Strip mining legislation designed to protect and restore the environment, while ending the uncertainty over the rules governing future coal mining, must be enacted.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

The huge reserves of oil, gas and coal on federal territory, including the outer continental shelf, belong to all the people. The Republicans have pursued leasing policies which give the public treasury the least benefit and the energy industry the most benefit from these public resources. Consistent with environmentally sound practices, new leasing procedures must be adopted to correct these policies, as well as insure the timely development of existing leases.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

Major federal initiatives, including major governmental participation in early high-risk development projects, are required if we are to harness renewable resources like solar, wind, geothermal, the oceans, and other new technologies such as fusion, fuel cells and the conversion of solid waste and starches into energy. The Ford Administration has failed to provide those initiatives, and, in the process, has denied American workers important new opportunities for employment in the building and servicing of emerging new energy industries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.934

U.S. dependence on nuclear power should be kept to the minimum necessary to meet our needs. We should apply stronger safety standards as we regulate its use. And we must be honest with our people [p.935] concerning its problems and dangers as well as its benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

An increasing share of the nuclear research dollar must be invested in finding better solutions to the problems of nuclear waste disposal, reactor safety and nuclear safeguards—both domestically and internationally.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

Competition in the domestic petroleum industry. Legislation must be enacted to insure energy administrators and legislators access to information they need for making the kind of informed decisions that future energy policy will require. We believe full disclosure of data on reserves, supplies and costs of production should be mandated by law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

It is increasingly clear that there is no free, competitive market for crude oil in the United States. Instead, through their control of the nation's oil pipelines, refineries and marketing, the major oil producers have the capability of controlling the field and often the downstream price of almost all off.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

When competition inadequate to insure free markets and maximum benefit to American consumers exists, we support effective restrictions on the right of major companies to own all phases of the oil industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

We also support the legal prohibition against corporate ownership of competing types of energy, such as oil and coal. We believe such "horizontal" concentration of economic power to be dangerous both to the national interest and to the functioning of the competitive system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

Improved energy planning. Establishment of a more orderly system for setting energy goals and developing programs for reaching those goals should be undertaken. The current proliferation of energy jurisdictions among many executive agencies underscores the need for a more coordinated system. Such a system should be undertaken, and provide for centralization of overall energy planning in a specific executive agency and an assessment of the capital needs for all priority programs to increase production and conservation of energy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

Mineral Resources. As with energy resources, many essential mineral resources may soon be inadequate to meet our growing needs unless we plan more wisely than we have with respect to energy. The Democratic Party pledges to undertake a long-range assessment of supply of our mineral reserves as well as the demand for them.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

As a nation, we are blessed with rich resources of land, water and climate. When the supporting technology has been used to preserve and promote the family ownership and operation of farms and ranches, the people have been well served.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

America's farm families have demonstrated their ability and eagerness to produce food in sufficient quantity to feed their fellow citizens and share with hungry people around the world as well. Yet this national asset has been neither prudently developed nor intelligently used.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

The eight-year record of the Nixon-Ford administration is a record of lost opportunities, failure to meet the challenges of agricultural statesmanship, and favoritism to the special pleading of giant corporate agricultural interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

Republican misrule in agriculture has caused wide fluctuations in prices to producers, inflated food prices to consumers, unconscionable profiteering on food by business, unscrupulous shipping practices by grain traders, and the mishandling of our abundance in export markets. Republican agricultural policy has spelled high food prices, unstable farm income, windfalls for commodity speculators and multinational corporations, and confrontations between farmer and consumer.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

Foremost attention must be directed to the establishment of a national food and fiber policy which will be fair to both producer and consumer, and be based on the family farm agricultural system which has served the nation and the world so well for so long.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

Maximum agricultural production will be the most effective means of achieving an adequate food and fiber supply and reasonable price stability to American consumers. Without parity income assurance to farmers, full production cannot be achieved in an uncertain economy. We must assure parity return to farmers based on costs of production plus a reasonable profit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.935

We must continue and intensify efforts to expand agriculture's long-term markets abroad, and at the same time we must prevent irresponsible and inflationary sales from the American granary to foreign purchasers. Aggressive but stable and [p.936] consistent export policy must be our goal. The production of food and fiber in America must be used as part of a constructive foreign policy based on long-term benefits at home and abroad, but not at the expense of the farmers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Producers shall be encouraged to produce at full capacity within the limits of good conservation practices, including the use of recycled materials, if possible and desirable, to restore natural soil fertility. Any surplus production needed to protect the people of the world from famine shall be stored on the farm in such a manner as to isolate it from the market place.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Excess production beyond the needs of the people for food shall be converted to industrial purposes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Farmers as individual producers must deal constantly with organized suppliers and marketers, and compete with non-farm conglomerates. To assist them in bargaining for the tools of production, and to strengthen the institution of the family farm, the Democratic Party will: support the Capper-Volstead Act in its present form; curb the influence of non-farm conglomerates which, through the elimination of competition in the marketplace, pose a threat to farmers; support the farmer cooperatives and bargaining associations; scrutinize and remedy any illegal concentrations and price manipulations of farm equipment and supply industries; revitalize basic credit programs for farmers; provide adequate credit tailored to the needs of young farmers; assure access for farmers and rural residents to energy, transportation, electricity and telephone services; reinstate sound, locally administered soil conservation programs; eliminate tax shelter farming; and overhaul federal estate and gift taxes to alleviate some of the legal problems faced by farm families who would otherwise be forced to liquidate their assets to pay the tax.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Long overdue are programs of assistance to farm workers in housing, employment, health, social services and education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

To protect the health of our citizens the government shall insure that all agricultural imports must meet the same quality standards as those imposed on agricultural products produced in the United States and that only quality American agricultural products be exported.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Fisheries. America's fisheries must be protected and enhanced as a renewable resource through ecologically sound conservation practices and meaningful international agreements and compacts between individual states.

Environmental Quality

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

The Democratic Party's strong commitment to environmental quality is based on its conviction that environmental protection is not simply an aesthetic goal, but is necessary to achieve a more just society. Cleaning up air and water supplies and controlling the proliferation of dangerous chemicals is a necessary part of a successful national health program. Protecting the worker from workplace hazards is a key element of our full employment program. Occupational disease and death must not be the price of a weekly wage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

The Democratic Party, through the Congress, has recognized the need for basic environmental scrutiny, and has authored a comprehensive program to achieve this objective. In eight years, the efforts to implement that program have been thwarted by an administration committed only to unfounded allegations that economic growth and environmental protection are incompatible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Quite to the contrary, the Democratic Party believes that a concern for the environment need not and must not stand in the way of a much-needed policy of high economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Moreover, environmental protection creates jobs. Environmental legislation enacted since 1970 already has produced more than one million jobs, and we pledge to continue to work for additional laws to protect, restore and preserve the environment while providing still more jobs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Today, permanently harmful chemicals are dispersed, and irrecoverable land is rendered worthless. If we are to avoid repeated environmental crises, we must now renew our efforts to restore beth environmental quality and economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Those who would use the environment must assume the burden of demonstrating that it will not be abused. For too long this burden has been on government agencies, representing the public, to assess and hopefully correct the damage that has already been done.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.936

Our irreplaceable natural and aesthetic resources must be managed to ensure abundance for future generations. Strong land and ocean use planning is an essential element of such management. The artifacts [p.937] of the desert, the national forests, the wilderness areas, the endangered species, the coastal beaches and barrier dunes and other precious resources are in danger. They cannot be restored. They must be protected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

Economic inequities created by subsidies for virgin materials to the disadvantage of recycled materials must be eliminated. Depletion allowances and unequal freight rates serve to discourage the growing numbers of businesses engaged in recycling efforts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

Environmental research and development within the public sector should be increased substantially. For the immediate future, we must learn how to correct the damage we have already done, but more importantly, we need research on how to build a society in which renewable and nonrenewable resources are used wisely and efficiently.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

Federal environmental anti-pollution requirement programs should be as uniform as possible to eliminate economic discrimination. A vigorous program with national minimum environmental standards fully implemented, recognizing basic regional differences, will ensure that states and workers are not penalized by pursuing environmental programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

The technological community should be encouraged to produce better pollution-control equipment, and more importantly, to produce technology which produces less pollution.

VI. International Relations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

The next Democratic administration must and will initiate a new American foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

Eight years of Nixon-Ford diplomacy have left our nation isolated abroad and divided at home. Policies have been developed and applied secretly and arbitrarily by the executive department from the time of secret bombing in Cambodia to recent covert assistance in Angola. They have been policies that relied on ad hoc, unilateral maneuvering, and a balance-of-power diplomacy suited better to the last century than to this one. They have disdained traditional American principles which once earned the respect of other peoples while inspiring our own. Instead of efforts to foster freedom and justice in the world, the Republican administration has built a sorry record of disregard for human rights, manipulative interference in the internal affairs of other nations,

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

and, frequently, a greater concern for our relations with totalitarian adversaries than with our democratic allies. And its efforts to preserve, rather than reform, the international status quo betray a self-fulfilling pessimism that contradicts a traditional American belief in the possibility of human progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

Defense Policy and spending for military forces must be consistent with meeting the real security needs of the American people. We recognize that the security of our nation depends first and foremost on the internal strength of American society —economic, social and political. We also recognize that serious international threats to our security, such as shortages of food and raw materials, are not solely military in nature and cannot be met by military force or the threat of force. The Republican Administration has, through mismanagement and misguided Policies, undermined the security of our nation by neglecting human needs at home while, for the first time in our nation's history, increasing military spending after a war. Billions of dollars have been diverted into wasteful, extravagant and, in some instances, destabilizing military programs. Our country can—and under a Democratic administration it will—work vigorously for the adoption of policies of full employment and economic growth which will enable us to meet both the justified domestic needs of our citizens and our needs for an adequate national defense.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

A Democratic administration will work to create a foreign policy that does justice to the strength and decency of the American people through adherence to these fundamental principles and priorities:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

We will act on the premise that candor in policy-making, with all its liabilities, is preferable to deceit. The Congress will be involved in the major international decisions of our government, and our foreign policies will be openly and consistently presented to the American people. For even if diplomatic tactics and national security information must sometimes remain secret, there can be no excuse for formulating and executing basic policy without public understanding and support.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.937

Our policy must be based on our nation's commitment to the ideal of individual freedom and justice. Experience has taught us not to rely solely on military strength or economic power, as necessary as they are, in pursuit of our international [p.938] objectives. We must rely too on the moral strength of our democratic values—the greatest inspiration to our friends and the attribute most feared by our enemies. We will ensure that human needs are not sacrificed to military spending, while maintaining the military forces we require for our security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

We will strengthen our ties to the other great democracies, working together to resolve common economic and social problems as well as to keep our defenses strong.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

We will restore the Democratic tradition of friendship and support to Third World nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

We must also seek areas of cooperation with our traditional adversaries. There is no other option, for human survival itself is at stake. But pursuit of detente will require maintenance of a strong American military deterrent, hard bargaining for our own interest, recognition of continuing competition, and a refusal to oversell the immediate benefits of such a policy to the American public.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

We will reaffirm the fundamental American commitment to human rights across the globe. America must work for a release of all political prisoners—men and women who are in jail simply because they have opposed peacefully the policies of their governments or have aided others who have—in all countries. America must take a firm stand to support and implement existing U.S. law to bring about liberalization of emigration policy in countries which limit or prohibit free emigration. America must be resolute in its support of the right of workers to organize and of trade unions to act freely and independently, and in its support of freedom of the press. America must continue to stand as a bulwark in support of human liberty in all countries. A return to the politics of principle requires a reaffirmation of human freedom throughout the world.

The Challenge of Interdependence

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

The international economy. Eight years of mismanagement of the American economy have contributed to global recession and inflation. The most important contribution a Democratic administration will make to the returning health of the world economy will be to restore the health of our own economy, with all that means to international economic stability and progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

We are committed to trade policies that can benefit a full employment economy—through creation of new jobs for American workers, new markets for American farmers and businesses, and lower prices and a wider choice of goods for American consumers. Orderly reductions in trade barriers should be negotiated on a reciprocal basis that does not allow other nations to deny us access to their markets while enjoying access to ours. These measures must be accompanied by improved programs to ease dislocations and to relieve the hardship of American workers affected by foreign competition.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

The Democratic Party will also seek to promote higher labor standards in those nations where productivity far outstrips wage rates, harming American workers through unfair exploitation of foreign labor, and encouraging American capital to pursue low wage opportunities that damage our own economy and weaken the dollar.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

We will exert leadership in international efforts to strengthen the world economic system. The Ford administration philosophy of reliance on the international "market economy" is insufficient in a world where some governments and multinational corporations are active in managing and influencing market forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

We pledge constant efforts to keep world monetary systems functioning properly in order to provide a reasonably stable economic environment for business and to prevent the importation of inflation. We will support reform of the international monetary system to strengthen institutional means of coordinating national economic policies, especially with our European and Japanese allies, thus facilitating efforts by our government and others to achieve full employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

The Democratic Party is committed to a strong and competitive merchant fleet, built in the United States and manned by American seamen, as an instrument of international relations and national security. In order to revitalize our merchant fleet, the party pledges itself to a higher level of coordination of maritime policy, reaffirmation of the objectives of the Merchant Marine Acts of 1936 and 1970, and the development of a national cargo policy which assures the U.S. fleet a fair participation in all U.S. trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.938

>A Democratic administration will vigorously pursue international negotiations to insure that the multinational activities of corporations, whether American or foreign, be made more responsible to the international community. We will give priority attention to the establishment of an international [p.939] code of conduct for multinational corporations and host countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

We will encourage multinational corporations—before they relocate production across international boundaries—to make sufficient advance arrangements for the workers whose jobs will be affected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

We will eliminate bribery and other corrupt practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

We will prevent these corporations from interfering in the political systems of the countries in which they operate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

If such a code cannot be negotiated or proves to be unenforceable, our country should reserve the right to take unilateral action directed toward each of these problems, specifically including the outlawing of bribes and other improper payments to government officials of other nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

In pursuit of open and fair international economic relationships, we will seek mechanisms, including legislation, to ensure that foreign governments cannot introduce third party boycotts or racial and religious discrimination into the conduct of American foreign commerce.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

Energy. The United States must be a leader in promoting cooperation among the industrialized countries in developing alternative energy sources and reducing energy consumption, thus reducing our dependence on imports from the Middle East and restraining high energy prices. Under a Democratic Administration, the United States also will support international efforts to develop the vast energy potential of the developing countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

We will also actively seek to limit the dangers inherent in the international development of atomic energy and in the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Steps to be given high priority will include: revitalization of the Nonproliferation Treaty, expansion of the International Atomic Energy Agency and other international safeguards and monitoring of national facilities, cooperation against potential terrorism involving nuclear weapons, agreement by suppliers not to transfer enrichment or reprocessing facilities, international assurance of supply of nuclear fuel only to countries cooperating with strict nonproliferation measures, subsidization of multinational nuclear facilities, and gradual conversion to international control of non-weapon fissionable material.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

The developing world. We have a historic opportunity in the next decade to improve the extent and quality of cooperation between the rich and poor countries. The potential benefits to our nation of a policy of constructive cooperation with the developing world would be considerable: uninterrupted access at reasonable cost to raw materials and to basic commodities; lower rates of global inflation; improved world markets for our goods; and a more benign atmosphere for international negotiation in general. Above all, the prospects for the maintenance of peace will be vastly higher in a world in which fewer and fewer people suffer the pangs of hunger and the yoke of economic oppression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

We support efforts to stabilize and increase export earnings of developing countries through our participation in reasonable commodity arrangements. We support strengthening of global financing mechanisms and trade liberalization efforts. We will assist in promoting greater developing country, capital markets.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

Because our country provides food and fiber to all the world, the American farmer is heavily dependent on world markets. These markets must be developed in a way that prevents the wild gyrations of food prices and the periodic shortages that have been common under recent Republican Administrations. We pledge significant financial support to the International Fund for Agricultural Development; more effective food aid through further revision of the U.S. Food for Peace program; significant contributions to a multination world food reserve system, with appropriate safeguards for American farmers; and continuing efforts to promote American food exports.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

The proliferation in arms, both conventional and nuclear, is a principal potential source of conflict in the developing as well as the industrialized world. The United States should limit significantly conventional arms sales and reduce military aid to developing countries, should include conventional arms transfers on the arms control agenda, and should regulate country-by-country justification for U.S. arms transfers, whether by sales or aid. Such sales or aid must be justified in terms of foreign policy benefits to the United States and not simply because of their economic value to American weapons producers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.939

A primary, object of American aid, both military and economic, is first of all to enhance the condition of freedom in the world. The United States should not provide aid to any government—anywhere in the world—which uses secret police, detention [p.940] without charges, and torture to enforce its powers. Exceptions to this policy should be rare, and the aid provided should be limited to that which is absolutely necessary. The United States should be open and unashamed in its exercise of diplomatic efforts to encourage the observance of human rights in countries which receive American aid.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

Current world population growth is a threat to the long-range well-being of mankind. We pledge to support effective voluntary family planning around the world, as well as at home, and to recognize officially the link between social and economic development and the willingness of the individual to limit family size.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

To be true to the traditional concern of Americans for the disadvantaged and the oppressed, our aid programs should focus on alleviating poverty and on support of the quest for human liberty and dignity. We will work to see that the United States does its fair share in international development assistance efforts, including participation in the fifth replenishment of the World Bank's International Development Association. We will implement a foreign assistance policy which emphasizes utilization of multilateral and regional development institutions, and one that includes a review of aid programs, country by country, to reinforce those projects whose financial benefits go to the people most in need and which are consistent with overall United States foreign policy goals.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

The world environment. Decay of the environment knows no national boundary. A government committed to protect our environment knows no national boundary. A government committed to protect our environment at home must also seek international cooperation in defending the global environment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

Working through and supporting such organizations as the United Nations Environmental Program, we will join other governments in more effective efforts to preserve the quality and resources of the oceans; to preserve endangered species of fish and wildlife; to reverse the encroachment of the deserts, the erosion of the world's agricultural lands, and the accelerating destruction of its forests; to limit pollution of the atmosphere; and to control alterations of the global climate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

Criminal justice rights of Americans abroad. We will protect the rights and interests of Americans charged with crimes or jailed in foreign countries by vigorously exerting all appropriate efforts to guarantee humane treatment and due process and to secure extradition to the United States where appropriate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

International drug tragic. We call for the use of diplomatic efforts to stop international production and trafficking in illicit drugs including the possible cut-off of foreign aid to noncooperating countries.

Defense Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

The size and structure of our military forces must be carefully related to the demands of our foreign policies in this new era. These should be based on a careful assessment of what will be needed in the long-run to deter our potential adversaries; to fight successfully, if necessary, conventional wars in areas in which our national security is threatened; and to reassure our allies and friends—notably in Western Europe, Japan and the Near East. To this end, our strategic nuclear forces must provide a strong and credible deterrent to nuclear attack and nuclear blackmail. Our conventional forces must be strong enough to deter aggression in areas whose security is vital to our own. In a manner consistent with these objectives, we should seek those disarmament and arms control agreements which will contribute to mutual reductions in both nuclear and conventional arms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

The hallmarks of the Nixon-Ford administration's defense policy, however, have been stagnation and vulnerability.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

By its reluctance to make changes in those features of our armed forces which were designed to deal with the problems of the past, the Administration has not only squandered defense dollars, but also neglected making improvements which are needed to increase our forces' fighting effectiveness and their capability to deter future aggression.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.940

By its undue emphasis on the overall size of the defense budget as the primary measure of both our national resolve and the proficiency of our armed forces, the administration has forgotten that we are seeking not to outspend, but to be able to deter and, if necessary, outright our potential adversaries. While we must spend whatever is legitimately needed for defense, cutbacks on duplication and waste are both feasible and essential. Barring any major change in the international situation, with [p.941] the proper management, with the proper kind of investment of defense dollars, and with the proper choice of military programs, we believe we can reduce present defense spending by about $5 billion to $7 billion. We must be tough-minded about the development of new weapons systems which add only marginal military value. The size of our defense budget should not be dictated by bureaucratic imperatives or the needs of defense contractors but by our assessment of international realities. In order to provide for a comprehensive review of the B-1 test and evaluation program, no decision regarding B-1 production should be made prior to February 1977.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

The Pentagon has one of the federal government's most overgrown bureaucracies. The Department of Defense can be operated more effectively and efficiently and its budget reduced, without in any way compromising our defense posture. Our armed forces have many more admirals and generals today than during World War II, when our fighting force was much larger than now. We can reduce the ratio of officers to men and of support forces to combat troops.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

Misdirected efforts such as the construction of pork-barrel projects under the jurisdiction of the Defense Department can be terminated. Exotic arms systems which serve no defense or foreign policy purpose should not be initiated.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

By ignoring opportunities to use our advanced technology innovatively to obtain maximum effectiveness in weapons and minimize complexity and cost, the Republican administration has failed to reverse the trend toward increasingly intricate and expensive weapons systems. Thus, it has helped to put our forces—particularly the Navy—on the dangerous path of becoming both smaller in numbers and more vulnerable.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

A new approach is needed. Our strategic nuclear forces should be structured to ensure their ability to survive nuclear attack, thereby assuring deterrence of nuclear war. Successful nuclear deterrence is the single most important task of our armed forces. We should, however, avoid becoming diverted into making expenditures which have only symbolic or prestige value or which themselves contribute to nuclear instability.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

The United States Navy must remain the foremost fleet in the world. Our naval forces should be improved to stress survivability and our modem technology should be used in new ways to keep the essential sea lanes open. Concretely, we should put more stress on new sensors and armaments, and give priority to a navy consisting of a greater number of smaller and less vulnerable vessels.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

Our land forces should be structured to fight effectively in support of our political and military commitments. To this end, modern, well-equipped and highly mobile land forces are more important than large numbers of sparsely-equipped infantry divisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

Our tactical air-forces should be designed to establish air superiority quickly in the event of hostilities, and to support our land and naval forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

We can and will make significant economies in the overhead and support structure of our military forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

The defense procurement system should be reformed to require, wherever possible and consistent with efforts to encourage full participation by small and minority businesses, advertised competitive bids and other improvements in procurement procedure so as to encourage full and fair competition among potential contractors and to cut the current waste in defense procurement. A more equitable formula should be considered for distribution of defense contracts and other federal procurement on a state or regional basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

The United States and other nations share a common interest in reducing military expenditures and transferring the savings into activities which raise living standards. In order to smooth the path for such changes, the Executive Branch and the Congress should encourage long-range planning by defense-dependent communities and managements of defense firms and unions. This process should take place within the context of the Democratic Party's commitment to planned full employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.941

Our civilian and military intelligence agencies should be structured to provide timely and accurate information and analysis of foreign affairs and military matters. Covert action must be used only in the most compelling cases where the national security of the U.S. is vitally involved; assassination must be prohibited. There should be full and thorough congressional oversight of our intelligence agencies. The constitutional rights of American citizens can and must be fully protected, and intelligence abuses corrected, without endangering the confidentiality of properly classified intelligence [p.942] or compromising the fundamental intelligence mission.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.942

U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations. The United States and the Soviet Union are the only powers who, by rivalry or miscalculation, could bring general nuclear war upon our civilization. A principal goal must be the continued reduction of tension with the U.S.S.R. This can, however, only be accomplished by fidelity to our principles and interests and through business-like negotiations about specific issues, not by the bad bargains, dramatic posturing, and the stress on general declarations that have characterized the Nixon-Ford administration's detente policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.942

Soviet actions continue to pose severe threats to peace and stability in many parts of the world and to undermine support in the West for fruitful negotiations toward mutually beneficial agreements. The U.S.S.R. has undertaken a major military buildup over the last several years in its navy, in its strategic forces, and in its land forces stationed in Eastern Europe and Asia. It has sought one-sided advantages in negotiations, and has exerted political and military pressure in such areas as the Near East and Africa, not hesitating to dispatch to Angola its own advisors as well as the expeditionary forces of its clients.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.942

The continued U.S.S.R. military dominance of many Eastern European countries remains a source of oppression for the peoples of those nations, an oppression we do not accept and to which we are morally opposed. Any attempt by the Soviet Union similarly to dominate other parts of Europe—such as Yugoslavia—would be an action posing a grave threat to peace. Eastern Europe will not truly be an area of stability until these countries regain their independence and become part of a large European framework.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.942

Our task is to establish U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations on a stable basis, avoiding excesses of both hope and fear. Patience, a clear sense of our own priorities, and a willingness to negotiate specific firm agreements in areas of mutual interest can return balance to relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.942

In the field of nuclear disarmament and arms control we should work toward: limitations on the international spread of fissionable materials and nuclear weapons; specific strategic arms limitation agreements which will increase the stability of the strategic balance and reduce the risk of nuclear war, emphasizing mutual reductions and limitations on future weapons deployment which most threaten the strategic balance because their characteristics indicate a potential first-strike use; a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests; mutual reduction with the Soviet Union and others, under assured safeguards, of our nuclear arsenals, leading ultimately to the elimination of such arsenals; mutual restrictions with the Soviet Union and others on sales or other transfers of arms to developing countries; and conventional arms agreements and mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.942

However, in the area of strategic arms limitation, the U.S. should accept only such agreements that would not overall limit the U.S. to levels of intercontinental strategic forces inferior to the limits provided for the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.942

In the long-run, further development of more extensive economic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union may bring significant benefit to both societies. The U.S.S.R. has sought, however, through unfair trade practices to dominate such strategic fields as merchant shipping. Rather than effectively resisting such efforts, the Nixon-Ford administration has looked favorably on such steps as subsidizing U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade by giving the Soviet Union concessionary credits, promoting trade increases because of a short-run hope of using trade to modify political behavior, and even placing major United States energy investment in pawn to Soviet Union policy. Where bilateral trade agreements with the U.S.S.R. are to our economic advantage, we should pursue them, but our watch-words would be tough bargaining and concrete economic, political or other benefits for the United States. We should also press the Soviet Union to take a greater share of responsibility in multilateral solutions to such problems as creating adequate world grain reserves.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.942

Our stance on the issue of human rights and political liberties in the Soviet Union is important to American self-respect and our moral standing in the world. We should continually remind the Soviet Union, by word and conduct, of its commitments in Helsinki to the free flow of people and ideas and of how offensive we and other free people find its violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As part of our programs of official, technical, trade, cultural and other exchanges [p.943] with the U.S.S.R., we should press its leaders to open their society to a genuine interchange of people and ideas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

We must avoid assuming that the whole of American-Soviet relations is greater than the sum of its parts, that any agreement is superior to none, or that we can negotiate effectively as supplicants. We must realize that our firmness can help build respect for us and improve the long-run opportunities for mutually-beneficial concrete agreements. We must beware of the notion that Soviet-American relations are a seamless web in which concessions in one area will bring us benefits in others. By the same token, we must husband our resources to concentrate on what is most important to us. Detente must be military as well as political.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

More fundamentally, we must recognize that the general character of our foreign policies will not be set by our direct relationship with the Soviet Union. Our allies and friends must come first. Nor can the pursuit of our interests elsewhere in the world be dominated by concern for Soviet views. For example, American policy toward China should continue to be based on a desire for a steady improvement and broadening of relations, whatever the tenor and direction of Chinese-Soviet relations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

Above all, we must be open, honest, mature and patient with ourselves and with our allies. We must recognize that, in the long-run, an effective policy toward the Soviet Union can only be grounded on honest discussion, and on a national and, to some extent, an international consensus. Our own institutions, especially the Congress, must be consulted and must help formulate our policy. The governments of our allies and friends must be made partners in our undertakings. Haste and secret bilateral executive arrangements in our dealings with the U.S.S.R. can only promote a mood of uncertainty and suspicion which undermines the public support essential to effective and stable international relations.

America in the World Community

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

Many of the critical foreign policy issues we face require global approaches, but an effective international role for the United States also demands effective working with the special interests of specific foreign nations and regions. The touchstone of our policy must be our own interests, which in turn means that we should not seek or expect to control events everywhere. Indeed, intelligent pursuit of our objectives demands a realization that even where our interests are great and our involvement essential, we do not act alone, but in a world setting where others have interests and objectives as well.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

We cannot give expression to our national values without continuing to play a strong role in the affairs of the United Nations and its agencies. Firm and positive advocacy of our positions is essential.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

We should make a major effort at reforming and restructuring the U.N. systems. The intensity of interrelated problems is rapidly increasing, and it is likely that in the future, the issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems that have dominated international relations since 1945.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

The heat of debate at the General Assembly should not obscure the value of our supporting United Nations involvement in keeping the peace and in the increasingly complex technical and social problems—such as pollution, health, economic development and population growth—that challenge the world community. But we must let the world know that anti-American polemics are no substitute for sound policy and that the United Nations is weakened by harsh rhetoric from other countries or by blasphemous resolutions such as the one equating Zionism and racism.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

A Democratic Administration should seek a fair and comprehensive Law-of-the-Sea Treaty that will balance the interests of the developed and less developed countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

Europe. The nations of Western Europe, together with Japan, are among our closest allies. Except for our closest neighbors in this hemisphere, it is in these regions where our interests are most strongly linked with those of other nations. At the same time, the growing economic and political strength of Europe and Japan creates areas of conflict and tension in a relationship both sides must keep close and healthy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

On the great economic issues—trade, energy, employment, international finance, resources—we must work with the Europeans, the Japanese and other nations to serve our long-run mutual interests in stability and growth, and in the development of poorer nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.943

The military [p.944] security of Europe is fundamental to our own. To that end, NATO remains a vital commitment. We should retain in Europe a U.S. contribution to NATO forces so that they are sufficient to deter or defeat attack without premature resort to nuclear weapons. This does not exclude moderate reductions in manpower levels made possible by more efficiency, and it affirmatively requires a thorough reform and overhaul of NATO forces, plans and deployments. We encourage our European allies to increase their share of the contributions to NATO defense, both in terms of troops and hardware. By mutual agreement or through modernization, the thousands of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe should be reduced, saving money and manpower and increasing our own and international security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

Europe, like the rest of the world, faces substantial political change. We cannot control that process. However, we can publicly make known our preference for developments consistent with our interests and principles. In particular, we should encourage the most rapid possible growth of stable democratic institutions in Spain, and a continuation on the path of democracy of Portugal and Greece, opposing authoritarian takeover from either left or right. We can make clear our sense of the risks and dangers of Communist participation in Western European governments, while being equally clear that we will work on a broad range of non-military matters with any legally-constituted government that is prepared to do the same with us. We similarly must reaffirm our support for the continued growth and cohesion of the institutions of the European community.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

The voice of the United States should be heard in Northern Ireland against violence and terror, against the discrimination, repression and deprivation which brought about that civil strife, and for the efforts of the parties toward a peaceful resolution of the future of Northern Ireland. Pertinent alliances such as NATO and international organizations such as the United Nations should be fully apprised of the interests of the United States with respect to the status of Ireland in the international community of nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

We must do all that is possible, consistent with our interest in a strong NATO in Southern Europe and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean, to encourage a fair settlement of the Cyprus issue, which continues to extract human costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

Middle East. We shall continue to seek a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The cornerstone of our policy is a firm commitment to the independence and security of the State of Israel. This special relationship does not prejudice improved relations with other nations in the region. Real peace in the Middle East will permit Israel and her Arab neighbors to turn their energies to internal development, and will eliminate the threat of world conflict spreading from tensions there.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

The Middle East conflict is complex, and a realistic, pragmatic approach is essential. Our policy must be based on firm adherence to these fundamental principles of Middle East policy:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

We will continue our consistent support of Israel, including sufficient military and economic assistance to maintain Israel's deterrent strength in the region, and the maintenance of U.S. military forces in the Mediterranean adequate to deter military intervention by the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

We steadfastly oppose any move to isolate Israel in the international arena or suspend it from the United Nations or its constituent organizations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

We will avoid efforts to impose on the region an externally devised formula for settlement, and will provide support for initiatives toward settlement, based on direct face-to-face negotiation between the parties and normalization of relations and a full peace within secure and defensible boundaries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

We vigorously support the free passage of shipping in the Middle East—especially in the Suez Canal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

We recognize that the solution to the problems of Arab and Jewish refugees must be among the factors taken into account in the course of continued progress toward peace. Such problems cannot be solved, however, by recognition of terrorist groups which refuse to acknowledge their adversary's right to exist, or groups which have no legitimate claim to represent the people for whom they purport to be speaking.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

We support initiation of government enforcement action to insure that stated U.S. policy—in opposition to boycotts against friendly countries—is fully and vigorously implemented.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

We recognize and support the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, with free access to all its holy places provided to all faiths. As a symbol of this stand, the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.944

Asia. We remain a Pacific power with important stakes and [p.945] objectives in the region, but the Vietnam War has taught us the folly of becoming militarily involved where our vital interests were not at stake.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

Friendship and cooperation with Japan are the cornerstone of our Asian interests and policy. Our commitment to the security of Japan is central to our own, and it is an essential condition to a constructive, peaceful role for that nation in the future of Asia. In our economic dealings with Japan, we must make clear our insistence on mutuality of benefits and opportunities, while focusing on ways to expand our trade, avoiding economic shocks and resultant retaliation on either side. We must avoid the "shocks" to Japan which have resulted from Republican foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

We reaffirm our commitment to the security of the Republic of Korea, both in itself and as a key to the security of Japan. However, on a prudent and carefully planned basis, we can redeploy, and gradually phase out, the U.S. ground forces, and can withdraw the nuclear weapons now stationed in Korea without endangering that support, as long as our tactical air and naval forces in the region remain strong. Our continued resolve in the area should not be misunderstood. However, we deplore the denial of human rights in the Republic of Korea, just as we deplore the brutal and aggressive acts of the regime in North Korea.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

We have learned, at a tragically high price, certain lessons regarding Southeast Asia. We should not seek to control the political future of that region. Rather, we should encourage and welcome peaceful relations with the nations of that area. In conjunction with the fullest possible accounting of our citizens still listed as missing in action, we should move toward normalized relations with Vietnam.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

No foreign policy that reflects traditional American humanitarian concerns can be indifferent to the plight of the peoples of the Asian subcontinent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

The recent improvement in relations with China, which has received bipartisan support, is a welcome recognition that there are few areas in which our vital interests clash with those of China. Our relations with China should continue to develop on peaceful lines, including early movement toward normalizing diplomatic relations in the context of a peaceful resolution of the future of Taiwan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

The Americas. We recognize the fundamental importance of close relations and the easing of economic tension with our Canadian and Mexican neighbors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

In the last eight years, our relations with Latin America have deteriorated amid high-level indifference, increased military, domination of Latin American governments, and revelations of extensive American interference in the internal politics of Chile and other nations. The principles of the Good Neighbor Policy and the Alliance for Progress, under which we are committed to working with the nations of the Americas as equals, remain valid today but seem to have been forgotten by the present administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

The U.S. should adopt policies on trade, aid and investment that include commodity agreements and an appropriate system of trade preferences.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

We must make clear our revulsion at the systematic violations of basic human rights that have occurred under some Latin American military regimes.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

We pledge support for a new Panama Canal treaty, which insures the interests of the United States in that waterway, recognizes the principles already agreed upon, takes into account the interests of the Canal work force, and which will have wide hemispheric support.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

Relations with Cuba can only be normalized if Cuba refrains from interference in the internal affairs of the United States, and releases all U.S. citizens currently detained in Cuban prisons and labor camps for political reasons. We can move towards such relations if Cuba abandons its provocative international actions and policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

Africa. Eight years of indifference, accompanied by increasing cooperation with racist regimes, have left our influence and prestige in Africa at an historical low. We must adopt policies that recognize the intrinsic importance of Africa and its development to the United States, and the inevitability of majority rule on that continent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

The first task is to formulate a rational African policy in terms of enlightened U.S.-African priorities, not as a corollary of U.S.-Soviet policy. Angola demonstrated that we must have sound relations with Black Africa and disassociate our policies from those of South Africa to achieve the desired African response to Soviet expansionism in Africa. Our policy must foster high-level U.S.-Africa communications and establish a sound basis for dealing when crises arise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.945

The next Democratic [p.946] administration will work aggressively to involve black Americans in foreign policy positions, at home and abroad, and in decisions affecting African interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.946

To promote African economic development, the U.S. should undertake increased bilateral and multilateral assistance, continue congressional initiatives in food assistance and food production, with special aid to the Sahel and implementation of the Sahel Development Plan; and carry forward our commitment to negotiate with developing countries on key trade and economic issues such as commodity arrangements and trade preferences.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.946

Our policy must be reformulated towards unequivocal and concrete support of majority rule in Southern Africa, recognizing that our true interests lie in peaceful progress toward a free South Africa for all South Africans, black and white. As part of our commitment to the development of a free and democratic South Africa, we should support the position of African nations in denying recognition to "homelands" given pseudo-independence by the South African government under its current policy of "separate development."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.946

The Republican administration's relaxation of the arms embargo against South Africa must be ended, and the embargo tightened to prevent transfers of military significance, particularly of nuclear material. The U.S. government should not engage in any activity regarding Namibia that would recognize or support the illegal South African administration, including granting tax credits to U.S. companies doing business in Namibia and paying taxes to South Africa. Moreover, the U.S. government should deny tax advantages to all corporations doing business in South Africa and Rhodesia who support or participate in apartheid practices and policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.946

The U.S. government should fully enforce the U.N.-ordered Rhodesia sanctions, seek universal compliance with such measures, and repeal the Byrd Amendment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1976, p.946

Efforts should be made to normalize relations with Angola.

Republican Platform of 1976

Adopted by the Republican National Convention,

August 18, 1976, at Kansas City, Mo.

Preamble

To you, an American citizen:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

You are about to read the 1976 Republican Platform. We hope you will also find time to read the Democrats' Platform. Compare. You will see basic differences in how the two parties propose to represent you.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

"The Platform is the Party's contract with the people." This is what it says on the cover of the official printing of the Democrat Platform. So it should be. The Democrats' Platform repeats the same thing on every page: more government, more spending, more inflation. Compare. This Republican Platform says exactly the opposite—less government, less spending, less inflation. In other words, we want you to retain more of your own money, money that represents the worth of your labors, to use as you see fit for the necessities and conveniences of life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

No matter how many statements to the contrary that Mr. Carter makes, he is firmly attached to a contract with you to increase vastly the powers of government. Is bigger government in Washington really what you want?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

Make no mistake: you cannot have bigger programs in Washington and less government by Washington. You must choose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

What is the cost of these added or expanded programs? The Democrats' Platform is deliberately vague. When they tell you, as they do time after time, that they will "expand federal support," you are left to guess the cost. The price tag of five major Democrat Platform promises could add as much as $100 billion to the annual cost of government. But the Democrats' Platform proposes over 60 new or expanded spending programs and the expansion or creation of some 22 Washington agencies, offices or bureaus. In fact, the total of all Democrat proposals can be as high as $200 billion a year. While this must be a rough estimate, it does give you a clue to the magnitude and direction of these commitments. The Democrats' Platform can increase federal spending by 50 percent. If a Democrat Congress passes the Democrat Platform and it is signed by a Democrat President, what happens then? The Democrats could raise your taxes by 50 percent to pay for the new programs. Or the Democrats could not raise taxes and the result would be a runaway inflation. Of course, contract or no contract, the Democrats may not honor their promises. Are you prepared to risk it?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

In stark contrast to the Democrats' Platform, we offer you a responsive and moderate alternative based on these principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

We believe that liberty can be measured by how much freedom you have to make your own decisions—even your own mistakes. Government must step in when your liberties impinge on your neighbor's. Government must protect your constitutional rights. Government must deal with other governments and protect you from aggressors. Government must assure equal opportunity. And government must be compassionate in caring for those citizens who are unable to care for themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

Our federal system of local-state-national government is designed to sort out on what level these actions should be taken. Those concerns of a national character—such as air and water pollution that do not respect state boundaries or the national transportation system or efforts to safeguard your civil liberties—must, of course, be handled on the national level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

As a general rule, however, we believe that government action should be taken first by the government that resides as close to you as possible. Governments tend to become less responsive to your needs the farther away they are from you. Thus, we prefer local and state government to national government, and decentralized national government wherever possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

We also believe that you, often acting through voluntary organizations, should have the opportunity to solve many of the social problems of your community. This spirit of freely helping others is uniquely American and should be encouraged in every way by government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

Every dollar spent by government is a dollar earned by you. Government must always ask: Are your dollars being wisely spent? Can we afford it? Is it not better for the country to leave your dollars in your pocket?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

Your elected officials, their appointees, and government workers are expected to perform their public acts with honesty, openness, diligence, and special integrity. At the heart of our system must be confidence that these people are always working for you.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

We believe that your initiative and energy create jobs, our standard of living and the underlying economic strength of the country. Government must work for the goal of justice and the elimination of unfair practices, but no government has yet designed a more productive economic system or one which benefits as many people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

The beauty of our land is our legacy to our children. It must be protected by us so that they can pass it on intact to their children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

The United States must always stand for peace and liberty in the world and the rights of the individual. We must form sturdy partnerships with our allies for the preservation of freedom. We must be ever willing to negotiate differences, but equally mindful that there are American ideals that cannot be compromised. Given that there are other nations with potentially hostile designs, we recognize that we can reach our goals only while maintaining a superior national defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.2

We support these principles because they are right, knowing full well that they will not be easy to achieve. Acting with restraint is most difficult when confronted by an opposition Congress that is determined to promise everything to everybody. And this is [p.3] what the Democrat Congress has been doing. A document, such as this Platform, which refuses to knuckle under to special interest groups, will be accused of being "uncaring." Yet it is exactly because we do care about your basic freedom to manage your own life with a minimum of government interference, because we do care about encouraging permanent and meaningful jobs, because we do care about your getting paid in sound dollars, because we do care about resisting the use of your tax dollars for wasteful or unproven programs—it is for these reasons that we are proposing only actions that the nation can afford and are opposing excessive tinkering with an economic system that works better than any other in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

Our great American Republic was founded on the principle: "one nation under God, with liberty and justice for all." This bicentennial year marks the anniversary of the greatest secular experiment in history: That of seeking to determine that a people are truly capable of self-government. It was our "Declaration" which put the world and posterity on notice "that Men are…endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights" and that those rights must not be taken from those to whom God has given them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

Recently, Peggy Pinder, a 23-year-old student from Grinnell, Iowa, who is a delegate to this convention, said that she joined our party "because Republicans understand the place of government in the people's lives better than the Democrats. Republicans try to find ways to take care of needs through the private sector first while it seems automatic for Democrats to take care of them through the governmental system."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

The perception of Peggy Pinder governs this Platform. Aren't these the principles that you want your elected representatives to have?

Jobs and Inflation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

We believe it is of paramount importance that the American people understand that the number one destroyer of jobs is inflation. We wish to stress that the number one cause of inflation is the government's expansion of the nation's supply of money and credit needed to pay for deficit spending. It is above all else deficit spending by the federal government which erodes the purchasing power of the dollar. Most Republicans in Congress seem to understand this fundamental cause-and-effect relationship and their support in sustaining over 40 Presidential vetoes in the past two years has prevented over $13 billion in federal spending. It is clear that most of the Democrats do not understand this vital principle, or, if they do, they simply don't care.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

Inflation is the direct responsibility of a spendthrift Democrat-controlled Congress that has been unwilling to discipline itself to live within our means. The temptation to spend and deficit spend for political reasons has simply been too great for most of our elected politicians to resist. Individuals, families, companies and most local and state governments must live within a budget. Why not Congress?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

Republicans hope every American realizes that if we are permanently to eliminate high unemployment, it is essential to protect the integrity of our money. That means putting an end to deficit spending. The danger, sooner or later, is runaway inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

Wage and price controls are not the solution to inflation. They attempt to treat only the symptom—rising prices—not the cause. Historically, controls have always been a dismal failure, and in the end they create only shortages, black markets and higher prices. For these reasons the Republican Party strongly opposes any reimposition of such controls, on a standby basis or otherwise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

Unfortunately, the Democrat-controlled Congress now persists in attempting to obtain control over our nation's money creation policies by taking away the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. The same people who have so massively expanded government spending should not be allowed politically to dominate our monetary policy. The independence of the Federal Reserve System must be preserved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

Massive, federally-funded public employment programs, such as the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill currently embraced by the new National Platform of the Democrat Party will cost billions and can only be financed either through very large tax Increases or through ever increasing levels of deficit spending. Although such government "make-work" programs usually provide a temporary stimulus to the economy, "quick-fix" solutions of this sort—like all narcotics—lead to addition, larger and larger doses, and ultimately the destruction of far more jobs than they create. Sound job creation can only be accomplished in the private sector of the economy. Americans must not be fooled into accepting government as the employer of last resort.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

Nor should we sit idly by while 2.5 million American jobs are threatened by imports of textile products. We encourage the renewal of the GATT Multifiber Arrangement and the signing of other necessary bilateral agreements to protect our domestic textile industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.3

In order to be able to provide more jobs, businesses must be able to expand; yet in order to build and expand, they must be profitable and able to borrow funds (savings) that someone else has been willing to part with on a temporary basis. In the long run, inflation discourages thrift, encourages debt and destroys the incentive to save which is the mainspring of capital formation. When our government—through deficit spending and debasement of the currency—destroys the incentive to save and to invest, it destroys the very wellspring of American productivity. Obviously, when production falls, the number of jobs declines. [p.4]

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

The American people are beginning to understand that no government can ever add real wealth (purchasing power) to an economy by simply turning on the printing presses or by creating credit out of thin air. All government can do is confiscate and redistribute wealth. No nation can spend its way into prosperity; a nation can only spend its way into bankruptcy.

Taxes and Government Spending

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

The Republican Party recognizes that tax policies and spending policies are in separable. If government spending is not controlled, taxes will inevitably rise either directly or through inflation. By failing to tie spending directly to income, the Democrat-controlled Congress has not kept faith with the American people. Every American knows he cannot continually live beyond his means.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

The Republican Party advocates a legislative policy to obtain a balanced federal budget and reduced tax rates. While the best tax reform is tax reduction, we recognize the need for structural tax adjustments to help the working men and women of our nation. To that end, we recommend tax credits for college tuition, postsecondary technical training and child care expenses incurred by working parents.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

Over the past two decades of Democrat control of the Congress, our tax laws have become a nightmare of complexity and unfair tax preferences, virtually destroying the credibility of the system. Simplification should be a major goal of tax reform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

We support economic and tax policies to insure the necessary job-producing expansion of our economy. These include hastening capital recovery through new systems of accelerated depreciation, removing the tax burden on equity financing to encourage more capital investment, ending the unfair double taxation of dividends, and supporting proposals to enhance the ability of our working and other citizens to own "a piece of the action" through stock ownership. When balanced by expenditure reductions, the personal exemption should be raised to $1,000.

Agriculture and Rural Development

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

The bounty of our farms is so plentiful that we may tend to forget what an amazing production achievement this really is. Each American farmer and rancher produces enough food to feed over 56 people—a threefold increase in productivity in 20 years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

Rural America must be maintained as a rewarding place to live. To accomplish this, our rural areas are entitled to services comparable to their urban neighbors, such as water and sewer systems, improved electricity and telephone service, adequate transportation, available and adequate financial credit, and employment opportunities which will allow small farmers to supplement their incomes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

Farm exports have continued to expand under the policies of this Republican Administration—from a low of $6 billion in 1968, the last Democrat year, to $22 billion in 1975. These exports are not giveaway programs; most are earning dollars from the marketplaces of the world, establishing a favorable balance of trade and a higher standard of living for all. Through our farm exports we fight the problem of world hunger, especially with the humanitarian Food for Peace Program (Public Law 480) of the Eisenhower Administration and the Republican-controlled Congress of 1954.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

Republican farm policy has permitted farmers to use their crop land fully. We are at last moving toward making effective use of our superb resources. Net farm income from 1972 through 1975 averaged $26 billion, more than double the average of the 1960's. Government should not dictate to the productive men and women who work the land. To assure this, we support the continuation of the central principles of the Agricultural Act of 1973, with adjustments of target prices and loan levels to reflect increased production costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

We oppose government-controlled grain reserves, just as we oppose federal regulations that are unrealistic in farm practices, such as those imposed by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

We urge prompt action by Congress in amending the Grain Inspection Act to strengthen the present inspection system and restore its integrity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

We firmly believe that when the nation asks our farmers to go all out to produce as much as possible for world-wide markets, the government should guarantee them unfettered access to those markets. Our farmers should not be singled out by export controls. Also, when a foreign national subsidizes its farm exports, our farmers deserve protection against such unfair practices. The federal government should assure that foreign imported commodities are equal in quality to our domestic commodities. Nations from whom we buy commodities should not be allowed to circumvent import restriction laws, such as the Meat Import Quota Act of 1964.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

We recognize the importance of the multilateral trade negotiations now in progress and urge our representatives to obtain the most beneficial agreements for our farmers and the nation's economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

In order to assure the consumers of America an uninterrupted source of food, it is necessary to pass labor relations legislation which is responsive to the welfare of workers and to the particular needs of food production. Such legislation should recognize the need to prevent work stoppages during the critical harvest periods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.4

We must help farmers protect themselves from drought, flood and other natural disasters through a system of all-risk crop insurance through Federal government reinsurance of private insurance companies [p.5] combined with the existing disaster payment program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

As in 1972, we urge prompt passage of the Republican-sponsored legislation now pending in Congress which will increase the estate tax exemption to $200,000, allow valuation of farm property on a current use basis and provide for extension of the time of payment in the case of farms and small businesses. This overdue estate and gift tax legislation must be approved this year. We favor a liberalized marital deduction and oppose capital gains tax at death.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

Innovations in agriculture need to be encouraged by expanding research programs including new pest and predator control measures, and utilization of crops as a new energy resource. If we expect our farmers to produce an abundant food supply, they must have all the energy they need to produce, market and process their crops and livestock.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

We continue to support farmer cooperatives, including rural electric and telephone cooperatives, in their efforts to improve services to their members. We support the Capper-Volstead Act.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

We believe that non-farm corporations and tax-loss farming should be prevented from unfairly competing against family farms, which we support as the preferred method of farm organization.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

Since farmers are practicing conservationists, they should not be burdened with unrealistic environmental regulations. We are concerned about regulations issued by the Army Corps of Engineers that will regulate all "routine" agricultural and forestry activities on "all" our waters and wetland, and support legislation to exempt routine farming operations from these requirements. The adjudication of water rights should be a matter of state determination.

Small Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

Small business, so vital to our economic system, is free enterprise in its purest sense. It holds forth opportunity to the individual, regardless of race or sex, to fulfill the American dream. Small businesses are the base of our economy and its main source of strength. Some 9.6 million small firms generate 55 percent of our private employment—or the livelihood of over 100 million Americans. Yet while small businesses have a unique place in our society, they also have unique problems that government must address. Therefore, we recommend that the Small Business Administration (SBA):

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

Assure adequate financing to those credit worthy firms that cannot now obtain funds through conventional channels;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

Include the proper mix of loan programs to meet the needs of the many different types of firms that constitute the American small business community;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

Serve as an aggressive advocate for small business and provide procurement, management and technological assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

For survival, small businesses must have relief from the overwhelming burden placed on them by many regulatory bodies. Paperwork proliferation has grown out of control, and small business is not equipped to deal with this aggravation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

The present tax structure does not allow small firms to generate enough capital to grow and create jobs. Estate taxes need liberalization to benefit the family business in the same manner as the family farm. Encouraging investment in small businesses through more equitable tax treatment remains the best and least expensive method of creating productive employment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

The Republican Party, recognizing that small and independent business is the backbone of the American competitive system, pledges itself to strengthen this vital institution.

Antitrust

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

The Republican Party believes in and endorses the concept that the American economy is traditionally dependent upon fair competition in the marketplace. To assure fair competition, antitrust laws must treat all segments of the economy equally.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

Vigorous and equitable enforcement of antitrust laws heightens competition and enables consumers to obtain the lowest possible price in the marketplace.

Bureaucratic Over-regulation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

We believe that the extent of federal regulation and bureaucratic interference in the lives of the American people must be reduced. The programs and activities of the federal government should be required to meet strict tests of their usefulness and effectiveness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

In particular, we consider essential an analysis of the extensive growth of laws and regulations governing production processes and conditions and standards or consumer products, so as to determine whether the services and benefits the American people receive are worth the price they are paying for these services in higher taxes and consumer prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

We are intensely aware of the need to protect our environment and provide safe working conditions in American industry, while at the same time preventing the loss of jobs and the closing of small businesses through unrealistic or over-rigorous government regulations. We support a balanced approach that considers the requirements of a growing economy and provides jobs for American workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

The average businessman and employer is being overwhelmed by government-required paperwork. We support legislation to control and reduce the burden of federal paper-work, particularly that generated by the Internal Revenue Service and the Census Bureau.

Government that Works

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.5

We believe that Americans are fed up with and frustrated by national government that [p.6] makes great promises and fails to deliver. We are! We think that Democrat Congresses—in control for 40 out of the last 44 years—are the grand masters of this practice. We think that a national government grown so big that the left hand doesn't know what the right hand is doing has caused the condition we are in.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

What we now have is a government organization that doesn't make any sense. It has not developed by design. It just grew—by whim, bureaucratic fighting, and the caving in of Democrat Congresses to special interest demands. So today we find that nine federal departments and twenty independent agencies are involved in education; seven departments and eight agencies in health; federal recreation areas are administered by six agencies in three departments; and so forth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

What we need is a top-to-bottom overhaul. Two high level presidential commissions under two Presidents—one a Democrat, one a Republican—have investigated and come up with the same answer: There must be functional realignment of government, instead of the current arrangement by subject areas or constituencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

We want federal domestic departments to reflect the major purposes of government, such as natural resources, human resources, community development and economic affairs. Unfortunately, the Democrat Congress has refused to address this problem. Now we insist that attention must be paid.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

Too often in the past, we have been content with organizational or procedural solutions to complex economic and social regulatory problems. We should no longer accept rhetoric as a substitute for concrete results. The President has proposed to Congress the Agenda for Government Reform Act, which would guarantee the systematic re-examination and reform of all federal regulatory activities within the next four years. This legislation requires Congress and the President to agree to undertake an exhaustive reassessment of the combined effects of all government regulations, and it requires them to adhere to a disciplined timetable to assure annual results. The American people deserve no less. Every agency of government must be made efficient, and every government regulation should be subjected to cost benefit analysis. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) is a typical example of a well-intentioned regulatory effort which has imposed large costs but has not solved our problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

The beauty of America's original concept of government was its diversity, the belief that different purposes are best served by governments at different levels. In our lifetime, however, Democrat Congresses have allowed this system to become warped and over-nationalized. As powers have flowed to Washington, the ability to attend to our problems has often dried up in our communities and states. This trend must be reversed. Local government is simply more accountable to the people, and local people are perfectly capable of making decisions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

We reaffirm the long standing principle of the Republican Party that the best government is the one closest to the people. It is less costly, more accountable, and more responsive to the people's needs. Our confidence in the people of this nation was demonstrated by initiating the Revenue Sharing Program. To date, $30 billion of federal tax dollars have been returned to the states and localities. This program is administered with fewer than 100 people and a computer. Revenue Sharing is an effort to reverse the trend toward centralization. Revenue Sharing must continue without unwarranted federal strictures and regulations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

As a further step in this direction, the Republicans in Congress promoted the new concept of federal block grants to localities for much greater flexibility. Under block grants, federal funds can be tailored by the states and localities to the wishes of each community. There are now two block grant programs—in community development and employment training. Block grant programs should be extended to replace many existing categorical health, education, child nutrition and social services programs. The Democrat Congress stands guilty of failing to enact these vital reforms. Our ultimate goal is to restore taxing and spending to the local level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

The Republican Party has always believed that the proper role of government is to do only those things which individuals cannot do for themselves. We encourage individual initiative and oppose the trend of ever expanding government programs which is destroying the volunteer spirit in America. We firmly believe that community involvement is essential to the development of effective solutions to the problems confronting our country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

While we oppose a uniform national primary, we encourage the concept of regional presidential primaries, which would group those states which voluntarily agree to have presidential primaries in a geographical area on a common date.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

We encourage full participation in our electoral process. We further recognize the sanctity and value of the ballot. In that regard, we oppose "federal post card registration." The possibilities of fraud are inherent in registration by mail. Such possibilities could not only cheapen our ballot, but in fact threaten the entire electoral process.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.6

Control of the United States Congress by the Democrat Party for 40 of the past 44 years has resulted in a system dominated by powerful individuals and riddled with corruption. Recent events have demonstrated an unwillingness and inability by the Democrat Party to cleanse itself. Selective morality has been the order of the day. Positive Republican initiatives have languished in Democrat-controlled Congressional Committees while business as usual has continued in [p.7] Washington. The American people demand and deserve reform of the United States Congress. We offer these proposals of far-reaching reform:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Repeal of legislation which permits automatic increases in the salaries of Members of Congress, congressional staffs, and official expense allowances. Public accountability demands that Members publicly vote on increases on the expenses of their office. Members' salary increases should not become effective until a new Congress is elected.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Elimination of proxy voting which allows Members to record votes in Committee without being present for the actual deliberations or vote on a measure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Elimination of Democrat Caucus rules which allow a Party to bind its Members' votes on legislation. Each Member of Congress represents his constituency and must be free to vote in accordance with the dictates of his constituency and individual conscience.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

A complete audit by the General Accounting Office of all congressional allowances and appropriate disciplinary measures for those who have violated the public trust.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Full public disclosure of financial interests by Members and divestiture of those interests which present conflicts of interest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Changes in the House rules which would allow a House majority to require the House Ethics Committee to conduct an investigation into alleged misconduct by any Member of Congress if the Committee refuses to act on its own.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

A complete overhaul and streamlining of the system which has permitted the proliferation of subcommittees with over-lapping responsibility, vague jurisdictional definitions and a lack of legislative production.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Quarterly publication of names, titles and salaries of all Congressional employees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Improved lobby disclosure legislation so that the people will know how much money is being spent to influence public officials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Citizens are demanding the end to the rapid and wasteful increase in the size of Washington government. All steps must be taken to insure that unnecessary federal agencies and programs are eliminated and that Congress carefully scrutinize the total budget of each agency. If it is determined that sunset laws and zero-based budgeting can accomplish these ends, then they will have our support. Washington programs must be made as cost-effective as those in the states and localities. Among the many serious complaints that we wish to register on behalf of the American people is the poor operation of the United States Postal Service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

We note the low respect the public has for Congress—a Democrat-controlled Institution—and wonder how the Democrats can possibly honor their pledge to reform government when they have utterly failed to reform Congress.

A Safe and Just Society

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Every American has a right to be protected from criminals. Violence has no place in our land. A society that excuses crime will eventually fall victim to it. The American people have been subjected to an intolerable wave of violent crime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

The victim of a crime should be treated with compassion and justice. The attacker must be kept from harming others. Emphasis must be on protecting the Innocent and punishing the guilty. Prevention of crime is its best deterrent and should be stressed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Fighting crime is—and should be—primarily a local responsibility. We support the continuation of the federal help given through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration {LEAA} to law enforcement officials in our states, counties and municipalities. Each state should have the power to decide whether it wishes to impose the death penalty for certain crimes. All localities are urged to tighten their bail practices and to review their sentencing and parole procedures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

The federal criminal code should include automatic and mandatory minimum sentences for persons committing offenses under federal jurisdiction that involve the use of a dangerous weapon; that involve exceptionally serious crimes, such as trafficking in hard drugs, kidnapping and aircraft hijacking; and that involve injuries committed by repeat offenders.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

The work presently being done to tighten the antiobscenity provisions of the criminal code has our full support. Since the jurisdiction of the federal government in this field is limited to interstate commerce and the mails, we urge state and local governments to assume a major role in limiting the distribution and availability of obscene materials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

We support the right of citizens to keep and bear arms. We oppose federal registration of firearms. Mandatory sentences for crimes committed with a lethal weapon are the only effective solution to this problem.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Sure and swift justice demands additional judges, United States Attorneys and other court workers. The Democrat Congress has created no new federal judgeships since 1970; we deplore this example of playing politics with the justice system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.7

Drug abuse is not simply a health problem, but also a very real law enforcement concern and a problem of worldwide dimension. Controlling drug abuse calls for the ratification of the existing international treaty on synthetic drugs, increased emphasis on preventing the diversion of amphetamines and barbiturates into illegal markets, and intensive efforts to keep drugs out of this country. Heroin continues to come across our borders. Drug enforcement agents and international cooperation must cut off this supply. We say: Treat the addicts, but, at [p.8] the same time, remove the pushers from the street and give them mandatory sentences.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

Juveniles now account for almost half the arrests for serious crimes—murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault. The cost of school violence and vandalism is estimated at $600 million annually, about what is spent on textbooks. Primary responsibility for raising our children, instilling proper values and thus preventing juvenile delinquency lies with the family, not the government. Yet when families fail, local law enforcement authorities must respond. Law enforcement block grant funds can be used by states in correcting and preventing juvenile delinquency. The LEAA should promote additional research in this area. The structure of the family must be strengthened. All enterprises have to be encouraged to find more Jobs for young people. A youth differential must be included in the minimum wage law. Citizen action should let the television industry know that we want it to curb violence in programming because of its effect on our youth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

The criminal justice system must be more vigilant in preventing rape, eliminating discrimination against the victim and dealing with the offenders.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

States should recognize that antiquated and overcrowded prisons are not conducive to rehabilitation. A high priority of prison reform should be to help the young first-time offender. There should be adequate separation of young from adult offenders, more relevant prison industries, better counseling community-based alternatives and more help in getting a job for the offender who has served his or her time.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

Terrorism—both domestic and international-must be stopped. Not only must the strongest steps be taken in the United States, but collective action must come from all nations. Deterring every form of hijacking calls for sanctions against countries that aid terrorists. The world community should take appropriate action to deal with terrorist organizations. We applaud the daring rescue by Israel of innocent civilian hostages who were kidnapped by terrorists. While we regret that loss of life was involved, the courageous manner in which the hostages were freed speaks eloquently to our abhorrence of world bandits.

The Right to Privacy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

Liberty depends in great measure on the privacy that each American retains.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

We are alarmed by Washington's growing collection of information. The number of federal data banks is now estimated at between 800 and 900 and more than 50 agencies are involved. We question the need for all these computers to be storing the records of our lives. Safeguards must protect us against this information being misused or disclosed. Major changes, for example, are needed to maintain the confidentiality of tax returns and Society Security records.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

Recent Supreme Court decisions have held that an individual has no constitutional right to the privacy of records held in banks or other depository institutions and that they can be readily obtained by law enforcement agencies without a person's consent or knowledge. Law enforcement authorities must be able to pursue criminal violators, yet, at the same time, there should be reasonable controls imposed to protect the privacy of law-abiding citizens. We support legislation, now pending, to assure this protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

Too many government records, on the other hand, are unnecessarily classified. Congress and the Executive should devise a more reasonable system for classifying and handling government information.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

The President's achievements in protecting privacy are unequalled by past administrations and must be built upon in the future. We particularly note changes in federal record-keeping systems, the appointment of the Commission on the CIA, the reorganization of the intelligence community and the restriction of White House access to income tax returns.

The American Family

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

Families must continue to be the foundation of our nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

Families—not government programs—are the best way to make sure our children are properly nurtured, our elderly are cared for, our cultural and spiritual heritages are perpetuated, our laws are observed and our values are preserved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

If families fail in these vitally important tasks, there is little the government, no matter how well-intentioned, can do to remedy the results. Schools cannot educate children adequately if families are not supportive of the learning process. Law enforcement authorities are nearly helpless to curb juvenile delinquency without family cooperation in teaching young people respect for property and laws. Neither medicine nor school feeding programs can replace the family's ability to provide the basis for good health. Isolation from meaningful family contact makes it virtually impossible for the elderly to avoid loneliness or dependence. The values of hard work and responsibility start with the family.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.8

As modern life brings changes in our society, it also puts stresses on families trying to adjust to new realities while maintaining cherished values. Economic uncertainty, unemployment, housing difficulties, women's and men's concerns with their changing and often conflicting roles, high divorce rates, threatened neighborhoods and schools, and public scandal all create a hostile atmosphere that erodes family structures and family values. Thus it is imperative that our government's programs, actions, officials and social welfare institutions never be allowed to jeopardize the family. We fear the government may be powerful enough to destroy our [p.9] families; we know that it is not powerful enough to replace them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Because of our concern for family values, we affirm our beliefs, stated elsewhere in this Platform, in many elements that will make our country a more hospitable environment for family life—neighborhood schools; educational systems that include and are responsive to parents' concerns; estate tax changes to establish more realistic exemptions which will minimize disruption of already bereaved families; a position on abortion that values human life; a welfare policy to encourage rather than discourage families to stay together and seek economic independence; a tax system that assists rather than penalizes families with elderly members, children in day care or children in college; economic and employment policies that stop the shrinkage of our dollars and stimulate the creation of jobs so that families can plan for their economic security.

Education

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Our children deserve quality education. We believe that segregated schools are morally wrong and unconstitutional. However, we oppose forced busing to achieve racial balances in our schools. We believe there are educational advantages for children in attending schools in their own neighborhoods and that the Democrat-controlled Congress has failed to enact legislation to protect this concept. The racial composition of many schools results from decisions by people about where they choose to live. If Congress continues to fail to act, we would favor consideration of an amendment to the Constitution forbidding the assignment of children to schools on the basis of race.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Our approach is to work to eradicate the root causes of segregated schools, such as housing discrimination and gerrymandered school districts. We must get on with the education of all our children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Throughout our history, the education of our children has been a community responsibility. But now federal categorical grant programs pressure local school districts into substituting Washington-dictated priorities for their own. Local school administrators and school boards are being turned into bookkeepers for the federal government. Red tape and restrictive regulations stifle imagination and creativity. We are deeply concerned about the decline in the performance of our schools and the decline in public confidence in them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

We favor consideration of tax credits for parents making elementary and secondary school tuition payments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Local communities wishing to conduct non-sectarian prayers in their public schools should be able to do so. We favor a constitutional amendment to achieve this end.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

We propose consolidating federal categorical grant programs into block grants and turning the money over to the states to use in accordance with their own needs and priorities and with minimum bureaucratic controls. A single program must preserve the funding that is directed at the needs of such special groups as the handicapped and the disadvantaged.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Responsibility for education, particularly on the elementary and secondary levels, belongs to local communities and parents. Intrusion by the federal government must be avoided. Bureaucratic control of schools by Washington has the potential for destruction of our educational system by taking more and more decisions away from parents and local school authorities. Financial dependence on the federal government inevitably leads to greater centralization of authority. We believe, therefore, that a study should be authorized concerning funding of elementary and secondary education, coupled with a study regarding return to the states of equivalent revenue to compensate for any loss in present levels of federal funding.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Unless steps are taken immediately, soaring prices will restrict a college education to the rich and those poor enough to qualify now for government aid. Federal higher education policy should continue to focus on financial aid for needy individuals, but because the financial ability to go to college is fast slipping out of the grasp of middle income families, more realistic eligibility guidelines for student aid are essential.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Government interference in the management of colleges and universities must be stopped. Federal support to assist in meeting the grave financial problems of higher education should be forthcoming, but such funds should never be used as devices for imposing added controls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Diversity in education has great value. Public schools and non-public schools should share in education funds on a constitutionally acceptable basis. Private colleges and universities should be assisted to maintain healthy competition and to enrich diversity. The cost of expanding public campuses can be kept down if existing private institutions are helped to accommodate our student population.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

We favor continued special federal support for vocational education.

Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

Every American should have access to quality health care at an affordable price.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.9

The possibility of an extended illness in a family is a frightening prospect, but, if it does happen, a person should at least be protected from having it wipe out lifetime savings. Catastrophic expenses incurred from major illnesses and accidents affect only a small percentage of Americans each year, but for those people, the financial burden can be devastating. We support extension of catastrophic illness protection to all who cannot obtain it. We should utilize our private health insurance system to assure adequate protection for those who do not have it. Such an approach will eliminate the red tape and high bureaucratic costs inevitable in a comprehensive national program. [p.10] The Republican Party opposes compulsory national health insurance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

Americans should know that the Democrat Platform, which offers a government-operated and financed "comprehensive national health insurance system with universal and mandatory coverage," will increase federal government spending by more than $70 billion in its first full year. Such a plan could require a personal income tax increase of approximately 20 percent. We oppose this huge, new health insurance tax. Moreover, we do not believe that the federal government can administer effectively the Democrats' cradle-to-grave proposal.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

The most effective, efficient and economical method to improve health care and extend its availability to all is to build on the present health delivery and insurance system, which covers nine out of every ten Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

A coordinated effort should be mounted immediately to contain the rapid increase in health care costs by all available means, such as development of healthier life styles through education, improved preventive care, better distribution of medical manpower, emphasis on out-of-hospital services and elimination of wasteful duplication of medical services.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

We oppose excessive intrusions from Washington in the delivery of health care. We believe in preserving the privacy that should exist between a patient and a physician, particularly in regard to the confidentiality of medical records.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

Federal health programs should be consolidated into a single grant to each state, where possible, thereby allowing much greater flexibility in setting local priorities. Our rural areas, for example, have different health care delivery needs than our cities. Federal laws and regulations should respect these differences and make it possible to respond differently to differing needs. Fraud in Medicare and Medical programs should be exposed and eliminated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

We need a comprehensive and equitable approach to the subject of mental health. Such a program should focus on the prevention, treatment and care of mental illness. It should cover all aspects of the interrelationships between emotional illness and other developmental disabilities that seek to remove us from the dark ages in these areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

Alcoholism and drug abuse, growing problems in America today, should receive the utmost attention.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

While we support valid medical and biological research efforts which can produce life-saving results, we oppose any research on live fetuses. We are also opposed to any legislation which sanctions ending the life of any patient.

Child Nutrition

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

Every child should have enough to eat. Good nutrition is a prerequisite of a healthy life. We must focus our resources on feeding needy children. The present school lunch programs provide a 20 percent subsidy to underwrite the meals of children from middle- and upper-income families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

The existing 15 child nutrition programs should be consolidated into one program, administered by the states, and concentrated on those children truly in need. Other federal programs should insure that low-income people will be able to purchase a nutritionally adequate food supply.

Equal Rights and Ending Discrimination

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

Roadblocks must be removed that may prevent Americans from realizing their full potential in society. Unfair discrimination is a burden that intolerably weighs morally, economically and politically upon a free nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

While working to eradicate discriminatory practices, every citizen should be encouraged to take pride in and foster the cultural heritage that has been passed on from previous generations. Almost every American traces ancestry from another country; this cultural diversity gives strength to our national heritage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

There must be vigorous enforcement of laws to assure equal treatment in job recruitment, hiring, promotion, pay, credit, mortgage access and housing. The way to end discrimination, however, is not by resurrecting the much discredited quota system and attempting to cloak it in an aura of new respectability. Rather, we must provide alternative means of assisting the victims of past discrimination to realize their full worth as American citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

Wiping out past discrimination requires continued emphasis on providing educational opportunities for minority citizens, increasing direct and guaranteed loans to minority business enterprises, and affording qualified minority persons equal opportunities for government positions at all levels.

Women

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

Women, who comprise a numerical majority of the population, have been denied a just portion of our nation's rights and opportunities. We reaffirm our pledge to work to eliminate discrimination in all areas for reasons of race, color, national origin, age, creed or sex and to enforce vigorously laws guaranteeing women equal rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.10

The Republican Party reaffirms its support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Our Party was the first national party to endorse the E.R.A. in 1940. We continue to believe its ratification is essential to insure equal rights for all Americans. In our 1972 Platform, the Republican Party recognized the great contributions women have made to society as homemakers and mothers, as contributors to the community through volunteer work, and as members of the labor force in careers. The Platform stated then, and repeats now, that the Republican Party "fully endorses the principle of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities for women." The Equal Rights Amendment is the [p.11] embodiment of this principle and therefore we support its swift ratification.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

The question of abortion is one of the most difficult and controversial of our time. It is undoubtedly a moral and personal issue but it also involves complex questions relating to medical science and criminal justice. There are those in our Party who favor complete support for the Supreme Court decision which permits abortion on demand. There are others who share sincere convictions that the Supreme Court's decision must be changed by a constitutional amendment prohibiting all abortions. Others have yet to take a position, or they have assumed a stance somewhere in between polar positions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parents' obligation and right to guide their minor children. The Republican Party favors a continuance of the public dialogue on abortion and supports the efforts of those who seek enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

The Social Security System, our federal tax laws, and unemployment and disability programs currently discriminate against women and often work against married couples as well. These inequities must be corrected. We recognize that special support must be given to the increasing number of women who have assumed responsibility as the heads of households while also being wage earners. Programs for job training, counseling and other services should be established to help them attain their dual role in society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

We reiterate the pledges elsewhere in this platform of support for child care assistance, part-time and flexible-time work that enables men and women to combine employment and family responsibilities, estate tax reform, small business assistance for women, rape prevention and elimination of discriminatory housing practices.

Ethnic Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

Ethnic Americans have enriched this nation with their hard work, self-reliance and respect for the rights and needs of others. Ethnic groups reaching our shores at various times have given our country its unique identity and strength among the nations of the world. We recognize and value the contributions of Ethnic Americans to our free and democratic society.

Hispanic-Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

When language is a cause of discrimination, there must be an intensive educational effort to enable Spanish-speaking students to become fully proficient in English while maintaining their own language and cultural heritage. Hispanic-Americans must not be treated as second-class citizens in schools, employment or any other aspect of life just because English is not their first language. Hispanic-Americans truly believe that individual integrity must be paramount; what they want most from government and politics is the opportunity to participate fully. The Republican Party has and always will offer this opportunity.

Indians and Alaska Natives

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

We have a unique commitment to Native Americans; we pledge to continue to honor our trust relationship with them, and we reaffirm our federal Indian policy of self-determination without termination. This means moving smoothly and quickly away from federal domination to effective participation and communication by Indians in the political process and in the planning, content and administration of federal programs. We shall pursue our joint effort with Indian leaders to assist in the orderly development of Indian and native-owned resources and to continue to attack the severe health, education and unemployment problems which exist among Indians and Alaska Natives.

Puerto Rico, The District of Columbia and The Territories

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

The principle of self-determination also governs our positions on Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia as it has in past platforms. We again support statehood for Puerto Rico, if that is the people's choice in a referendum, with full recognition within the concept of a multicultural society of the citizens' right to retain their Spanish language and traditions; and support giving the District of Columbia voting representation in the United States Senate and House of Representatives and full home rule over those matters that are purely local.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

We will continue to negotiate with the Congress of Micronesia on the future political status of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands to meet the mutual interests of both parties. We support a plebiscite by the people of American Samoa on whether they wish to elect a territorial governor. We favor whatever action is necessary to permit American citizens resident in Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to vote for President and Vice President in national elections. With regard to Guam and the Virgin Islands, we urge an increased degree of self-sufficiency and support maximum broadening of self-government.

Responsibilities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

Finally, the most basic principle of all: Achievement and preservation of human rights in our society is based on the willing acceptance by millions of Americans of their responsibilities as free citizens. Instead of viewing government programs with ever increasing expectations, we must readily assume the obligations of wage-earners, taxpayers and supporters of our government and laws. This is often forgotten, and so it is appropriate to remind ourselves in this Platform that this is why our society works.

Handicapped Citizens

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.11

Handicapped persons must be admitted into the mainstream of our society. [p.12]

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

Too often the handicapped population of the nation—over 30 million men, women and children—has been denied the rights taken for granted by other citizens. Time after time, the paths are closed to the handicapped in education, employment, transportation, health care, housing, recreation, insurance, polling booths and due process of law. National involvement is necessary to correct discrimination in these areas. Individual incentive alone cannot do it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

We pledge continued attention to the problems caused by barriers in architecture, communication, transportation and attitudes. In addition, we realize that to deny education and employment simply because of an existing disability runs counter to our accepted belief in the free enterprise system and forces the handicapped to be overly dependent on others. Similarly, the denial of equal access to credit and to acquisition of venture capital on the basis of a handicap or other disability conflicts with Republican philosophy. We advocate the elimination of needless barriers for all handicapped persons.

Working Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

Free collective bargaining remains the best way to insure that American workers receive a fair price for their labors.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

The special problems of collective bargaining in state and local government should be addressed at those levels. Washington should not impose its standards on local governments. While we oppose strikes by public employees, we recognize that states have the right to permit them if they choose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

Union membership as a condition of employment has been regulated by state law under Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This basic right should continue to be determined by the states. We oppose strikes by federal employees, the unionization of our military forces and the legalization of common-situs picketing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

Employees of the federal government should not engage in partisan politics. The Civil Service System must remain non-partisan and non-political. The Hatch Act now protects federal employees; we insist that it be uniformly administered.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

Among the rights that are the entitlement of every American worker is the right to join a union—large, small or independent; the right to be protected against racial discrimination and misuse of dues; the right to union elections that are fair and democratic; and the right to be assured of ultimately receiving his or her promised pension benefits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

Safe and healthful working conditions are goals of utmost importance. We should expect the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to help employers, particularly in small businesses, comply with the law, and we will support legislation providing on-site consultation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

There should be considerable concern over the presence of several million illegal aliens in the country who fill jobs that otherwise would be available to American workers. We support increased efforts to deal more effectively with this problem and favor legislation prohibiting employers from knowingly hiring illegal aliens. The Democrat leaders in Congress have systematically killed every attempt to debate this legislation in recent years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

Increased part-time and flexible-hour work should be encouraged wherever feasible. In keeping with our belief in family life, we want to expand more opportunities for men and women to combine family responsibilities and employment.

Welfare Reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

The work of all Americans contributes to the strength of our nation, and all who are able to contribute should be encouraged to do so.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

In every society there will be some who cannot work, often through no fault of their own. The measure of a country's compassion is how it treats the least fortunate.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

We appreciate the magnificent variety of private charitable institutions which have developed in the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

The Democrat-controlled Congress has produced a jumble of degrading, dehumanizing, wasteful, overlapping and inefficient programs failing to assist the needy poor. A systematic and complete overhaul of the welfare system should be initiated immediately.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

The following goals should govern the reform of the welfare system: (1) Provide adequate living standards for the truly needy; (2) End welfare fraud and prevent it in the future with emphasis on removing ineligible recipients from the welfare rolls, tightening food stamp eligibility requirements, and ending aid to illegal aliens and the voluntarily unemployed; (3) Strengthen work requirements, particularly directed at the productive involvement of able-bodied persons in useful community work projects; (4) Provide educational and vocational incentives to allow recipients to become self-supporting; (5) Better coordinate federal efforts with local and state social welfare agencies and strengthen local and state administrative functions. We oppose federalizing the welfare system; local levels of government are most aware of the needs of their communities. Consideration should be given to a range of options in financing the programs to assure that state and local responsibilities are met. We also oppose the guaranteed annual income concept or any programs that reduce the incentive to work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.12

Those features of the present law, particularly the food stamp program, that draw into assistance programs people who are capable of paying for their own needs should be corrected. The humanitarian purpose of such programs must not be corrupted by eligibility loopholes. Food stamp program reforms proposed by Republicans in Congress would accomplish the twin goals of directing resources to those most in need and streamlining administration. [p.13]

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

We must never forget that unemployment compensation is insurance, not a welfare program. It should be redesigned to assure that working is always more beneficial than collecting unemployment benefits. The benefits should help most the hard-core unemployed. Major efforts must be encouraged through the private sector to speed up the process of finding jobs for those temporarily out of work.

Older Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

Older Americans constitute one of our most valuable resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

Families should be supported in trying to take care of their elderly. Too often government laws and policies contribute to the deterioration of family life. Our tax laws, for example, permit a deduction to the taxpayer who gives a contribution to a charitable institution that might care for an elderly parent, but offer little or no incentive to provide care in the home. If an elderly parent relinquishes certain assets and enters a nursing home, the parent may qualify for full Medicaid coverage, but if parents live with their children, any Supplemental Security income benefit for which they are eligible may be reduced. Incentives must be written into law to encourage families to care for their older members.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

Along with loneliness and ill health, older Americans are deeply threatened by inflation. The costs of the basic necessities of life—food, shelter, clothing, health care— have risen so drastically as to reduce the ability of many older persons to subsist with any measure of dignity. In addition to our program for protecting against excessive costs of long-term illness, nothing will be as beneficial to the elderly as the effect of this Platform's proposals on curbing inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

The Social Security benefits are of inestimable importance to the well-being and financial peace-of-mind of most older Americans. We will not let the Social Security system fail. We will work to make the Social Security system actuarily sound. The Social Security program must not be turned into a welfare system, based on need rather than contributions. The cost to employers for Social Security contributions must not be raised to the point where they will be unable to afford contributions to employees' private pension programs. We will work for an increase in the earned income ceiling or its elimination so that, as people live longer, there will not be the present penalty on work. We will also seek to correct these provisions of the system that now discriminate against women and married couples.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

Such programs as Foster Grandparents and Senior Companions, which provide income exempt from Social Security limitations, should be continued and extended to encourage senior citizens to continue to be active and involved in society. Appropriate domiciliary care programs should be developed to enable senior citizens to receive such care without losing other benefits to which they may be entitled.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

We favor the abolition of arbitrary age levels for mandatory retirement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

The Medicare program must be improved to help control inflation in health care costs triggered by present regulations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

Other areas of concern to the elderly that need increased attention are home and out-patient care, adequate transportation, nutrition, day care and homemaker care as an alternative to costly institutional treatment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

A nation should be judged by its ability to help make all the years of life as productive and gainful as possible. This nation still has a job to do.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

The nation must never forget its appreciation and obligation to those who have served in the armed forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

Because they bear the heaviest burdens of war, we owe special honor and compensation to disabled veterans and survivors of the war dead.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

We are firmly committed to maintaining and improving our Veterans Administration hospital system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

Younger veterans, especially those who served in the Vietnam conflict, deserve education, job and housing loan benefits equivalent to those of World War II and the Korean conflict. Because of our deep and continuing concern for those still listed as Prisoners of War or Missing in Action in Vietnam, the Foreign Policy section of this Republican Platform calls for top priority actions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

And we must continue to provide for our veterans at their death a final resting place for their remains in a national cemetery and the costs of transportation thereto.

A National Urban Strategy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

The decay and decline of communities in this country is not just a physical and economic crisis, but is traceable to the decline of a real "sense of community" in our society. Community development cannot be achieved merely by throwing dollars and mortar at our community problems; what must be developed is a new sense of mutual concern and responsibility among all members of a community for its improvement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

We recognize the family, the neighborhood and the private volunteer sector to be the most basic and vital units within our communities and we recognize their central role in revitalizing our communities. We propose a strategy for urban revitalization that both treats our urban areas as social organisms and recognizes that the family is the basic building block in these organisms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.13

Effectively helping our cities now requires a coordinated National Urban Policy. The cornerstone of this policy must be to curb inflation. This policy must be based on the principle that the levels of government closest to the cities' problems are best able [p.14] to respond. Thus federal and state assistance to cities and counties should give the greatest flexibility to those directly on the scene, the local elected officials. Such a policy should replace the welter of confusing and often conflicting federal categorical grant programs—the approach of the Democrat Congress—with block grant programs that allow cities and counties to set their own priorities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

Without an urban policy, the Democrat-controlled Congress has created a hodge-podge of programs which have all but destroyed our once vital cities. At the same time, urban crime rates have skyrocketed and the quality and promise of metropolitan education systems have plummeted. All this has happened during the years that the number of federal urban programs has increased almost tenfold: from 45 in 1946 to 435 in 1968; and expenditures have increased 3000 percent; from $1 billion to $30 billion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

The Republican programs of revenue sharing and block grants for community development and manpower have already helped our cities and counties immensely. We favor extension of revenue sharing and the orderly conversion of categorical grants into block grants. When federal assistance programs for general purpose local governments are administered through the states, there should be direct pass-through and effective role for cities and counties in the planning, allocation and use of the funds.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

Federal, state and local government resources combined are not enough to solve our urban problems. The private sector must be the major participant. Economic development is the best way to involve business and industry government support should emphasize capital formation and technical assistance for small and minority businesses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We can bring about a new birth of freedom by following the example of those individuals, organizations and community leaders who have successfully solved specific undesirable conditions and problems through private efforts. Government officials should be aware of these successes in developing new approaches to public problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

Financial institutions should be encouraged to participate in the financial requirements of urban development. Each institution should recognize its responsibility in promoting and maintaining economic growth and stability in the central cities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

Our urban policies should encourage families and businesses to improve their neighborhoods by means of participation in neighborhood self-help groups, improving and rehabilitating their homes and businesses, and investing in and managing local businesses. We support the revision of federal business assistance programs to encourage joint efforts by local merchants' associations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We need a comprehensive approach to plan, develop and implement a variety of programs which take into account the many diverse needs of each neighborhood. The establishment of a National Neighborhood Policy will signal a commitment to the improvement of the quality of our life in our neighborhoods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We call for an expansion of the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization to include representatives of elected state and local officials and the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

Taken together, the thrust of the proposals in this section and in such related areas as housing, transportation, safety and taxes should contribute significantly to making our cities again pleasant places to live. The Republican National Urban Strategy has been formed in the realization that when the bell tolls for the cities it tolls for all of America.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

In the United States today we are the best housed nation in the history of world civilization. This accomplishment was achieved by a private enterprise system using free market concepts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

All of our citizens should be given the opportunity to live in decent, affordable housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We believe that we should continue to pursue the primary goal of expanding housing opportunities for all Americans and we should pursue the companion goal of reducing the degree of direct federal involvement in housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

To most Americans the American dream is a home of their own. The time has come to face some hard realities, primarily that the greatest impediment to decent and affordable housing is inflation. It logically follows that one effective housing program would be simply to elect a Republican Congress which would balance the federal budget.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

To meet the housing needs of this country there must be a continuous, stable and adequate flow of funds for the purpose of real estate mortgages at realistic interest rates.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

To continue to encourage home ownership, which now encompasses 64 percent of our families, we support the deductibility of interest on home mortgages and property taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We favor the concept of federal revenue sharing and block grants to reduce the excessive burden of the property tax in financing local government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We are concerned with the excessive reliance of financing welfare and public school costs primarily by the property tax.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We support inflation-impact studies on governmental regulations, which are inflating housing costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

Current economic problems and environmental concerns must be balanced in each community by a policy of "Sensible Growth."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We oppose discrimination in housing, whether by individuals or by institutional financing polices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.14

We urge continued incentives to support the development of low and moderate income housing in order to assure the availability of adequate shelter for the less fortunate. [p.15]

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

Rehabilitation and preservation of existing housing stock should be given high priority in federal housing policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

We urge the continuation of the self-help restoration of housing, such as urban home-steading, which is providing housing for low-income families.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

The federal government has a special responsibility to foster those elements of our national transportation system that are essential to foreign and interstate commerce and national defense. In other transportation systems that primarily support local needs, the federal government's responsibility is to encourage the greatest possible decision-making and flexibility on the part of state and local governments to spend funds in ways that make the best sense for each community. Thus all levels of government have an important role in providing a balanced and coordinated transportation network.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

In keeping with national transportation goals, the Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act of 1976 has begun the task of removing regulatory constraints of the Interstate Commerce Commission on America's ailing railroads. Now we should carefully assess the need to remove many of the regulatory constraints imposed on the nation's airlines and motor carriers. Consumers pay too high a price for the artificial fare and rate structures imposed by federal regulations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

The great Interstate Highway System, initiated by President Eisenhower, has brought new freedom of travel to every American and must be completed and maintained. Our road network should always stress safety through better design as well as bridge maintenance and replacement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

We must also have a safe and efficient aviation system capable of responding to the air transportation needs of the future and of reducing exposure to aircraft noise. This includes airport development, navigational and safety facilities, and the design and adequate staffing of advanced air traffic control systems. In airplane use as in other modes of transportation, the impact on the physical environment must always be a basic consideration in federal decisions and such decisions should also include appraisals of impact on the economy. We deplore unfair treatment of United States airlines under foreign landing regulations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

Research must be continued to find safe, more fuel-efficient automobile engines and airplanes; safer, faster rail service; and more convenient, less expensive urban transportation. Tax policies should be considered which would stimulate the development and installation of new energy sources in transportation, such as railroad electrification.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

The disorganization of a Democratic-controlled Congress frustrates the coordination of transportation policy. Currently there are more than 50 congressional subcommittees with independent jurisdiction in the transportation field. This hopelessly disjointed and disorganized approach must be reformed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

In keeping with the local goal setting in transportation, the Republican Party applauds the system under which state and local governments can divert funds from interstate highway mileage not essential to interstate commerce or national defense to other, more pressing community needs, such as urban mass transit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

We support the concept of a surface transportation block grant which would include the various highway and mass transit programs now in existence. This will provide local elected officials maximum flexibility in selecting and implementing the balanced transportation systems best suited to each locality. It will encompass both capital and operating subsidies for urban mass transit. It will eliminate red tape and over-regulation. We regret that the Democrat-controlled Congress has not adopted such reform.

Energy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

In 1973, Americans were shocked to discover that a plentiful supply of energy could no longer be assumed. Unfortunately, the Democrat majority in Congress still has not responded to this clear and urgent warning. The United States is now consuming more imported oil than it was three years ago and our dependence on foreign sources has continued to increase to the point where we now import more than 40% of our oil.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

One fact should now be clear: we must reduce sharply our dependence on other nations for energy and strive to achieve energy independence at the earliest possible date. We cannot allow the economic destiny and international policy of the United States to be dictated by the sovereign powers that control major portions of the world's petroleum supplies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

Our approach toward energy self-sufficiency must involve both expansion of energy supply and improvement of energy efficiency. It must include elements that insure increased conservation at all levels of our society. It must also provide incentive for the exploration and development of domestic gas, oil, coal and uranium, and for expanded research and development in the use of solar, geothermal, co-generation, solid waste, wind, water, and other sources of energy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

We must use our non-renewable resources wisely while we develop alternative supplies for the future. Our standard of living is directly tied to a continued supply of energy resources. Without an adequate supply of energy, our entire economy will crumble.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.15

Unwise government intervention in the marketplace has caused shortage of supply, unrealistic prices and increased dependence on foreign sources. We must immediately eliminate price controls on oil and newly-discovered natural gas in order to increase [p.16] supply, and to provide the capital that is needed to finance further exploration and development of domestic hydrocarbon reserves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

Fair and realistic market prices will encourage sensible conservation efforts and establish priorities in the use of our resources, which over the long run will provide a secure supply at reasonable prices for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

The nation's clear and present need is for vast amounts of new capital to finance exploration, discovery, refining, and delivery of currently usable forms of energy, including the use of coal as well as discovery and development of new sources. At this critical time, the Democrats have characteristically resorted to political demagoguery seeking short-term political gain at the expense of the long-term national interest. They object to the petroleum industry making any profit. The petroleum industry is an important segment of our economy and is entitled to reasonable profits to permit further exploration and development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

At the height of the energy crisis, the Republican Administration proposed a strong, balanced energy package directed at both expansion of supply and conservation of energy. The response from the Democrats in Congress was to inhibit expanded production through artificially set price and allocation controls, thereby preventing market forces from working to make energy expansion economically feasible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

Now, the Democrats proposed to dismember the American oil industry. We vigorously oppose such divestiture of oil companies— a move which would surely result in higher energy costs, inefficiency and undercapitalization of the industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

Democrats have also proposed that the federal government compete with industry in energy development by creating a national oil company. We totally oppose this expensive, inefficient and wasteful intrusion into an area which is best handled by private enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

The Democrats are playing politics with energy. If they are permitted to continue, we will pay a heavy price in lost energy and lost jobs during the decades ahead.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

Immediate removal of counter-productive bureaucratic red tape will eliminate hindrances to the exploration and development of hydrocarbons and other energy resources. We will accelerate development of oil shale reserves, Alaskan petroleum and the leasing of the Outer Continental Shelf, always within the context of preserving the fullest possible protection for the environment. We will reduce complexity and delays involved in siting, licensing and the regulatory procedures affecting power generation facilities and refineries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

Coal, America's most abundant energy resource, is of inestimable value to the American people. It can provide the energy needed to bridge the gap between oil and gas and nuclear and other sources of energy. The uncertainties of governmental regulation regarding the mining, transportation and use of coal must be removed and a policy established which will assure that governmental restraints, other than proper environmental controls, do not prevent the use of coal. Mined lands must be returned to beneficial use.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

Uranium offers the best intermediate solution to America's energy crisis. We support accelerated use of nuclear energy through processes that have been proven safe. Government research on the use of nuclear energy will be expanded to include perfecting a long-term solution to the problems of nuclear waste.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

Among alternative future energy sources, fusion, with its unique potential for supplying unlimited clean energy and the promise of new methods of natural resource recovery, warrants continued emphasis in our national energy research program, and we support measures to assure adequate capital investment in the development of new energy sources.

Environment and Natural Resources

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

A clean and healthy natural environment is the rightful heritage of every American. In order to preserve this heritage, we will provide for proper development of resources, safeguards for clean air and water, and protection and enhancement of our recreation and scenic areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

As our environmental sophistication grows, we must more clearly define the role of the federal government in environmental protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

We believe that it is a national responsibility to support scientific and technological research and development to identify environmental problems and arrive at solutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

We are in complete accord with the recent Supreme Court decision on air pollution that allows the level of government closest to the problem and the solution to establish and apply appropriate air quality standards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

We are proud of the progress that the current Republican Administration has made toward bringing pollution of water, land and air under control. We will meet the challenges that remain by stepping up efforts to perfect our understanding of pollutants and the means for reducing their effects. Moreover, as the nation develops new energy sources and technologies, we must insure that they meet safe environmental standards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

We renew our commitments to the development of additional water supplies by desalinization, and to the more efficient use and re-use of waters currently available.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

We are determined to preserve land use planning as a unique responsibility of state and local government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.16

We take particular pride in the expanded use of the National Park system in recent years, and will provide for continued [p.17] improvement of the national parks and historic sites.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

We support establishment of a presidential panel, including representatives of environmental groups, industry, the scientific community and the public to assist in the development of national priorities on environmental and energy issues. This panel will hear and consider alternative policy recommendations set forth by all of the interested groups, and then develop solutions that represent the overall public interest on environmental and energy matters.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

One of this nation's greatest assets has been our abundant natural resources which have made possible our strong economic and strategic role in the world. We still have a wealth of resources, but they are not of infinite quantity. We must recognize that our material blessings stem from what we grow in the soil, take from the sea, or extract from the ground. We have a responsibility to future generations to conserve our non-renew-able natural resources. Consistent with our needs, conservation should remain our national policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

The vast land holdings of the federal government—approximately one—third of our nation's area—are the lands from which much of our future production of minerals must come. Public lands must be maintained for multiple use management where such uses are compatible. Public land areas should not be closed to exploration for minerals or for mining without an overriding national interest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

We believe Americans want their resources developed properly, their environment kept clean and their recreational and scenic areas kept intact. We support appropriate measures to achieve these goals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

We also believe that Americans are realistic and recognize that the emphasis on environmental concerns must be brought into balance with the needs for industrial and economic growth so that we can continue to provide jobs for an ever-growing work force.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

The United States possesses the most productive softwood forests in the world, as well as extensive hardwood forests. Demands for housing, fuel, paper, chemicals and a multitude of other such needs require that these renewable resources be managed wisely on both public and private forest lands—not only to meet these needs, but also to provide for soil conservation, wildlife habitats and recreation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

Recognizing that timber is a uniquely renewable resource, we will use all scientifically sound means to maximize sustained yield, including clear-cutting and replanting where appropriate. We urge the Congress to strengthen the National Forest Service so that it can realize its potential in becoming an effective participant in the reforestation program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

We will support broader use of resource recovery and recycling processes through removal of economic disincentives caused by unnecessary government regulation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

One of the important issues at stake in the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference is access to the mineral resources in and beneath the sea. Technology, developed by United States industry, is at hand which can unlock resources of petroleum, manganese, nickel, cobalt, copper and other minerals. We will safeguard the national interest in development and use of these resources.

Science and Technology

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

Every aspect of our domestic economy and well-being, our international competitive position, and national security is related to our past and present leadership in basic and applied research and the development of our technology. But there can be no complacency about our continued commitment to maintain this leadership position.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

In the past, most of these accomplishments have been achieved through a unique partnership between government and industry. This must continue and be expanded in the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

Because our society is so dependent upon the advancement of science and the development of technology, it is one of the areas where there must be a central federal policy. We support a national science policy that will foster the public-private partnership to insure that we maintain our leadership role.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

The national space program plays a pioneer role in exploring the mysteries of our universe and we support its expansion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

We recognize that only when our technology is fully distributed can it be assimilated and used to increase our productivity and our standard of living. We will continue to encourage young Americans to study science and engineering.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

Finally, we support new initiatives to utilize better the recoverable commodities from solid waste materials. We can no longer afford the luxury of a throw-away world. Recycling offers environmental benefits, economic expansion, resource conservation and energy savings. We support a policy which will reward recycling and economic incentives which will encourage its expansion.

Arts and Humanities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

The arts and humanities offer an opportunity for every American to become a participant in activities that add fullness, expression, challenge and joy to our daily lives. We Republicans consider the preservation of the rich cultural heritages of our various ethnic groups as a priority goal.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.17

During our bicentennial year we have celebrated our anniversary with cultural activities as varied and colorful as our cultural heritage. The Republican Party is proud of its record of support to the arts and humanities during the last eight years. We are committed to steadily increase our support through the National Endowments for the nation's museums, theaters, orchestras, dance, opera and film centers as well as for individual artists and writers. [p.18]

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

This upward trend in funding for the National Arts and Humanities Endowments deserves to continue. But Washington's presence should never dominate; It must remain limited to supporting and stimulating the artistic and cultural lives of each community.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

We favor continued federal assistance to public broadcasting which provides us with creative educational and cultural alternatives. We recognize that public broadcasting is supported mainly through private sector contributions and commend this policy as the best insurance against political interference.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

In 1976, we have seen vivid evidence that America's history lives throughout the nation. We support the continued commemoration throughout the bicentennial era by all Americans of those significant events between 1776 and 1789 which contributed to the creation of this nation. We support the efforts of both the public and private sectors, working in partnership, for the historic preservation of unique and irreplaceable historic sites and buildings.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

We propose safeguarding the rights of performing artists in the copyright laws, providing tax roller to artists who contribute their own talents and art works for public enjoyment, and encouraging the use of one percent of the cost of government buildings for art works.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

Much of the support of the arts and humanities comes from private philanthropy. This generosity should be encouraged by government policies that facilitate charitable donations.

Fiscal Responsibility

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

As Republicans, we are proud that in this Platform we have urged tax reductions rather than increased government spending. With firm restraint on federal spending this Platform pledges that its proposals for tax changes—reductions, structural adjustments, differentials, simplifications and job-producing incentives—can all be achieved within the balanced federal budgets we also demand as vital to the interests of all Americans. Without such spending restraint, we cannot responsibly cut back taxes. We reaffirm our determination that any net reduction of revenues must be offset by reduced government spending.

Foreign Policy, National Defense and International Economic Policy

Prologue

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

The foreign policy of the United States defines the relationships we seek with the world as a whole, with friends and with adversaries. Our policy must be firmly rooted in principle and must clearly express our goals. Our principles cannot be subject to passing whim; they must be true, strong, consistent and enduring.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

We pledge a realistic and principled foreign policy designed to meet the needs of the nation in the years ahead. The policies we pursue will require an informed consensus; the basis of that consensus will be the American people, whose most cherished desire is to live in freedom and peace, secure from war or threat of war.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

The United States is a world power with worldwide interests and responsibilities. We pledge the continuation of efforts to revitalize our traditional alliances and to maintain close consultation with our friends. International cooperation and collaboration is required because we can achieve neither our most important objectives nor even our own security in the type of "splendid isolation" which is urged upon us by so many strident voices. The regrettable emergence of neo-isolationism often expressed in Congress and elsewhere is detrimental, we believe, to a sound foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

The branches of government can and should work together as the necessary prerequisite for a sound foreign policy. We lament the reckless intrusion of one branch into the clear constitutional prerogative of another. Confronted by so many challenges and so many crises, the United States must again speak with one voice, united in spirit and in fact. We reject partisan and ideological quarrels across party lines and urge Democrats to join with us to lay the foundations of a true bipartisan spirit. Let us speak for this country with one voice, so that our policies will not be misunderstood by our allies or our potential adversaries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

Effective policy must rest on premises which are understood and shared, and must be defined in terms of priorities. As the world has changed in a dynamic fashion, so too have our priorities and goals, and so too have the methods and debating and discussing our objectives. When we assumed Executive office eight years ago, we found the national security and foreign policy machinery in shambles. Last-minute reactions to crises were the practice. The National Security Council, so effective under President Eisenhower, had fallen into disuse. As an important first step, the National Security Council machinery was streamlined to cope with the problems of the moment and long-range planning. This restored process allows once again the exhaustive consideration of all the options from which a President must choose. Far from stifling internal debate and dissent as had been the practice in the past, Republican leadership now invites and stimulates evaluation of complex issues in an orderly decision-making process.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

Republican leadership has also taken steps to report comprehensively its foreign policy and national security objectives. An annual "State of the world" message, designed to increase communication with the people and with Congress, has become a permanent part of Presidential practice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.18

A strong and effective program of global public diplomacy is a vital component of United States foreign policy. In an era of instant communications, the world is [p.19] infinitely and forever smaller, and we must have the capacity to communicate to the world—to inform, to explain and to guard against accidental or willful distortion of United States policies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Interdependence has become a fact of international life, linking our actions and policies with those of the world at large. The United States should reach out to other nations to enrich that interdependence. Republican leadership has demonstrated that recognition of the ties that bind us to our friends will serve our mutual interests in a creative fashion and will enhance the chances for world peace.

Morality in foreign policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

The goal of Republican foreign policy is the achievement of liberty under law and a just and lasting peace in the world. The principles by which we act to achieve peace and to protect the interests of the United States must merit the restored confidence of our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

We recognize and commend that great beacon of human courage and morality, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for his compelling message that we must face the world with no illusions about the nature of tyranny. Ours will be a foreign policy that keeps this ever in mind.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Ours will be a foreign policy which recognizes that in international negotiations we must make no undue concessions; that in pursuing detente we must not grant unilateral favors with only the hope of getting future favors in return.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Agreements that are negotiated, such as the one signed tn Helsinki, must not take from those who do not have freedom the hope of one day gaining it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Finally, we are firmly committed to a foreign policy in which secret agreements, hidden from our people, will have no part.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Honestly, openly, and with firm conviction, we shall go forward as a united people to forge a lasting peace in the world based upon our deep belief in the rights of man, the rule of law and guidance by the hand of God.

National defense

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

A superior national defense is the fundamental condition for a secure America and for peace and freedom for the world. Military strength is the path to peace. A sound foreign policy must be rooted in a superior defense capability, and both must be perceived as a deterrent to aggression and supportive of our national interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

The American people expect that their leaders will assure a national defense posture second to none. They know that planning for our national security must be a joint effort by the President and Congress. It cannot be the subject of partisan disputes. It should not be held hostage to domestic political adventurism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

A minimum guarantee to preserve freedom and insure against blackmail and threats, and in the face of growing Soviet military power, requires a period of sustained growth in our defense effort. In constant dollars, the present defense budget will no more than match the defense budget of 1964, the year before a Democrat Administration involved America so deeply in the Vietnam war. In 1975 Soviet defense programs exceeded ours in investment by 85 percent, and exceeded ours in operating costs by 25 percent, and exceeded ours in research and development by 66 percent. The issue is whether our forces will be adequate to future challenges. We say they must be.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

We must always achieve maximum value for each defense dollar spent. Along with the elimination of the draft and the creation, under a Republican President, of all-volunteer armed services, we have reduced the personnel requirements for support functions without affecting our basic posture. Today there are fewer Americans in the uniformed services than at any time since the fall of 1950. Substantial economies have been made in weapons procurement and we will continue to act in a prudent manner with our defense appropriations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Our national defense effort will include the continuation of the major modernization program for our strategic missile and bomber forces, the development of a new intercontinental ballistic missile, a new missile launching submarine force and a modern bomber—the B-1—capable of penetrating the most sophisticated air defenses of the 1980's. These elements will comprise a deterrent of the first order.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

We will increase our army to 16 divisions, reinforce our program of producing new tanks and other armored vehicles, and support the development of new, highly accurate precision weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Our Navy, the guarantor of freedom of the seas, must have a major shipbuilding program, with an adequate balance between nuclear and non-nuclear ships. The composition of the fleet must be based on a realistic assessment of the threat we face, and must assure that no adversary will gain naval superiority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

An important modernization program for our tactical air forces is under way. We will require new fighters and interceptor aircraft for the Air Force, Navy and Marines. As a necessary component of our long-range strategy, we will produce and deploy the B-1 bomber in a timely manner, allowing us to retain air superiority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Consistent with our total force policy, we will maintain strong reserve components.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

Our investments in military research and development are of great importance to our future defense capabilities. We must not lose the vital momentum.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.19

With increasing complexity of weapons, lead times for weapons systems are often as long as a decade, requiring careful planning and prudent financial decisions. An outstanding example of this process is the development and deployment of the cruise [p.20] missile, which incorporates pinpoint precision by means of sophisticated guidance systems and is an exceptionally economical weapon to produce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

Security assistance programs are important to our allies and we will continue to strengthen their efforts at self-defense. The improvement of their capabilities can help to ensure that the world balance is not tipped against us and can also serve to lessen chances for direct U.S. involvement in remote conflicts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

As a vital component of our over-all national security posture, the United States must have the best intelligence system in the world. The effectiveness of the intelligence community must be restored, consonant with the reforms instituted by President Ford. We favor the creation of an independent oversight function by Congress and we will withstand partisan efforts to turn any part of our intelligence system into a political football. We will take every precaution to prevent the breakdown of security controls on sensitive intelligence information, endangering the lives of United States officials abroad, or affecting the ability of the President to act expeditiously whenever legitimate foreign policy and defense needs require it.

NATO and Europe

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

Fundamental to a stable, secure world is the continuation of our traditional alliances. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) now approaching the end of its third decade, remains healthy and vigorous.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

The threat to our mutual security by a totalitarian power bent on expansion brought 15 nations together. The expression of our collective will to resist resulted in the creation and maintenance of a military deterrent which, while not without occasional strains, has served our vital interests well. Today that threat continues.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

We have succeeded in extending our cooperation within NATO and have taken bold new steps in economic cooperation with our partners. Faced with a serious crisis in the energy field following the imposition of the oil boycott, we demonstrated that it was possible to coordinate our joint activities with the other NATO nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

The economic strength of western Europe has increased to the point where our NATO partners can now assume a larger share of the common defense; in response to our urging, our allies are demonstrating a greater willingness to do so. This is not the time to recommend a unilateral reduction of American military forces in Europe. We will, however, pursue the balanced reduction of forces in both Western and Eastern Europe, based on agreements which do not jeopardize the security of the Alliance. With our Alliance partners, we affirm that a strong NATO defense, based on a United States military presence, is vital to the defense of western Europe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

Some of our NATO allies have experienced rapid and dynamic changes. We are encouraged by developments in the Iberian peninsula, where both Portugal and Spain now face more promising futures. Early consideration should be given to Spain's accession to NATO.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

At the same time we would view with concern any political developments elsewhere in Europe which are destabilizing to NATO interests. We support the right of all nations to choose their leaders. Democracy and freedom are best served by ensuring that those fundamental rights are preserved and extended for future generations to choose in freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

The difficult problem of Cyprus, which separates our friends in Greece and Turkey, should be addressed and resolved by those two countries. The eastern flank of NATO requires restored cooperation there and, eventually, friendly relations between the two countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

Republican leadership has strengthened this nation's good relations with the European Economic Community (EEC) in an age of increasing competition and potential irritations. We will maintain and strengthen the excellent relations we have achieved with the EEC.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

In the final analysis, the NATO Alliance will be as effective as our will and determination, as well as that of our allies, to support it. The function of collective security is to deter wars and, if necessary, to fight and win those wars not successfully deterred. Our vigilance is especially required during periods of prolonged relaxation of tensions with our adversaries because we cannot permit ourselves to accept words and promises as a substitute for deeds. We are determined that the NATO Alliance shall not be lulled into a false sense of security. It can and must respond vigorously when called upon to act.

Asia and the Pacific

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

The United States has vital interests in the entire Pacific Basin and those interests lie foremost in Asian tranquility and stability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

The experience of ending direct American involvement in a difficult and costly war initiated during Democrat Administrations has taught us a great deal about how we ought to define our interests in this part of the world. The United States is indisputably a Pacific power. We have sought to express our interests in the area through strengthening existing friendly ties and creating new ones.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.20

Japan will remain the main pillar of our Asian policy. We have helped to provide the framework, over the course of thirty years, for the development of the Japanese economy, which has risen to second place among free world nations. This nation, without natural resources, has maximized its greatest resource, the Japanese people, to achieve one of the world's most significant economic advances. We will continue our policy of close [p.21] consultation and cooperation with this valued friend. We have succeeded in establishing an exceptional relationship with Japan. Our long-range goals of stability and economic cooperation are identical, forming the essential strength of a relationship which both countries seek actively to deepen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

With respect to the Republic of Korea, a nation with which we have had traditionally close ties and whose economy has grown rapidly in recent years, we shall continue our policy of military and economic assistance. United States troops will be maintained in Korea so long as there exists the possibility of renewed aggression from North Korea. Time has not dimmed our memories of the sudden assault against South Korea. We reaffirm the commitment of the United States to the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea. Simultaneously we encourage the Governments of South Korea and North Korea to institute domestic policy initiatives leading to the extension of basic human rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

When Republicans assumed executive office in 1969, we were confronted with a war in Vietnam involving more than 500,000 United States troops, and to which we had committed billions of dollars and our national honor and prestige. It was in the spirit of bipartisan support for Presidential foreign policy initiatives, inaugurated in the postwar era by Senator Arthur Vandenberg, that most Republicans supported the United States commitment to assist South Vietnam resist Communist-sponsored aggression. The human cost to us was great; more than 55,000 Americans died in that conflict, and more than 300,000 were wounded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

A policy of patient, persistent and principled negotiations extricated the United States from that ill-fated war with the expectation that peace would prevail. The refusal of the Democrat-controlled Congress to give support to Presidential requests for military aid to the beleaguered nations of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, coupled with sustained military assaults by the Communists in gross violation of the Paris Peace Accords, brought about the collapse of those nations and the subjugation of their people to totalitarian rule.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

We recognize that there is a wide divergence of opinion concerning Vietnam, but we pledge that American troops will never again be committed for the purpose of our own defense, or the defense of those to whom we are committed by treaty or other solemn agreements, without the clear purpose of achieving our stated diplomatic and military objectives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

We must achieve the return of all Americans who may be held in Southeast Asia, and a full accounting for those listed as Missing in Action. We strongly urge continued consultation between the President and the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. This country owes at least this much to all of these courageous people who have anguished so long over this matter. To this end, and to underscore our top priority commitment to the families of these POWs and MIAs, we recommend, among other actions, the establishment of a presidential task force headed by a special presidential representative.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

We condemn the inhumane and criminal retributions which have taken place in Cambodia, where mass executions and forced re-settlements have been imposed on innocent civilians.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

The important economic developments taking place in Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and other Asian countries, will lead to much improved living standards for the people there. We reaffirm our friendship with these nations. Equally, our relationships with Australia and New Zealand are historic and important to us; they have never been better and provide a firm base on which to build.

United States-Chinese relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

A development of significance for the future of Asia and for the world came to fruition in 1972 as our communications were restored with the People's Republic of China. This event has allowed us to initiate dialogue with the leaders of a quarter of the earth's population, and trade channels with the People's Republic have been opened, leading to benefits for each side.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

The People's Republic of China can and will play an increasingly important role in world affairs. We shall seek to engage the People's Republic of China in an expanded network of contacts and trade. Such a process cannot realistically proceed at a forced or incautious pace; the measured but steady growth of our relations best serves our interests. We do not ignore the profound differences in our respective philosophies, governmental institutions, policies and views on individual liberty, and we are hopeful that basic human rights will be extended to the Chinese people. What is truly fundamental is that we have established regular working channels with the People's Republic of China and that this process can form an important contribution to world peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

Our friendly relations with one great power should not be construed as a challenge to any other nation, large or small. The United States government, while engaged in a normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China, will continue to support the freedom and independence of our friend and ally, the Republic of China, and its 16 million people. The United States will fulfill and keep its commitments, such as the mutual defense treaty, with the Republic of China.

The Americas

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.21

The relations of the United States with the Americas are of vital and immediate importance. How we conduct our affairs with our neighbors to the North and South will continue to be a priority. [p.22]

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

In the recent past our attention has at times been diverted to more distant parts of the world. There can be no sensible alternative to close relationships and understanding among the nations of the hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

It is true for a series of new departures in our relations with Canada. Canada is our most important trading partner, and we are hers. We, as Americans, feel a deep affinity for our Canadian friends, and we have much at stake in the development of closer relationships based on mutual understanding and complete equality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

To our neighbors in Mexico, Central America and South America, we also say that we wish the opportunity to expand our dialogue. The needs of our friends are great, but this must not serve as an obstacle for a concerted effort to work together more closely. The United States has taken steps to adjust tariffs so as to maximize access to our markets. We recognize that our neighbors place no value on complex and cumbersome aid schemes; they see self-help modernization, and expanded trade as the main sources of economic progress. We will work with them to define specific steps that we can take to help them achieve greater economic strength, and to advance our mutual interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

By continuing its policies of exporting subversion and violence, Cuba remains outside the Inter-American family of nations. We condemn attempts by the Cuban dictatorship to intervene in the affairs of other nations; and, as long as such conduct continues, it shall remain ineligible for admission to the Organization of American States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

We shall continue to share the aspirations of the Cuban people to regain their liberty. We insist that decent and humane conditions be maintained in the treatment of political prisoners in the Cuban jails, and we will seek arrangements to allow international entities, such as the International Red Cross, to investigate and monitor the conditions in those jails.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

The present Panama Canal Treaty provides that the United States has jurisdictional rights in the Canal Zone as "if it were the sovereign." The United States intends that the Panama Canal be preserved as an international waterway for the ships of all nations. This secure access is enhanced by a relationship which commands the respect of Americans and Panamanians and benefits the people of both countries. In any talks with Panama, however, the United States negotiators should in no way cede, dilute, forfeit, negotiate or transfer any rights, power, authority, jurisdiction, territory or property that are necessary for the protection and security of the United States and the entire Western Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

We reaffirm our faith in the ability of the Organization of American States, which remains a valuable means of inter-American consultation.

The Middle East

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

The preservation of peace and stability in the Middle East is a paramount concern. The efforts of two Republican Administrations, summoning diplomatic and political skills, have been directed toward reduction of tensions and toward avoiding flashpoints which could serve as an excuse for yet another round of conflict between Israel and the Arab countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

Our commitment to Israel is fundamental and enduring. We have honored and will continue to honor that commitment in every way—politically, economically and by providing the military aid that Israel requires to remain strong enough to deter any potential aggression. Forty percent of all United State's aid that Israel has received since its creation in 1948 has come in the last two fiscal years, as a result of Republican initiatives. Our policy must remain one of decisive support for the security and integrity of Israel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

An equally important component of our commitment to Israel lies in continuing our efforts to secure a just and durable peace for all nations in that complex region. Our efforts have succeeded, for the first time since the creation of the state of Israel, in moving toward a negotiated peace settlement which would serve the interests and the security of all nations in the Middle East. Peace in the Middle East now requires face-to-face, direct negotiations between the states involved with the recognition of safe, secure and defensible borders for Israel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

At the same time, Republic Administrations have succeeded in reestablishing communication with the Arab countries, and have made extensive progress in our diplomatic and commercial relations with the more moderate Arab nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

As a consequence of the Middle East conflict of 1973, the petroleum producing states imposed an embargo on the export of oil to most of the advanced industrial countries. We have succeeded in creating numerous cooperative mechanisms to protect ourselves, working in concert with our allies, against any future embargoes. The United States would view any attempt to reimpose an embargo as an essentially hostile act. We will oppose discriminatory practices, including boycotts of any type.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

Because we have such fundamental interests in the Middle East, it will be our policy to continue our efforts to maintain the balance of power in the Mediterranean region. Our adversaries must recognize that we will not permit a weakening of our defenses or any attempt to disturb valued Alliance relationships in the Eastern Mediterranean.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.22

We shall continue to support peace initiatives in the civil war in Lebanon; United States envoys engaged in precisely such an initiative were murdered, and we express our sorrow for their untimely deaths and for all other dedicated government employees who [p.23] have been slain elsewhere while in service to their country. In Lebanon, we stand ready to provide food, medical and other humanitarian assistance.

Africa

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

The United States has always supported the process of self-determination in Africa. Our friendship for the African countries is expressed in support for continued peaceful economic development, expansion of trade, humanitarian relief efforts and our belief that the entire continent should be free from outside military intervention. Millions of Americans recognize their historical and cultural ties with Africa and express their desire that United States policy toward Africa is a matter of great importance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

We support all forces which promote negotiated settlements and racial peace. We shall continue to deplore all violence and terrorism and to urge all concerned that the rights of tribal, ethnic and racial minorities be guaranteed through workable safeguards. Our Policy is to strengthen the forces of moderation recognizing that solutions to African problems will not come quickly. The peoples of Africa can coexist in security, work together in freedom and harmony, and strive together to secure their prosperity. We hope that the Organization of African Unity will be able to achieve mature and stable relationships within Africa and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

The interests of peace and security in Africa are best served by the absence of arms and greater concentration on peaceful development. We reserve the right to maintain the balance by extending our support to nations facing a threat from Soviet-supplied states and from Soviet weapons.

United States-Soviet relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

American foreign policy must be based upon a realistic assessment of the Communist challenge in the world. It is clear that the perimeters of freedom continue to shrink throughout the world in the face of the Communist challenge. Since 1917, totalitarian Communism has managed through brute force, not through the free electoral process, to bring an increasingly substantial portion of the world's land area and peoples under its domination. To illustrate, most recently South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have fallen under the control of Communist dictatorships, and in that part of the world the Communist pressure mounts against Thailand, the Republic of China, and Republic of Korea. In Africa, Communist Cuban forces, brazenly assisted by the Soviet Union, have recently imposed a Communist dictatorship upon the people of Angola. Other countries in Africa and throughout the world generally await similar fates. These are the realities of world power in our time. The United States is thoroughly justified in having based its foreign policy upon these realities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

Thirty years ago relations between United States and the Soviet Union were in a phase of great difficulty, leading to the tensions of the Cold war era. Although there have been changes in this crucial superpower relationship, there remain fundamental and profound differences between us. Republican Presidents, while acknowledging the depth of the gulf which separates our free society from Soviet society, have sought methodically to isolate and develop those areas of our relations which would serve to lessen tension and reduce the chance of unwanted conflict.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

In a world beset by countless opportunities for discord and armed conflict, the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union is critically important; on it rests the hopes of the world for peace. We offer a policy that maintains our fundamental strength and demonstrates our steadfast determination to prevent aggressive use of Soviet power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

The role of a responsible, participating Congress in maintaining this diplomatic and military posture is critical to success. The United States must remain a loyal and dependable ally, and must be prepared to carry out commitments and to demonstrate a willingness to act. Resistance to open aggression, such as the Soviet-sponsored Cuban intervention in Angola, must not be allowed to become the subject of a partisan debate, nor can it be allowed to become an unchallenged and established pattern of international behavior, lest our credibility and deterrent strength be greatly diminished.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

Soviet military power has grown rapidly in recent years, and while we shall prevent a military imbalance or a sudden shift in the global balance of power, we shall also diligently explore with the Soviet Union new ways to reduce tensions and to arrive at mutually beneficial and self-enforcing agreements in all fields of international activity. Important steps have been taken to limit strategic nuclear arms. The Vladivostok Agreement of November 1974 placed a ceiling on the strategic forces of both the United States and the Soviet Union. Further negotiations in arms control are continuing. We shall not agree for the sake of agreement; on the contrary, we will make sure that any agreements yield fundamental benefits to our national security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

As an example of hard-headed bargaining, our success in concluding agreements limiting the size of peaceful nuclear explosions and nuclear weapons tests will, for the first time, permit the United States to conduct on-site inspections in the Soviet Union itself. This important step can now be measured in practical terms. All such agreements must stand the test of verification. An agreement that does not provide this safeguard is worse than no agreement at all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.23

We support the consolidation of joint efforts with our allies to verify that our policies regarding the transfer of technology to the Soviet Union and its allies are in concert and that consultation will be designed to [p.24] preclude the sale of those technology-intensive products to the Soviet Union by the United States and our allies which will directly or indirectly jeopardize our national security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

Our trade in non-strategic areas creates jobs here at home, substantially improves our balance-of-payments position, and can contribute to an improved political climate in the world. The overseas sale of our agricultural products benefits American farmers and consumers. To guard against any sudden shift in domestic prices as the consequence of unannounced purchases, we have instituted strict reporting procedures and other treaty safeguards. We shall not permit concessional sales of agricultural products to the Soviet Union, nor shall we permit the Soviet Union or others to determine our agricultural export policies by irregular and unpredictable purchases.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

The United States and the Soviet Union remain ideological competitors. We do not shrink from such a challenge; rather, we welcome the opportunity to demonstrate that our way of life is inherently preferable to regimentation and government-enforced orthodoxy. We shall expect the Soviet Union to implement the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreements, which guarantee the conditions for the free interchange of information and the right to emigrate, including emigration of Soviet Jews, Christians, Moslems and others who wish to join relatives abroad. In this spirit we shall expect the immediate end of all forms of harassment, including imprisonment and military service, aimed at preventing such emigration. America must take a firm stand to bring about liberalization of emigration policy in countries which limit or prohibit free emigration. Governments which enjoy the confidence of their people need have no fear of cultural, intellectual or press freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

Our support for the people of Central and Eastern Europe to achieve self-determination will continue. Their ability to choose their future is of great importance to peace and stability. We favor increasing contacts between Eastern and western Europe and support the increasing economic ties of all the countries of Europe. We strongly support the continuation of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty with adequate appropriations. Strict reciprocity must govern our diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. We express our concern for the safety of our diplomatic representatives in the Soviet Union, and we insist that practices such as microwave transmissions directed at the United States Embassy be terminated immediately.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

Thus our relations with the Soviet Union will be guided by solid principles. We will maintain our strategic and conventional forces; we will oppose the deployment of Soviet power for unilateral advantages or political and territorial expansion; we will never tolerate a shift against us in the strategic balance; and we will remain firm in the face of pressure, while at the same time expressing our willingness to work on the basis of strict reciprocity toward new agreements which will help achieve peace and stability.

International cooperation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

Strong support for international cooperation in all fields has been a hallmark of United States international policy for many decades. Two Republican Administrations have strengthened agencies of international cooperation not only because of our humanitarian concern for others, but also because it serves United States interests to be a conscientious member of the world community.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

The political character of the United Nations has become complex. With 144 sovereign members, the U.N. experiences problems associated with a large, sometimes cumbersome and diverse body. We seek to accommodate to these changes in the spirit of friendly concern, but when the United Nations becomes arrayed against the vital interest of any of its member states on ideological or other narrow grounds, the very principles of the organization are threatened. The United States does not wish to dictate to the U.N., yet we do have every right to expect and insist that scrupulous care be given to the rights of all members. Steamroller techniques for advancing discriminatory actions will be opposed. Actions such as the malicious attempt to depict Zionism as a form of racism are inconsistent with the objectives of the United Nations and are repugnant to the United States. The United States will continue to be a firm supporter and defender of any nation subjected to such outrageous assaults. We will not accept ideological abuses of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

In the many areas of International cooperation which benefit the average American—elimination of terrorism, peacekeeping, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, termination of the international drug trade, and orderly use of ocean resources—we pledge to build new international structures of cooperation. At the same time, we shall seek to insure that the cost of such new structures, as well as the cost of existing structures, are more equitably shared among participating nations. In the continued tradition of American concern for the quality of human life everywhere, we shall give vigorous support to the non-political work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations which deal with such areas as nutrition and disaster relief for the world's poor and disadvantaged.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

The United States should withdraw promptly from the International Labor Organization if that body fails to stop its increasing politicization.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.24

Eight years ago we pledged to eliminate waste and to make more business-like the administration of United States foreign aid programs. We have endeavored to fulfill these pledges. Our foreign economic assistance programs are now being operated efficiently with emphasis on helping others to [p.25] help themselves, on food production and rural development, on health programs and sound population planning assistance, and on development of human resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

We have sought to encourage others, including the oil producing countries, to assume a larger share of the burden of assistance. We shall continue our efforts to secure adequate sources of financing for economic projects in emerging countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

The world's oceans, with their vast resources, must become areas of extended cooperation. We favor a successful conclusion to the Law of the Sea Conference provided it will suitably protect legitimate national interests, freedom of the seas and responsible use of the seas. We are determined to maintain the right of free and unmolested passage for ships of all nations on the high seas and in international waterways.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

We favor an extension of the territorial sea from three to twelve miles, and we favor in principle the creation of a 200-mile economic zone in which coastal states would have exclusive rights to explore and develop natural resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

We strongly condemn illegal corporate payments made at home and abroad. To eliminate illegal payments to foreign officials by American corporations, we support passage of President Ford's proposed legislation and the OECD Declaration on Investment setting forth reasonable guidelines for business conduct.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

The growth of civilian nuclear technology, and the rising demand for nuclear power as an alternative to increasingly costly fossil fuel resources, combine to require our recognition of the potential dangers associated with such developments. All nations must work to assure that agreements and treaties currently governing nuclear technology and nuclear exports are carefully monitored. We shall work to devise new multilateral policies governing the export of sensitive nuclear technologies.

International economic policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

The tumultuous events of the past several years in the world economy were an enormous challenge to our creativity and to our capacity for leadership. We have emerged from this difficult period in a new position in the world, and we have directed and guided a sound recovery.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

To assure the permanence of our own prosperity, we must work with others, demonstrating our leadership and the vitality of our economy. Together with the industrial democracies, we must ensure steady, non-inflationary growth, based on expanded international cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

The Republican Administration will cooperate fully in strengthening the international trade and monetary system, which provides the foundation for our prosperity and that of all nations. We shall bargain hard to remove barriers to an open economic system, and we shall oppose new restrictions to trade. We shall continue to represent vigorously our nation's economic interests in the trade negotiations taking place in Geneva, guard against protectionism, and insist that the principles of fair trade be scrupulously observed. When industries and jobs are adversely affected by foreign competition, adjustment assistance under the Trade Act of 1974 is made available. This Act must be under continuous review to ascertain that it reflects changing circumstances.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

The Republican Party believes that cooperation in the energy field is indispensable to international stability. Most of the industrial democracies and the less developed countries are increasingly dependent on imported oil, which causes them to be politically, economically and strategically vulnerable. Through the establishment of the International Energy Agency, steps have been taken to expand consumer cooperation. We shall also continue the dialogue with the oil producing countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

We shall continue to work closely with the less-developed countries to promote their economic growth. Those countries will be encouraged to enter into mutually beneficial trade relationships with us that contribute to world peace. To achieve this, we must strengthen the confidence of the major industrial countries as they take part in discussions with less-developed countries. There is no reason for us to be defensive; our combined assets can be used in a coordinated strategy to make our influence effective. We will not yield to threats or confrontational politics.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

While we shall support a global increase of investment in natural resources of all types, we shall also oppose the replacement of the free market mechanism by cartels, price-fixing arrangements or commodity agreements. We shall continue policies designed to assure free market consumers abroad that the United States will remain a dependable supplier of agricultural commodities.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

The American people can be proud of our nation's achievements in foreign policy over the past eight years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

We are at peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

We are strong.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

We re-emphasize the importance of our ties with the nations of the Americas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

Our relations with allies in the Atlantic community and with japan have never been closer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

Significant progress has been made toward a just and durable settlement in the Middle East.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

We have sought negotiation rather than confrontation with our adversaries, while maintaining our strategic deterrent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

The world economic recovery, led by the United States, is producing sustainable growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.25

In this year of our nation's bicentennial, the American people have confidence in [p.26] themselves and are optimistic about the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1976, p.26

We, the Republican Party, proudly submit our record and our Platform to you.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1980

Democratic Platform of 1980

Preamble

In its third century, America faces great challenges and an uncertain future. The decade that America now enters presents us with decisions as monumental and fundamental as those we faced during the Civil War, during two World Wars, and during the Great Depression. Our current task is different from each of these historic challenges. But in many ways the challenge is the same: to marshall the talents and spirit of the American people, to harness our enormous resources, and to face the future with confidence and hope.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

The task now before us is as global as the worldwide energy shortage, and as local as the plight of children in Appalachia. It reaches from the condition of older Eastern cities and the industries of the snowbelt, to the complex new demands of our sunbelt region and the special needs of our Western states. It is as basic as the entitlement of minorities and women to real equality in every aspect of the nation's life. It is as immediate as the refugee crisis in Miami and the natural disaster at Mount St. Helens. It is as futuristic as the exploration of space and the oceans. It is as idealistic as the spirit of liberty which imbues our Constitution. It requires nothing less than a continued dedication to Democratic principles by each element in our society—government, business, labor, and every citizen—to the promise and potential of our nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

We live in a time when effective policy requires an understanding of the web of competing values and interests which exist in our country. We must combine compassion with self-discipline. We must forego simplistic answers for long-term solutions to our problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

With the Republican leadership closing its eyes to the realities of our time and running for the Presidency on a program of the easy answer, of the pleasant-sounding political promise, it is time to take a page from Adlai Stevenson's 1952 presidential campaign—it is time "to talk sense to the American people." It is time to talk bluntly and candidly about our problems and our proposed solutions; to face up to our problems and respond to them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

If we fail in this important task...if we fail to lay the issues squarely before the American people, we could well allow the federal government to revert to four years of Republicanism—neglect of the poor and disadvantaged, disdain for working men and women, compassion only for the rich and the privileged, failure to meet the challenges of energy, inflation and unemployment, and a breakdown of the partnership among local, state and federal governments. We as Democrats must not let this happen.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

After nearly four years in office, we Democrats have not solved all of America's problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

Most of these problems we inherited. Eight years of Republican politics left this nation weak, rudderless, unrespected and deeply divided.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

As a result of this legacy, despite our progress, inflation still erodes the standard of living of every American.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

As a result of this legacy, despite our progress, too many Americans are out of work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

As a result of this legacy, despite our progress, complete equality for all citizens has yet to be achieved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

As a result of this legacy, despite our progress, we still live in a very dangerous world, where competing ideologies and age-old animosities daily threaten the peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

As a result of this legacy, our nation is still subject to the oil pricing and production decisions of foreign countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

We will not run from these problems, nor will we fail. The record of the past four years is a testament to what the Democrats can do working together.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.1

Time and time again in these past four years, a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President proved that they were willing to make the tough decisions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

Today, because of that Democratic partnership, we are a stronger nation.[p.2]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

Today, because of that Democratic partnership, we are at peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

Today, because of that Democratic partnership, we are a more just nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

Today, because of that Democratic partnership, honor and truth and integrity have been restored to our government and to our political process.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

And so this party looks to the future with determination and confidence.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

We have been and we shall remain the party of all Americans. We seek solutions that not only meet the needs of the many, but reaffirm our commitment to improve the conditions of the least fortunate in our society.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

In this platform we offer programs and solutions that represent our dedication to Democratic principles. They define a spirit as well as a program...a set of beliefs as well as a set of ideas. Time and events may alter their priority or prospects. But nothing will alter the defining spirit and values of thee Democratic Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

The platform of the Democratic Party is a contract with the people. We believe that accountability for Democratic principles goes hand in hand with dedication to those principles. The Democratic Party is proud of its historic heritage of commitment to the people of America. Fulfilling this platform will permit us to keep faith with that tradition.

Chapter I: The Economy

A Commitment to Economic Fairness

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

The Democratic Party will take no action whose effect will be a significant increase in unemployment—no fiscal action, no monetary action, no budgetary action—if it is the assessment of either the Council of Economic Advisers or the Congressional Budget Office that such action will cause significantly greater unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

In all of our economic programs, the one overriding principle must be fairness. All Americans must bear a fair share of our economic burdens and reap a fair share of our economic benefits. High interest rates impose an unfair burden—on farmers, small businesses, and younger families buying homes. Recession imposes an unfair burden on those least able to bear it. Democratic economic policy must assure fairness for workers, the elderly, women, the poor, minorities and the majority who are middle income Americans. In 1980, we pledge a truly Democratic economic policy to secure a prosperous economic future.

Economic Strength

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

While the past three and a half years of Democratic leadership have been years of growth for our economy, we now find ourselves in a recession.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

The Democratic Party is committed to taking the necessary steps to combat the current recession. However, we cannot abandon our fight against inflation. We must fight both of these problems at the same time; we are committed to do so. We will continue to pursue the fight against inflation in ways not designed or intended to increase unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

Our current economic situation is unique. In 1977, we inherited a severe recession from the Republicans. The Democratic Administration and the Democratic Congress acted quickly to reduce the unacceptably high levels of unemployment and to stimulate the economy. And we succeeded. We recovered from that deep recession and our economy was strengthened and revitalized. As that fight was won, the enormous increases in foreign oil prices—120 percent last year—and declining productivity fueled an inflationary spiral that also had to be fought. The Democrats did that, and inflation has begun to recede. In working to combat these dual problems, significant economic actions have been taken.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

Two tax cuts have been enacted, in 1977 and 1978, reducing taxes on individuals and businesses by an amount equal, this year, to about $40 billion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

While meeting our national security and pressing domestic needs, the Democratic Partnership has restrained the increase in government spending in ways which have steadily reduced the deficit we inherited.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

Airline and banking regulatory reforms have been enacted; further regulatory reforms are now under consideration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

In the effort to restrain inflation, a voluntary pay advisory committee has been established with labor, business, and public representatives pursuant to a National Accord.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

The first national export policy was developed; export and trade responsibilities were reorganized and strengthened; the Multilateral Trade Negotiations were completed; and the MTN Agreement was approved by the Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

To ensure a greater impact for scarce federal dollars, grant and loan programs have been redirected to the areas of greatest need, and the formula programs have been redesigned to target the areas with the most serious problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.2

As a result of these economic actions:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

Employment—More than 8.5 million new jobs have [p.3] been added to the work force; about 1 million of those jobs are held by Blacks, and nearly an additional 1 million are held by Hispanics. Gains have been made by all groups—more men, more women, more minorities, and more young people are working than ever before in our history. Despite these gains, current unemployment is too high and must be lowered.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

Inflation—A strong anti-inflation program has been initiated and pursued aggressively, to deal both with the short-term inflation problem and with the long-term causes of inflation. The effects of the short-term effort are now evident: inflation is beginning to come down. Although some interest rates remain high, they are falling at record rates. This progress will continue as short-term actions continue to work and long-term initiatives begin to take hold.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

Economic Growth—Despite the economic declines of the past few months, for the first three years of the Carter Administration our economy was strong. For the 1977–1979 period:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

–Gross National Product increased by 11.8 percent in real terms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

–Real after-tax income per person increased by 10.3 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

–Industrial production increased by 14.8 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

–Dividends increased by 36 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

–Real business fixed investment increased by 22.9 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

Energy—Our dependence on foreign off has decreased—in 1977 we imported 8.8 million barrels of oil per day, and our nation is now importing approximately 6.5 million per day, a decline of 26 percent.

Solving Economic Problems

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

The Democratic Party commits itself to a strong economic program—one that builds on the progress we have made to date, one that corrects the very real problems we face now, one that is responsible, one that offers realistic hope, and one that can unify our Party. Such a Democratic program would contrast dramatically with the simplistic rhetoric and the traditional economic policies of the Republican Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

Full Employment—We specifically reaffirm our commitment to achieve all the goals of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act within the currently prescribed dates in the Act, especially those relating to a joint reduction in unemployment and inflation. Full employment is important to the achievement of a rising standard of living, to the pursuit of sound justice, and to the strength and vitality of America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

Anti-Recession Assistance—Immediately, we must undertake a short-term anti-recession program to reverse the tide of deepening recession and rising unemployment. Each percentage point increase in the unemployment rate adds $25 billion to the federal deficit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

A Democratic anti-recession program must recognize that Blacks, Hispanics, other minorities, women and older workers bear the brunt of recession. We pledge a $12 billion anti-recession jobs program, providing at least 800,000 additional jobs, including full funding of the counter-cyclical assistance program for the cities, a major expansion of the youth employment and training program to give young people in our inner cities new hope, expanded training programs for women and displaced homemakers to give these workers a fair chance in the workplace, and new opportunities for the elderly to contribute their talents and skills.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

Coupling our need to rehabilitate our railroads with the need to create new job opportunities, we must commit ourselves to a $1 billion railroad renewal program which can employ 20,000 workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

We must take steps to restore the housing industry, including effective implementation of the Brooke-Cranston program, and the addition of 200,000 new units a year for low and moderate income families.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

National Accord—The National Accord with labor must be strengthened and continued. This enhances the unique opportunity afforded by a Democratic Administration for government, labor and business to work together to solve our inflationary and other economic problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

Tax Reductions—We commit ourselves to targeted tax reductions designed to stimulate production and combat recession as soon as it appears so that tax reductions will not have a disproportionately inflationary effect. We must avoid untargeted tax cuts which would increase inflation. Any tax reduction must, if it is to help solve pressing economic problems, follow certain guiding principles:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

–The inflationary impact must be minimized;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

–Reductions provided to individuals must be weighted to help low and middle income individuals and families, to improve consumer purchasing power, and to enhance a growing economy while maintaining and strengthening the overall progressive nature of the tax code;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.3

–Productivity, investment, capital formation, as well as incentives, must be encouraged, particularly in distressed areas and industries;[p.4]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

–The effect on our economy must be one which encourages job formation and business growth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

Federal Spending—Spending restraint must be sensitive to those who look to the federal government for aid and assistance, especially to our nation's workers in times of high unemployment. At the same time, as long as inflationary pressures remain strong, fiscal prudence is essential to avoid destroying the progress made to date in reducing the inflation rate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

Fiscal policy must remain a flexible economic tool. We oppose a Constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

Interest Rates—The Democratic Party has historically been committed to policies that result in low interest rates in order to help our nation's workers, small businesses, farmers and homeowners. Therefore, we must continue to pursue a tough anti-inflationary policy which will lead to an across-the-board reduction in interest rates on loans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

In using monetary policy to fight inflation, the government should be sensitive to the special needs of areas of our economy most affected by high interest rates. The Federal Reserve shall use the tool of reserve requirements creatively in its effort to fight inflation. The Federal Reserve should also take particular care to make certain that it is aware of the concerns of labor, agriculture, housing, consumers and small business in its decision-making process. Finally, its Open Market Committee should continue to provide regular information to the public about its activities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

Regulatory Reform—Consistent with our basic health, safety, and environmental goals, we must continue to deregulate over-regulated industries and to remove other unnecessary regulatory burdens on state and local governments and on the private sector, particularly those which inhibit competition.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

Targeting and Regional Balance—From the time of Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic Party has dedicated itself to the principle that the federal government has a duty to ensure that all regions, states and localities share in the benefits of national economic prosperity and that none bears more than its share of economic adversity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

Our 1976 platform stated: Even during periods of normal economic growth there are communities and regions of the country—particularly central cities and urban areas—that do not fully participate in national economic prosperity. The Democratic Party has supported national economic policies which have conscientiously sought to aid regions in the nation which have been afflicted with poverty, or newer regions which have needed resources for development. These policies were soundly conceived and have been successful. Today, we have different areas and regions in economic decline and once again face a problem of balanced economic growth. To restore balance, national economic policy should be designed to target federal resources in areas of greatest need.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

A Democratic Administration has welcomed and encouraged the sustained growth of the West and Southwest in recent years. Policies now in place ensure that this growth will continue and bring the greatest benefits to the nation as a whole.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

At the same time, a Democratic Administration will be committed to the economic growth and prosperity of the other regions of the nation. The era of federal policies directed exclusively to the development of one region or another should be succeeded by government-wide policies designed to bring about balanced and shared growth in all regions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

To restore balance, we must continue to improve the targeting of federal programs in order to maximize their benefit to those most in need. To involve the private sector in solving our economic problems, and to reduce the burden on government, we must leverage federal dollars with funds from the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

Rebuilding American Industry by Increasing Economic Productivity and Competitiveness—The Democratic Party has a long tradition of innovation, foresight, and flexibility in creating policies to solve the nation's most urgent economic needs. We now stand at another watershed in our economic history which demands our Party's full attention, creative powers, resources, and skills. To revive productivity and revitalize our economy, we need a national effort to strengthen the American economy. It must include new tax depreciation rules to stimulate selective capital investment; a simplified tax code to assist business planning; removal of governmental regulations which are unnecessary and stifle business initiative; effective incentives for saving that do not discriminate against low and middle income taxpayers; reform in patent rules and new incentives for research and development, especially by small business; cooperative efforts with labor and management to retool the steel, auto and shipbuilding industries; and strengthened worker training programs to improve job opportunities and working skills.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.4

Encouraging investment, innovation, efficiency and downward pressure on prices also requires new measures to increase competition in our economy. In regulated sectors of our economy, government serves too often to entrench high price levels and stifle competition. Regulations must balance protective benefits against potentially adverse effects on competitiveness. Necessary regulations should be achieved at minimum cost and at reduced burden to industry. In unregulated sectors of the economy, we must increase antitrust enforcement; greatly improve the speed and efficiency of antitrust litigation; and renew efforts to prevent the [p.5] concentration of economic power—both in specific industries and across the economy as a whole—which operate to stifle growth and to fuel inflation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

United States non-farm exports have risen 50 percent in real terms in the last three years. A Democratic President and a Democratic Congress have recognized and strengthened the export trade functions of the federal government. To create new markets for American products and strengthen the dollar, we must seek out new opportunities for American exports; help establish stable, long-term commercial relationships between nations; offer technical assistance to firms competing in world markets; promote reciprocal trading terms for nations doing business here; and help ensure that America's domestic retooling is consistent with new opportunities in foreign trade.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

One of our main goals in this effort will be to enable American industry to compete more effectively with foreign products. We must intensify our efforts to promote American exports and to ensure that our domestic industries and workers are not affected adversely by unfair trade practices, such as dumping. We must make international trade a major focus of our domestic and international policy. We will continue to support the development of trading companies which will compete more effectively in world markets. We must ensure that our efforts to lower tariff barriers are reciprocated by our trading partners. We recognize the superior productivity of American agriculture and the importance of agricultural exports to the balance of trade. We support continuing efforts to promote agricultural exports.

Ensuring Economic Equity

Budget

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

The budget policy that has been put forth by the Democratic Party traditionally has been based on providing adequate federal resources to meet our nation's urgent needs. The current Democratic Partnership has continued that tradition while restraining the growth of the federal budget.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

We have increased support for vital domestic programs. We have increased funding for education by 75 percent over the Ford budget. We have increased Head Start by 73 percent, basic skills programs by 233 percent, bilingual education by 113 percent, Native American education by 124 percent, summer jobs by 66 percent. Job Corps by 157 percent, employment and training programs by 115 percent, Medicare by 54 percent, National Health Service Corps by 179 percent, Child Nutrition by 43 percent, and Women, Infants and Children (WIC) Program by 300 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

We have been able to do this, while restraining the growth in federal spending, because the country has had a growing economy; tax cuts have been moderate; waste and fraud have been reduced; and aid has been targeted to those most in need.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

International events have required increased defense spending. The Soviet challenge cannot be ignored. We have had to reverse the steady decline in defense spending that occurred under the Republican Administration. A Democratic Administration and a Democratic Congress have done this; real defense spending has increased, in part through the elimination of waste and the emphasis on increased efficiency.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

In the eight years preceding the first Carter budget, real federal spending had been growing at an average rate of 3 percent each year. By contrast, between FY 1978 and 1981, real federal spending will have declined at an average annual rate of 0.6 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

The federal budget has not been and must not be permitted to be an inflationary nor a recessionary force in our economy, but it also must not be permitted to ignore pressing human needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

We support the discipline of attempting to live within the limits of our anticipated revenues. Government must set the example of fiscal responsibility for all our citizens who are helping in the fight against inflation. Spending discipline allows us to concentrate our resources to meet our most pressing human needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

We as Democrats will continue our policy of opposing drastic cuts in social programs which impose unfair burdens on the poor and the aged, on women, on children and on minorities. We have always opposed and will continue to oppose imposition of ever greater burdens on the poor, who can least afford them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

We also recommit ourselves to operating our government more efficiently, and concentrating our efforts on eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse in government programs to make our tax dollars go further.

Worker Protection

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

The Democratic Administration has worked with Congress to take actions which protect our nation's workers from declining incomes, unsafe working conditions, and threats to their basic rights. The Democratic Party will not pursue a policy of high interest rates and unemployment as the means to fight inflation. We will take no action whose effect will be a significant increase in unemployment, no fiscal action, no monetary action, no budgetary action. The Democratic Party remains committed to policies that will not produce high interest rates or high unemployment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.5

But much more needs to be done to protect our nation's workers. The Democratic Party has a long and proud tradition in this area and we must pledge to [p.6] continue our efforts over the next four years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Over a generation ago this nation established a labor policy whose purpose is to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and the fight of workers to organize to obtain this goal. The Democratic Party is committed to extending the benefit of this policy to all workers and to removing the barriers to its administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

In the future the Democratic Party will concentrate on the following areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Our labor laws should be reformed to permit better administration and enforcement, and particularly to prevent the inordinate delays and outright defiance by some employers of our labor laws. We can no longer tolerate the fact that certain employers are willing to bear the cost of sanctions which are in our current laws in order to violate the rights of those attempting to organize.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

OSHA protections should be properly administered, with the concern of the worker being the highest priority; legislative or administrative efforts to weaken OSHA's basic worker protection responsibilities are unacceptable. OSHA has significantly reduced workplace accidents and fatalities. We will not limit its scope for any reason, including the size of business, since all workers face significant workplace dangers. The Democratic Party strongly opposes and urges all actions to defeat legislation which weakens OSHA's critical protections.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Hatch Act reforms should be enacted to give federal workers their basic First Amendment rights. We must protect federal workers from interruptions in their pay due to delays in the federal appropriations process and must seek ways to assure the comparability of pay scales between the federal and private sectors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

We support the fight of public employees and agricultural workers to organize and bargain collectively. We urge the adoption of appropriate federal legislation to ensure this goal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Legislation must be enacted to allow building trades workers the same peaceful picketing rights currently afforded industrial workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

All fair labor standards acts, such as the minimum wage and Davis-Bacon protections, must continue to be effectively enforced against employers seeking to circumvent their worker protections.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act should be repealed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Special assistance should be made available for unemployed workers in a distressed industry, such as the automobile, steel, and shipbuilding industries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

We must improve and strengthen our trade adjustment assistance programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

We support federal legislation designed to give protection and human rights to those workers affected by plant closings.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Just as we must protect workers in their workplace, so must we protect them when they are disabled by accidents or sicknesses resulting from their work. The Democratic Party supports federal legislation to assure adequate minimum benefit levels to those who are unemployed, including expansion of coverage to all wage and salary workers and extended benefits for the long-term unemployed. It must not artificially disregard those who have already been unemployed for a long time.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

We will continue to oppose a sub-minimum wage for youth and other workers and to support increases in the minimum wage so as to ensure an adequate income for all workers.

Small Business

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

The prosperity of small business is an important national priority. Over half of the major innovations in the past twenty years have come from firms with less than 1,000 employees, and technological innovation has accounted for nearly half of America's economic growth. Small firms have a cost-per-scientist or engineer half that of larger firms. Ninety-six percent of the six million jobs created in the private sector between 1968 and 1976 came from small businesses—primarily firms in business less than four years, employing less than 20 workers. In contrast, the biggest 500 manufacturing companies—accounting for 80 percent of national output—employed precisely the same number of workers in 1968 as they did in 1976.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Of course, larger firms may offer other economic benefits to society, but the contribution of small business is vital and unique, and no overall program for economic recovery will succeed unless it relies heavily on small businesses. For this reason, the Democratic Party commits itself to the first comprehensive program for small business in American history. That program will include the following measures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

A prompt review and response for the recommendations of the White House Conference on Small Business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Legislation to transfer from the SBA to the Farmers Home Administration responsibility for providing loans to farmers in financial need.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Allocation of a fair percentage of federal research funds to small business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Protection of small and independent businesses against takeover by giant conglomerates.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.6

Continued efforts to end federal regulations which reinforce barriers to entry by new and small firms and which thereby entrench the dominance of market leaders.[p.7]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

A review of regulations and requirements which impose unnecessary burdens upon smaller firms. Results should provide relief for smaller firms which now pay $12.7 billion a year to fill 850 million pages of government paperwork. We will adopt regulatory requirements to meet the needs of smaller firms, where such action will not interfere with the objectives of the regulation.

Minority Business

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

A Democratic Congress and a Democratic Administration have worked together to increase opportunities for minority businesses, which have suffered from inadequate capitalization. Enormous progress has been made in the last four years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

Federal procurement from minority-owned firms has increased by nearly two and a half times.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

Federal deposits in minority-owned banks have already doubled.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

Minority ownership of radio and television stations has increased by 65 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

Almost 15 percent of the funds spent under the Local Public Works Act went to minority-owned firms.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

The Section 8(a) program operated by the Small Business Administration has been reformed and strengthened.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

The Democratic Party pledges itself to advance minority businesses, including Black, Hispanic, Asian/ Pacific Americans, Native Americans and other minorities to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

–Increase the overall level of support and the overall level of federal procurement so that minority groups will receive additional benefits and opportunities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

–Triple the 1980 level of federal procurement from minority-owned firms as we have tripled the 1977 levels in the past three years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

–Increase substantially the targeting of Small Business Administration loans to minority-owned businesses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

–Increase ownership of small businesses by minorities, especially in those areas which have traditionally been dosed to minorities, such as communications and newspapers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

–Expand management, technical, and training assistance for minority firms, and strengthen minority capital development under the SBA's Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Company (MESBIC) program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

–Establish a Minority Business Development Agency in the Department of Commerce under statutory mandate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

–Implement vigorously all set-aside provisions for minority businesses.

Women in Business

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

The Democrats have exercised effective leadership in the field of support to women-owned businesses. A national policy was developed to support women's business enterprises, and SBA created the first program to help women entrepreneurs, President Carter has issued an Executive Order creating a national women's business enterprise policy and prescribing arrangements for developing, coordinating, and implementing a national program for women's business enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

Support of this program must be expanded through effective implementation of the Executive Order to ensure an equitable distribution of government prime and subcontracts to women business owners. Cabinet Secretaries and agency heads, working with the Office of Federal Procurement Policy, must monitor realistic goals established for the award of government business and financial support to women-owned businesses.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

As the key office within the federal government for these programs, the Office of Women's Business Enterprise in SBA must be strengthened through adequate staffing and funding, and should receive continued emphasis by key White House and Office of Management and Budget personnel.

Women and The Economy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

We pledge to secure the rights of working women, homemakers, minority women and elderly women to a fair share of our economy. A sound economy in the next four years is of vital importance to women, who are often at the bottom of the economic ladder. But if our economy is to be truly fair, additional steps are required to address the inequities that women now face.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

Special attention must be paid to the employment needs of women. Today, women who can find work earn, on average, only fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by men.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

The Democratic Party, therefore, commits itself to strong steps to close the wage gap between men and women, to expand child care opportunities for families with working parents, to end the tax discrimination that penalizes married working couples, and to ensure that women can retire in dignity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.7

We will strictly enforce existing anti-discrimination laws with respect to hiring, pay and promotions. We will adopt a full employment policy, with increased possibilities for part-time work Vocational programs for young women in our high schools and colleges will be equalized and expanded. Fields traditionally reserved for men...from construction to engineering...must [p.8] be opened to women, a goal which must be promoted through government incentives and federally sponsored training programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

Perhaps most important, the Democratic Party is committed to the principle of equal pay for work of comparable value. Through new job classification studies by the Department of Labor, job reclassification by the Office of Personnel Management and new legislation from Congress if necessary, we will ensure that women in both the public and private sectors are not only paid equally for work which is identical to that performed by men, but are also paid equally for work which is of comparable value to that performed by men.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

The Democratic Party must lead the way in ensuring that women and minorities are afforded real equality in the work force, neither displacing the other. As the nation's single largest employer, the hiring and promotion practices of the federal government must set an example. Every branch of government will be mandated not only to hire qualified women and minorities, but also affirmatively to seek out able minorities and women within the government for training and promotion. Opportunities for part-time work will be expanded and pay equalized to reflect the value of the work which is done.

Economic Inequities Facing Minorities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

We must expand jobs and job training including apprenticeship training programs for those who have special problems—groups such as the young, veterans, older workers, minorities, those with limited fluency in English, and the handicapped. The Democratic Party pledges that anyone who wants to learn the skills necessary to secure a job will be able to do so.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

We also must improve the quality of the programs designed to help the structurally unemployed. We must give trainees a better sense of what work will be like, assure a higher level of training, and undertake greater efforts to place people in jobs and help them adjust to the world of work. We should explore several methods for making such improvements, including performance funding. More money should go to those training programs which prove most successful. Particular emphasis should be given to training programs run by community-based organizations which have a superior record of success.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

Where public agencies have trouble reaching those who seem unemployable, and where the training they provide is not effective we should assist business to provide that training. We should ensure that business is not paid merely for hiring those that would be hired anyway, and that federal subsidies are truly training subsidies and not disguised wage subsidies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

A major effort must be undertaken to address youth employment. Half the unemployed are under twenty-five. Teenage inner city unemployment is at disastrous levels of 50 percent or higher. The problem is one of both employment and employability—a lack of jobs and a lack of skills.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

We need new combinations of work experience and training for young people, new links between schools and the workplace, new ways to reach out to those who are out of school and out of work, but who have special need for skill development and job experience.

Consumer Protection

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

Since the first administration of Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic Party has stood as the Party which championed consumer rights. It is our tradition to support and enact policies which guarantee that the consumer is sovereign in the market place. It is our history to institute necessary government programs to protect the health, safety and economic well-being of the American consumer. And it is our way of governing to ensure that consumers have full opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes of government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

Working together, the Democratic Administration and Congress have maintained that tradition. Prominent consumer advocates have been appointed to key government positions. A new National Consumer Cooperative Bank has been created, and a Fair Debt Collection Practices Act has been enacted. Each federal agency has been directed to establish procedures so that consumer needs and interests are adequately considered and addressed on a continual basis. The basic consumer protection authorities of the Federal Trade Commission have been preserved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

Over the next four years, we must continue to guarantee and enhance the basic consumer rights to safety, to information, to choice and to a fair hearing.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

Government must continue its efforts to create a strong independent voice to ensure that the consumer's interest is considered in government proceedings. We pledge continued support for an independent consumer protection agency to protect the rights and interests of consumers. Until one is created, we must ensure that each department and agency of the government has established and adequately funded a consumer program which complies with the requirements of Executive Order 12160. Each agency must provide ample opportunity for public involvement in its proceedings and should strive to adopt a program to provide funds for consumers and small businesses to participate in those proceedings.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.8

We must continue our support of basic health, safety, environmental and consumer protection regulatory [p.9] programs and must undertake the following new initiatives to provide additional basic protections to consumers:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Comprehensive review of food safety and drug statutes, with particular emphasis on food labeling which discloses product ingredients.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Requirements for full warranties for new automobiles.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Class action reform to remove unnecessarily burdensome and expensive procedures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Reform of requirements for legal standing to seek judicial redress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Protection for consumers against dangerous products, including standards for automobile safety, clothing flammability, new drugs and chemicals, and food and children's products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Vigorous enforcement of truth-in-lending, anti-redlining, and fair credit reporting laws.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Curtailment of abuses in sale of credit life insurance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

While consumer regulatory programs are necessary to achieve social goals, we recognize that an effective competition policy frees the market place from regulation. Therefore, we support vigorous enforcement and strengthening of the antitrust laws. Legislation should be enacted to overturn the Illinois Brick case and allow consumers who are injured as a result of a violation of the antitrust laws to seek redress, whether or not they have dealt directly with the violator.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

We are committed to ensuring that America's poor do not suffer from lack of food. To this end, we support continued funding of the Food Stamp Program and expansion of the Women, Infant and Children (WIC) program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

We support the efforts of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank to assist grass roots consumer organizations to undertake self-help programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

We support a nationwide program of consumer education to enable citizens to fully understand their rights in the market place, to be informed of the opportunities for participation in government decision-making, and to be equipped to make intelligent, rational consumer decisions.

Antitrust Enforcement

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

America must commit itself to a free, open and competitive economy. We pledge vigorous antitrust enforcement in those areas of the economy which are not regulated by government and in those which are, we pledge an agency-by-agency review to prevent regulation from frustrating competition.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

To accomplish these goals, we must:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Enact the Illinois Brick legislation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Permit consumers and other interested parties to seek enforcement of consent decrees issued in antitrust cases brought by government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

– Prevent anti-competitive pricing by firms in concentrated industries, and combat price signalling and other forms of anti-competitive conduct which do not fall into the current legal categories of either monopoly or collusion.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Control conglomerate mergers, when such mergers undermine important economic, social and political values without offsetting economic benefits.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Reform antitrust procedures to speed up cases and deter dilatory conduct by any party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Provide strong support for antitrust enforcement by the federal enforcement agencies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Provide technical and financial support for the antitrust enforcement efforts of the state attorneys-general and other state antitrust agencies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

–Develop a "single stop" clearance procedure to allow exporters to determine whether specific export agreements are permissible under the antitrust law.

Chapter II: Government and Human Needs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

The Democratic Party has properly been known as the Party of the people. We Democrats believe in making government responsive to the needs of the people…making it work for the people. We do not claim that government has all the answers to our problems, but we do believe that government has a legitimate role to play in searching for those answers and in applying those answers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

The Democratic Party has a proud record of responding to the human needs of our citizens. After eight years of Republican government and systematic Republican efforts to dismantle all of the hard-won New Frontier and Great Society social programs, the Garter Administration and the Democratic Congress have resurrected, preserved and strengthened those programs which have proven effective.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

In the areas of health care, housing, education, welfare and social services, civil rights, and care for the disabled, elderly and veterans, a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress have put the federal government back in the business of serving our people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

Our progress has been significant, and in many areas unprecedented. In 1980, the people must decide whether our country will continue that progress, or whether we will allow the federal government to revert to four years of Republicanism—which means neglect of the poor and disadvantaged, disdain for working men and women, and compassion only for the rich and the privileged.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.9

We will not allow this to happen. We pledge to build on the Democratic record of the past four years—to continue the process we have begun.[p.10]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

While we recognize the need for fiscal restraint—and have proposed specific steps toward that goal—we pledge as Democrats that for the sole and primary purpose of fiscal restraint alone, we will not support reductions in the funding of any program whose purpose is to serve the basic human needs of the most needy in our society—programs such as unemployment, income maintenance, food stamps, and efforts to enhance the educational, nutritional or health needs of children.

Health

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

The Carter Administration and the Congress have worked closely together to improve the health care provided to all Americans. In many vital areas, there has been clear progress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

The United States spent over $200 billion for health care in 1979. Despite these high expenditures and although we possess some of the finest hospitals and health professionals in the world, millions of Americans have little or no access to health care services. Incredibly, costs are predicted to soar to $400 billion by 1984, without improvement in either access to care or coverage of costs. Health care costs already consume ten cents of every dollar spent for goods and services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

The answer to runaway medical costs is not, as Republicans propose, to pour money into a wasteful and inefficient system. The answer is not to cut back on benefits for the elderly and eligibility for the poor. The answer is to enact a comprehensive, universal national health insurance plan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

To meet the goals of a program that will control costs and provide health coverage to every American, the Democratic Party pledges to seek a national health insurance program with the following features:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Universal coverage, without regard to place of employment, sex, age, marital status, or any other factor;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Comprehensive medical benefits, including preventive, diagnostic, therapeutic, health maintenance and rehabilitation services, and complete coverage of the costs of catastrophic illness or injury;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Aggressive cost containment provisions along with provisions to strengthen competitive forces in the market place;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Enhancement of the quality of care;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–An end to the widespread use of exclusions that disadvantage women and that charge proportionately higher premiums to women;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Reform of the health care system, including encouragement of health maintenance organizations and other alternative delivery systems;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Building on the private health care delivery sector and preservation of the physician-patient relationship;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Provision for maximum individual choice of physician, other provider, and insurer;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Maintenance of the private insurance industry with appropriate public regulation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Significant administrative and organizational roles for state and local government in setting policy and in resource planning;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Redistribution of services to ensure access to health care in underserved areas;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

–Improvement of non-institutional health services so that elderly, disabled, and other patients may remain in their homes and out of institutions; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

Child Health Assurance Program—We must continue to emphasize preventive health care for all citizens. As part of this commitment, we call for the enactment of legislation during the 96th Congress to expand the current Medicaid program and make an additional 5 million low-income children eligible for Medicaid benefits and an additional 200,000 low-income pregnant women eligible for prenatal and postnatal care.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

Mental Health Systems Act—We must enact legislation to help the mentally ill, based on the recommendations of the President's Commission on Mental Health. The legislation should focus on deinstitutionalization of the chronically mentally ill, increased program flexibility at the local level, prevention, and the development of community-based mental health services. It is imperative that there be ongoing federal funding for the community-based mental health centers established under the 1963 Mental Health Act and that sufficient federal funding be provided for adequate staffing. We also endorse increased federal funding for ongoing training of mental health personnel in public facilities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

In the 1980s we must move beyond these existing health care initiatives and tackle other problems as well.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

Long-Term Care—We must develop a new policy on long-term care for our elderly and disabled populations that controls the cost explosion and at the same time provides more humane care. We must establish alternatives to the present provisions for long-term care, including adequate support systems and physical and occupational therapy in the home arid the community, to make it unnecessary to institutionalize people who could lead productive lives at home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

We must support legislation to expand home health care services under Medicare and other health programs. Visits from doctors, nurses and other health personnel are a cost-effective and necessary program for the elderly who often cannot travel to medical facilities. Without home health services, many elderly citizens would be forced to give up their homes and shift their lives to institutions.[p.11]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Multilingual Needs—We must support the utilization of bilingual interpreters in English-Spanish and other appropriate languages at federal and state-supported health care facilities. In addition, we support broader, more comprehensive health care for migrants.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Health Care Personnel—This nation must maintain an adequate supply of health professionals and personnel. Particular emphasis should be given to programs which educate nurses and other health professionals and related personnel, especially for the traditionally underserved rural and inner city areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

The rising cost of education in health fields bars many who wish to enter these fields from doing so. In order to expand representation in the health professions of traditionally underrepresented groups, we support programs of financial assistance such as capitation grants. These programs must increase the presence of men and minorities in nursing, and must be targeted toward women and minorities in other health professions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Minority and Women Health Care Professionals—We recognize the need for a significant increase in the number of minority and women health care professionals. We are committed to placing greater emphasis on enrollment and retention of minorities and women in medical schools and related health education professional programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

We are also committed to placing a greater emphasis on medical research and services to meet the needs of minorities, women and children.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Reproductive Rights—We fully recognize the religious and ethical concerns which many Americans have about abortion. We also recognize the belief of many Americans that a woman has a right to choose whether and when to have a child.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

The Democratic Party supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision on abortion rights as the law of the land and opposes any constitutional amendment to restrict or overturn that decision.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Furthermore, we pledge to support the right to be free of environmental and worksite hazards to reproductive health of women and men.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

We further pledge to work for programs to improve the health and safety of pregnancy and childbirth, including adequate prenatal care, family planning, counseling, and services with special care to the needs of the poor, the isolated, the rural, and the young.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Financially Distressed Public Hospitals—Frequently, the only sources of medical care for much of the inner city population is the public general hospital. The ever-increasing costs of providing high quality hospital services and the lack of insurance coverage for many of the patients served have jeopardized the financial stability of these institutions. Immediate support is required for financially distressed public hospitals that provide a major community service in urban and rural areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

In underserved areas where public hospitals have already been closed because of financial difficulty, we must explore methods for returning the needed hospitals to active service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

We must develop financial stability for these hospitals. Our approach should stress system reforms to assure that more primary medical care is provided in free-standing community centers, while the hospital is used for referral services and hospitalization.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Medicaid Reimbursement—The Democratic Party supports programs to make the Medicaid reimbursement formulae more equitable.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Unnecessary Prescriptions—We must reduce unnecessary prescribing of drugs and guarantee the quality and safety of products that reach the market through improved approval procedures.

Substance Abuse

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Alcoholism and drug abuse are unique illnesses which not only impair the health of those who abuse those products, but impose costs on society as a whole—in production losses, in crimes to supply habits, and in fatalities on the highway.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

The Democratic Partnership has worked to reduce the serious national problem of substance abuse, and progress has been made.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

As a result, in part, of a major adolescent drug abuse prevention campaign, levels of drug abuse among adolescents have begun to decline. However, as long as abuse still exists, we consider it a major problem requiring our attention.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Because of a coordinated, concerted attack on drug trafficking, heroin availability in the U.S. over the past four years has decreased by 44 percent; heroin-related injuries have declined by 50 percent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Progress made since 1977 must be continued.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

We must continue to focus on preventing substance abuse in the early years of adolescence by working with grassroots organizations and parent groups throughout the country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

Special efforts must be made to strengthen prevention and rehabilitation resources in the major urban areas that are so acutely affected by drug and alcohol abuse problems because of the cumulative effect of joblessness, poor housing conditions and other factors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.11

We must provide adequate funding for alcohol and drug abuse research and treatment centers designed to meet the special needs of women, and end the currently widespread discrimination, based on sex, age, [p.12] race, and ethnicity, in alcohol and drug abuse programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

We must treat addiction as a health problem and seek flexibility in administering Medicare and Medicaid for substance abuse treatment, especially alcohol and drug services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

We must reduce the availability of heroin and other illicit narcotics in this country and in the source countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

We must conduct investigations leading to the prosecution and conviction of drug traffickers and to the forfeiture of financial and other assets acquired by their organizations.

Older Americans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

In other sections of this platform (for example, health and the extensive section on Social Security), we have listed programs and commitments for improving the status of older Americans. As a Party, we are aware of the demographic and biomedical developments that call for a high priority approach to the issues of retirement, work, and income maintenance for the growing number of older citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

The Democratic Party stands for the achievement and maintenance of the quality of life for Americans in their later years. We speak for our future selves, as well as for the elderly of today.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

There has been substantial progress, but much remains to be done. Too many senior citizens (especially among minority groups) live close to or below the poverty line, in isolated conditions, and without access to needed services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

The Democratic Party pledges to continue to improve the policies and programs which ensure a high quality of life for older Americans. This includes the following measures.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

All Americans, regardless of age, must be afforded an opportunity to participate in the mainstream of society, and in activities at local and national levels, as useful citizens. The 1967 Age Discrimination in Employment Act, and the milestone amendments to that Act in 1978, are concrete examples of this principle. So are programs such as senior centers, nutrition services, and home attendants, as well as those programs under ACTION, the Administration on Aging, and the Community Services Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

Such programs have helped to diminish the conditions of dependency, isolation, and unnecessary institutionalization. We propose to continue and expand these programs to reach underserved areas and all segments of the elderly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

The Democratic Party is proud of the passage of legislation to protect and improve private pensions through the Employees Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), as well as current proposals to extend such protection to larger numbers of workers. No worker, after long years of employment, should lose his or her pension rights because of mobility, poor management, or economic reasons,

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

Other priorities include working with the private sector to assure maintenance and expansion of employer-employee pension systems and continuing support of the federal-state partnership in SSI (Supplemental Security Income) for the least fortunate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

A comprehensive program of long-term care services is a goal of the Democratic Party. The fastest growing segment of our population is the "very old" and the "frail elderly." The Democratic Party will continue to be concerned with the provision of services for these groups, increasingly composed of women without access to family care. This will include home attendant care, day centers, and quality institutional care for those elderly with functional disabilities who cannot rely on non-institutional alternatives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

For many older citizens, continuing participation in the mainstream means continuing employment, or a return to the labor force as a result of widowhood or the "empty nest." In addition to increasing employment opportunities by raising the allowable mandatory retirement age, we must continue existing, and create new, programs for the retention and re-entry of adult and older Americans in our labor force, including the private and community service sectors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

The Democratic Party will encourage the development of services by the public and private sectors to provide meals-on-wheels for those who need them; senior day centers; friendly visiting services; and similar supportive, educational-recreational, and outreach services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.12

We pledge to make the elderly secure in the necessities of life. The Democratic Party pledges that it will seek to increase the number of meals served under Title III of the Older Americans Act until it covers at least a quarter of all older people at or near the poverty level while at least maintaining current services for those who are not in poverty. The Democratic Party will seek expanded funding provided for the Section 202 housing program for the elderly.

Social Security

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.10

No group in our society deserves the commitment and respect of the Democratic Party more than the elderly. They have built the factories arid mills of the nation. They have fought to defend our country. They have paid taxes to finance the growth of our cities and towns. They have worked and sacrificed for a lifetime to give their children a better chance to achieve their dreams. They have a continuing reservoir of talent, [p.13] skill and experience to contribute to our future.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

The basic program and guarantee for older citizens is Social Security. It is the single most successful social program ever undertaken by the federal government. Ninety-five percent of those reaching 65 are eligible for this program: without it, 60 percent of the elderly would have incomes below the poverty level.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

The Democratic Party will oppose any effort to tamper with the Social Security system by cutting or taxing benefits as a violation of the contract the American government has made with its people. We hereby make a covenant with the elderly of America that as we have kept the Social Security trust fund sound and solvent in the past, we shall keep it sound and solvent in the years ahead.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

In 1977, the Social Security system faced bankruptcy. The Carter Administration and the Congress enacted legislation ensuring the Social Security system's financial stability and making certain that each of the 35 million recipients received his or her monthly check without interruption. They also worked together to strengthen the benefits provided to

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

Social Security recipients. As a result of our actions:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

–Workers have been protected against inflation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

–Minimum benefit payments have been reformed to protect low-paid, long-time participants;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

–A 3 percent increase in primary benefit amounts has been added;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

–The retirement test has been liberalized. Despite our efforts, much remains to be done if the elderly are to receive the respect and dignity they have earned. Elderly households have only half the income of younger households. For women, the annual median income of those over 65 is only $2,800. One out of seven persons over 65 lives in poverty. Three-quarters of all elderly unmarried, widowed, or divorced women live in poverty. Millions of elderly persons live in special fear of crime. Health care costs for the elderly are now three and a half times the level for younger people. Actual out-of-pocket health expenditures for the elderly today are greater in real dollars than when Medicare was enacted.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

In the 1980s we must continue to work for a financially strong Social Security system. The levels and types of benefits, as well as rates and systems of financing, must be continually reviewed in light of current circumstances. Decisions affecting Social Security benefits should be measured by the standards of Social Security's goals, not by the program's impact on the federal budget.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

The Democratic Party is responsible for the adjustments of Social Security benefits to keep pace with increases in the cost of living. We remain committed to ensuring that these adjustments continue. We oppose any caps on Social Security benefits. No change in the index which determines cost of living adjustments should be made for the purpose of achieving smaller adjustments than those granted under the current index.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

We oppose efforts to raise the age at which Social Security benefits will be provided. Our Party seeks to protect and assist those most in need. We continue to be sensitive to the economic and physical plight of the older worker and the elderly. We therefore stand unalterably opposed to the taxation of any portion of Social Security benefits. Taxing Social Security benefits would mean real hardship for millions of retired Americans. If government needs to expand the tax base, additional taxation should be borne by those most able to pay.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

While these steps are critically important, they will not, standing alone, secure adequate income for the elderly women of this nation. To reach this goal, we must also move immediately to eliminate all the gender-based classifications in the Social Security system. We must consider the special needs of elderly women in future benefit increases. We must end the unfairness in the current system that penalizes two-worker families. We must devise a practical way for the Social Security system to recognize the contributions of homemakers, and thus ensure the resources they need to live in dignity in old age.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

Finally, the Democratic Party vehemently opposes all forms of age discrimination and commits itself to eliminating mandatory retirement. With the surety of a guillotine, mandatory retirement severs productive persons from their livelihood, shears their sense of self-worth, and squanders their talents.

Pensions

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

Our nation's complex and uneven pension system is a continuing source of concern. To help address this important problem, President Carter created a Presidential Commission on Pension Policy, charged with developing recommendations to improve public and private, federal, state and local pension systems. We applaud this initiative. We must achieve an equitable pension system with improved benefit safeguards and adequate benefit levels.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

We urge the Commission to give special attention to recommendations which address the discrimination and hardships imposed on women in pension plans. Problem areas include, pension rights in divorce proceedings, lack of pension benefits for survivors when a worker dies before retirement age, the rules for establishing Individual Retirement Accounts, the vesting rules and participation in pension plans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.13

We support strong programs of portability in teacher and other public employee retirement programs and [p.14] private pension plans in order to offer employees involved in geographic employment moves the opportunity to continue retirement security.

Welfare Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

The nation's welfare system continues to be inequitable and archaic. The existing organization of our delivery system is chaotic. The roles of the federal, state, and local governments, and of the courts are scrambled, with each vying for power and control over delivery. This confusion lends credence to public outrage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

States and cities which make an honest effort to meet the welfare crisis find themselves in deepening fiscal difficulty. In the past few years, the federal share of welfare costs in many of these states has actually declined.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

The fiscal crisis of welfare recipients has also deepened, since states and localities are unable or unwilling to adjust benefits to prevent inflation from robbing them of their worth.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

The fiscal crisis for taxpayers continues, as states have little ability or incentive to reduce welfare error rates.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

Incentives continue that cause families to break apart and fathers to leave home so that children may survive. Disincentives continue for welfare families to seek work on their own; no regular method links welfare recipients to the work force.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

We are at a crossroad in the delivery of welfare. Serious reform is necessary if the inequities are to be remedied and administration improved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

The various components must be reorganized and simplified, with each level of government performing those services most suited to its organizational structure, taking advantage of economies allowed by large-scale delivery where appropriate, and of customized services where they are required, always treating each person with fairness and equity.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

The components of an effective human service delivery system are these.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

Employment—We must require work or necessary training leading to work of every capable person, except for the elderly and those responsible for the care of small children. However, we cannot make this requirement effective unless we can assure employment first through the private sector and, if that is insufficient, through public employment. We must provide an income floor both for the working poor and the poor not in the labor market. We must adopt a simple schedule of work incentives that guarantees equitable levels of assistance to the working poor.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

The training and job program must emphasize supported work programs, in which welfare recipients receive intensive training, personnel counseling and help in the job search. Such services can lead to large increases in job placement, lower government expenditures and more productive workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

Income Transfer—For those persons who cannot work and who have no independent means of support, we must provide assistance in an integrated, humane, dignified, and simple manner. These problems are national in scope and require a unified, national response.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

Social Services—As society becomes more complex and faster paced, people such as senior citizens, handicapped, children, families, and those who need protection are under greater pressure and find it more difficult to find the help they need. As these issues vary among communities, communities should take the lead in design and provision of these services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

Social services must continue to be developed and operated at the local level, close to the users, with knowledge of and sensitivity to both the particular problems of each case and the community's unique infrastructure, resources, and support networks.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

We must develop a community-level system for coordinating existing public and voluntary programs that support the family and individual initiative, and develop programs to fill existing gaps in order to provide the variety and extent of social services appropriate for each locality.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

Food Stamps—Hunger is one of the most debilitating and urgently felt human needs. A government pledged to a fairer distribution of wealth, income, and power, and to holding as a guiding concern the needs and aspirations of all, must also be a government which seeks to alleviate the hunger that results from economic conditions or personal circumstances. Over the years, the Food Stamp Program, expanded and made more responsive by a Democratic Congress and Administration, has become the bulwark of this nation's efforts to relieve hunger among its citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

The only form of assistance which is available to all those in financial need—food stamps—provides an important cushion for poor people, including those whose incomes are temporarily disrupted by layoffs or regional unemployment, or whose age or physical handicap leaves them unable to work.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.14

As state and local governments modify other benefit programs on which low-income people depend, the Food Stamp Program becomes increasingly important. We will continue to work toward full employment in recognition of the importance of self-support. Until that goal can be attained, and for those who cannot be self-supporting, we remain committed to our current policy of full funding for the Food Stamp Program.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

Medical Care—Provision of medical care for the [p.15] poor remains essential. This is a critical part of the national health debate, and should be handled as such.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

These reforms may require an additional investment, but they offer the prospect of stabilization of welfare costs over the long run, and the assurance that the objective of this expenditure will be accomplished.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

Toward these goals, President Carter proposed welfare reform to the Congress in the form of the Work and Training Opportunities Act and the Social Welfare Reform Amendments Act. These two Acts would lift over two million people out of poverty by providing assistance to individuals and families to enable them to meet minimum income standards and by providing employment to those able to work. We must continue to work to ensure the passage of these two very important acts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

As a means of providing immediate federal fiscal relief to state and local governments, the federal government will assume the local government's burden of welfare costs. Further, there should be a phased reduction in the states' share of welfare costs in the immediate future.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

The Democratic Party pledges in the immediate future to introduce legislation to accomplish these purposes in the next year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

Welfare policies significantly affect families. Most persons receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children, for example, are children or the mothers of young children. Many of these young mothers want to work. So, too, many others receiving welfare are well-suited to work and want to work. A companion to any effective welfare reform must be provision for adequate and available child care, so that parents can participate in training programs and in the work force.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

Government should not encourage the break-up of intact families. On the contrary, we must provide the help a family needs to survive a crisis together. In 1962, America took and action which has been one of the greatest contributors to family stability in the history of federal policy. For the first time, states were permitted to provide assistance to families with both parents, and still be eligible for general reimbursement. We reaffirm our support for the 1962 action and urge that states not providing assistance to unified families begin to do so. We must treat stable and broken families equally.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

The thirty-day waiting period for placement on the welfare rolls poses serious problems for individuals and families in dire need of assistance. We support efforts to streamline processing of new welfare recipients which also attempt to address the problem of administrative errors. Simplified rules and better administration machinery would significantly improve the operation of the welfare system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

We strongly reject the Republican Platform proposal to transfer the responsibility for funding welfare costs entirely to the states. Such a proposal would not only worsen the fiscal situation of state and local governments, but would also lead to reduced benefits and services to those dependent on welfare programs. The Democratic policy is exactly the opposite—to provide greater assistance to state and local governments for their welfare costs and to improve benefits and services for those dependent on welfare.

Low Income Energy Assistance

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

Our citizens see their family budgets stretched to the breaking point by an explosion of energy costs, while the profits of oil companies multiply to record levels. Last year's 120 percent increase in energy prices by OPEC led to a drastic decrease in the ability of needy families to pay for other necessities of life. The recently enacted low income energy assistance legislation is helping, but it is providing only $1 of help for every $4 in increased costs that have been imposed upon the poor. Significant expansion in this program is urgently needed, and we support such action as a major priority of our Party.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

This Administration has worked to strengthen the federal government's commitment to our nation's veterans. The Veterans Administration has been given Cabinet-level participation. There have been three consecutive annual increases in VA compensation. The Veterans' and Survivors' Pension Improvement Act has assured veterans of and adequate minimum income. A treatment and rehabilitation program has been established for veterans with alcohol and drug-dependency disabilities. G.I. educational benefits have been considerably expanded. Unemployment among Vietnam veterans has been reduced. Veterans' health care has been improved. A process has been initiated for veterans to upgrade less than honorable discharges from the Vietnam War era.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

During the 1980s, we must commit ourselves to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

–Equal opportunity and full voluntary participation in the military regardless of sex. We oppose quotas and/or percentages, rules, policies and practices which restrict or bar women from equal access to educational training and employment training and employment benefits which accrue during and after military service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.15

–Continue improving education and training benefits and opportunities for veterans, especially those who are economically or educationally disadvantaged and those who are disabled.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–Initiate and complete comprehensive epidemiological [p.16] studies on veterans exposed to certain defoliants used during the Vietnam War as well as on veterans or civilians exposed to above-ground nuclear explosion. We then must establish appropriate and sensitive VA health care programs for those determined to have suffered from such exposure or service.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–Complete promptly the current Cabinet-level study on Agent Orange.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–Strive to maintain and improve quality health care in an independent VA health care system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–Continue priority care to veterans with service-connected disabilities and seek ways of improving and developing special treatment for the ever-increasing aging veterans population, including burial benefit programs sensitive to the needs of veterans and their families in rural areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–Provide authority for the construction of a memorial in the nation's capital to those who died in service to their country in Southeast Asia.

Education

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

Perhaps the single most important factor in spurring productivity in our society is a skilled work force. We must begin to think of federal expenditures as capital investments, favoring those which are productive and which reduce future costs. In this context, education must be one of our highest priorities. Education is also the indispensable prerequisite for effective democracy. As Daniel Webster said, "On the diffusion of education among people rests the preservation and perpetuation of free institutions."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

The Democratic Party is strongly committed to education as the best hope for America's future. We applaud the leadership taken by a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress in strengthening federal programs for education.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

In the past four years:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–Federal aid to education has increased by 73 percent—the greatest income increase in such a short period in our history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–Strong financial and administrative support has been provided for programs that enhance educational opportunities for women, minorities, American Indians and other native Americans, the handicapped, and students with lingered English-speaking ability and other special needs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–The Middle Income Student Assistance Act was adopted, expanding eligibility for need-based student financial aid to approximately one-third of the students enrolled in post-secondary education;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–A number of legislative, regulatory and other administrative actions were taken to enhance benefits received by private school children from federal education programs; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

–A new Department of Education was created to give education a stronger, more direct voice at the federal level, while at the same time reserving control over educational policy-making and operations to states, localities, and public and private institutions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

Over the next four years, we pledge to continue our strong commitment to education. We will continue to support the Department of Education and assist in its all-important educational enterprise that involves three out of ten Americans.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

In this regard, we endorse the language of the legislation which emphasized the intent of Congress "to protect the rights of state and local governments and public and private institutions in the areas of educational policies and administration of programs...."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

It is now a decade and a half since the passage—by a Democratic Congress at the behest of a Democratic Administration—of the landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. At the time, there were sound and compelling reasons to undergird all federal aid to education with specific purposes. The specific purposes remain compelling and the specific programs addressed to them must be maintained.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

Federal aid to education plays a significant role in guaranteeing that jurisdictions of differing financial capacity can spend equal amounts on schooling. We favor a steady increase in federal support with an emphasis on reducing inter- and intra-state disparities in ability to support quality education. The federal government and the states should be encouraged to equalize or take over educational expenses, relieving the overburdened property taxpayer.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

The Democratic Party renews its commitment to eliminating discrimination in education because of sex and demands full and expeditious enforcement of Title IX of the 1972 education amendments.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

The Democratic Party strongly urges that the federal government be sensitive to mandating state and local programs without adequate provision for funding. Such mandates force the state and/or local governments to increase taxes to fund such required programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

Equal educational opportunity is at the heart of the Democratic program for education. Equality of opportunity must sometimes translate to compensatory efforts. For the disadvantaged, the handicapped, those with limited English language skills, American Indians/Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and other minorities, compensatory programs require concentrated federal spending.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.16

The Democratic Administration and Congress have supported a comprehensive program of compensatory education and have expanded it to include secondary [p.17] education. We will continue to target categorical assistance to low income and low achieving students.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

We reaffirm our strong support for Title I concentration grants for remedial instruction for low income students. The Democratic Party pledges to achieve full funding of concentration grants under Title I and to expand the Headstart and Follow-through programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

The Democratic Party will continue to advocate quality education in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and in tribally contracted schools to meet American Indian educational needs. The Democratic Party opposes the closing of schools serving American Indians and Alaska Natives without consultation with the tribes involved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

The Democratic Party recognizes the need to maintain quality education for children in school districts affected by federal activities and installations. We therefore will continue to be sensitive to the financial problems of these school districts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

School desegregation is an important tool in the effort to give all children equal educational opportunity. The Democratic Party continues to support programs aimed at achieving communities integrated both in terms of race and economic class through constitutional means. We encourage redrawing of attendance lines, pairing of schools, utilizing the "magnet school concept" as much as possible, and enforcing fair housing standards. Mandatory transportation of students beyond their neighborhoods for the purpose of desegregation remains a judicial tool of last resort.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

We call for strict compliance with civil rights requirements in hiring and promotion in school systems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

We support an effective bilingual program to reach all limited-English-proficiency people who need such assistance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

The Democratic Party supports efforts to broaden students' knowledge and appreciation of other cultures, languages and countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

We also support vocational and technical education through increased support for teacher training, personnel development, and upgrading and modernizing equipment and facilities to provide the skill and technical training to meet the workforce needs for business, industry, and government services. Increased emphasis on basic skills is essential to the success of vocational and technical training. Vocational and technical education is a viable tool for establishing people in their own business through entrepreneurship programs. Vocational and technical education contributes to the economic development and productivity of our nation by offering every person an opportunity to develop a marketable skill.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

The Party reaffirms its support of public school education and would not support any program or legislation that would create or promote economic, sociological or racial segregation. Our primary purpose in assisting elemental, and secondary education must be to assure a quality public school system for all students.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

Private schools, particularly parochial schools, are also an important part of our diverse educational system. The Party accepts its commitment to the support of a constitutionally acceptable method of providing tax aid for the education of all pupils in schools which do not racially discriminate, and excluding so-called segregation academies. Specifically, the Party will continue to advocate constitutionally permissible federal education legislation which provides for the equitable participation in federal programs of all low and moderate income pupils.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

The Democratic Party reaffirms its commitment to the concept and promise that every handicapped child should have a full and appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment. To assure the best placement and program for handicapped students, we support maximum involvement of the regular classroom teacher in placement planning for handicapped students with assurance of barrier-free access. We further support increasing the federal share of the costs of education for the handicapped.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

We applaud the actions taken by the government in strengthening federal programs for higher education. The nation must continue to ensure that our colleges and universities can provide quality higher education in the coming period of declining enrollment and rising operating costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

We are especially interested in extending post-secondary opportunities to students from low and middle income families, older students, and minorities. We believe that no able student should be denied a college education for reasons of cost.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

The Democratic Party is committed to a federal scholarship program adequate to meet the needs of all the underprivileged who could benefit from a college education. When those who are qualified for post-secondary education cannot afford to enter college, the nation ignores talent we cannot afford to lose. Basic Education Opportunity Grants, which offer both actress to a college education and the choice of a college, must continue to be strengthened and should be funded at full payment schedule.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

Likewise, campus-based programs of aid must be supported. With a coordinated and reliable system of grants, loans and work study, we can relieve the crisis in costs that could close all but the affluent colleges and universities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.17

Since entry to institutions of higher learning is dependent upon a student's score on a standardized test, we support testing legislation which will assure that students will receive sufficient information relative to [p.18] their performance on the test to determine their strengths and weaknesses on the tests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

Our institutions of higher education deserve both public and private backing. The Party supports the continuation of tax deductions for charitable gifts, recognizing that such gifts represent the margin of excellence in higher education and foster scholarly independence within our institutions of higher learning.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

The Democratic Party commits itself to the strengthening of graduate education and the support of basic and applied research. Graduate education, scholarship and research are of immense importance to the nation's economic and cultural development. Universities conduct most of the nation's basic research. Their graduate and research programs are the training grounds for the research personnel and professionals who discover knowledge and translate that knowledge into action.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

The federal role is critical to the quality of these endeavors. We reaffirm the federal responsibility for stable support of knowledge production and development of highly trained personnel in all areas of fundamental scientific and intellectual knowledge to meet social needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

High priority should be assigned to strengthening the national structure for graduate education, scholarship and research and ensuring that the most talented students, especially women and minorities, can gain access to these programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

Historically Black colleges and universities have played a pivotal role in educating minority students. The Democratic Party affirms its commitment to ensuring the financial viability and independence of these worthy institutions and supports expanded funding for Black institutions. The Democratic Party pledges to work vigorously for significant increases in programs which have traditionally provided funding for historically Black colleges and universities. Particular attention should be given to substantially increasing the share of funding Black colleges receive. We will substantially increase the level of participation of Black colleges in all federal programs for which they are eligible. In addition, we urge the establishment of an office within the Office of the Secretary of Education to ensure full executive implementation of the President's Black college directive. Similarly, colleges serving Hispanic, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Asian/Pacific Islander students should receive equal consideration in federal policies affecting their survival.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

Finally, educational quality should be strengthened through adequate support for libraries, federal leadership in educational research and development, and improved teacher training.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

The Democratic Party further urges the federal government to take into account the geographical barriers to access to educational and library materials which particularly affect the non-contiguous territories of the United States. A study should be conducted to review the possibility of sending airmail, at surface mail rates, said materials to and from the mainland U.S. and the non-contiguous territories of the U.S.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

The Party believes that improved teacher in-service training, building upon the successful "Teacher Center Model" implemented under this Administration, could contribute substantially to educational quality. We support the establishment of federally funded teacher centers in every state and will work toward a steady increase in the number of teachers served. Teacher centers should address such issues as bilingual, multi-cultural, non-racist, and non-sexist curricula.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

The Party continues to support adult education and training to upgrade basic skills.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

We propose federally financed family-centered developmental and educational child care programs available to all who need and desire them.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

We support efforts to provide for the basic nutritional needs of students. We support the availability of nutritious school breakfast, milk and lunch programs. Students who are hungry or malnourished can experience serious learning difficulties. The Democratic Party affirms its commitment to restore fair eligibility requirements for this program and to set fees at a level which does not unfairly deny students the ability to participate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.18

The Democratic Party recognizes the importance of family and community involvement in public schools, and the impact their involvement can have on the quality of a child's educational environment. We support initiatives that will encourage parents and all members of the community to take an active interest in the educational future of our children.

Child Care

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

While the American family structure has changed radically in recent years, the family remains the key unit of our society. When the needs of families and children are ignored the nation as a whole ultimately suffers. It is not only morally right, but also far less expensive, for government to assist children in growing up whole, strong and able, than to pay the bill later for children and adults with health, social and educational problems. Government cannot and should not attempt to displace the responsibilities of the family; to the contrary, the challenge is to formulate policies which will strengthen the family.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

The Democratic Party shall seek vigorously to enact [p.19] an adequately funded, comprehensive quality child-care program based upon a national commitment to meet the health, safety, and educational needs of all children. Such a program shall provide for alternative low-cost child care arrangements so that parents may decide what is in the best interests of their children. To ensure the availability of choices, the Child Care Tax Credit shall be revised to benefit low and moderate income families. National policies shall ensure the availability of child care services for all parents. Our programs shall also address themselves vigorously to the issues of flex-time work programs, job sharing, and incentives for child care in private industry, in recognition of the social responsibilities of all citizens to children and their parents as the guardians of our future.

Juvenile Justice

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

Juvenile delinquency and other problems of young people, like truancy and running away, are often manifestations of serious problems in other areas—family, school, employment, or emotional disturbance. We are committed to maintaining and strengthening the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 and the Runaway Youth Act to help deal with these problems. In particular, we reaffirm our commitment to ending unnecessary institutionalization of young people who have not committed serious crimes and strengthening preventive efforts and other services at the community level to help young people and their families in the sometimes difficult transition to adulthood. Equally important, we are committed to continuing reform in the juvenile courts to assure right of due process and adequate counsel to young people who become enmeshed in the juvenile justice system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

We must continue and strengthen efforts at prison reform to upgrade the safety of our penal institutions. Our penal institutions enhance rehabilitation to offenders, and lower the recidivism level.

Families

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

The Democratic Party supports efforts to make federal programs more sensitive to the needs of the family, in all its diverse forms.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

Since 1976, the Administration's efforts in the area of housing have concentrated on achieving an adequate housing supply. From 1977-1979, housing starts increased substantially over the level of the prior Republican Administration. Additionally, increased emphasis has been placed on saving our existing housing stock through rehabilitation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

But the momentum to increase the housing supply for the 1980s has been threatened by the high rate of inflation. The downturn in economic activity during the first half of 1980 has created a period of severe difficulty for the housing industry and for those Americans in need of housing. These circumstances make it imperative that the Democratic Party redouble its efforts to meet the goal of a decent home in a suitable environment for every citizen. It is essential that we expand the construction and availability of affordable housing in order to match the growing needs of Americans during the 1980s and to help stabilize housing costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

Housing shortages and deterioration, and the need for economic development, are among the most critical problems facing local government today.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

Through a patchwork of programs and tax incentives developed over the past fifty years, this nation is now spending between $25 and $30 billion each year on housing and economic development. These funds must be redirected in a cogent manner, to provide a comprehensive response to the housing problem. This effort should be pressed forward with the same national will that put a man on the moon, and will be a major step toward the revitalization of our local economies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

During the 1980s, we must work to meet the nation's need for available, affordable housing by:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

–Achieving steady, high levels of production;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

–Continuing progress toward a non-inflationary environment with lower interest rates;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

–Pursuing monetary and credit policies which are especially sensitive to the needs of the housing and construction industries in order to help provide jobs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

–Continuing progress toward eliminating sub-standard housing and meeting the housing needs of this nation's low and moderate income families, the elderly, and the handicapped, including a substantial increase in the authorization for public housing and Section 8 rental housing assistance;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

–Expanding the coverage of the Fair Housing laws to prohibit discrimination against single parents or single persons;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

–Ensuring that federal housing projects meet the needs of single-parent families;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

–Strengthening our efforts to provide higher levels of multi-family housing production to meet the rental housing needs of the postwar generation in the 1980s;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.19

–Continuing the development and expansion of new financial instruments designed to attract increased capital to the housing sector throughout the interest rate cycle;[p.20]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

–Continuing to improve the efficiency and management of our housing programs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

–Continuing support for efforts to improve our housing codes;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

–Expanding urban homestead and rehabilitation programs which will preserve neighborhoods in our cities for the people who live there;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

–Financing moderate income housing at below-market interest rates;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

–Adopting condominium conversion policies which protect tenants, particularly the elderly, against unfair and unreasonable conversion practices; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

–Assisting cities, counties, and states which have effective programs to combat the growing and dangerous problem of housing abandonment.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

Since 1977, the Carter Administration has worked closely with the Congress to improve all the transportation modes so essential to our nation. These efforts have resulted in the elimination of unnecessary regulations, the expansion of the federal commitment to mass transit, and the savings of billions of dollars for consumers. In the 1980s we must continue our efforts in the same direction.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

The Democratic Party commits itself to a balanced, competitive transportation system for the efficient movement of people and goods.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

The trucking industry must be deregulated, and legislation to do that is now in place. This legislation would open entry to new truckers, lift restrictions on the goods truckers may haul and the routes they may use, promote vigorous price competition, reduce regulatory delays and improve road safety.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

To improve their long-term viability, we must give railroads more flexibility in setting rates, without burdening excessively shippers dependent on rail service. Congress is now progressing on comprehensive legislation in this area. We expect regulatory reform of the railroad industry to speed the elimination of wasteful regulations and improve the facilities and equipment of railroads.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

Coal is a centerpiece of our nation's energy policy. We are concerned about the cost of transporting coal to its markets, particularly the cost of rail transportation. Within the context of regulatory reform, we must therefore be especially sensitive to the effects of railroad rates on coal. A healthy rail industry is of critical importance to our economy and our society.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

We must ensure, through such efforts as completion of high-speed rail passenger service in the Northeast Corridor, that railroads are an efficient means for personal travel. The decline in the nation's railroad system must be reversed. Tracks must be rehabilitated, equipment modernized and maintenance improved if the nation is to have a rail system that adequately meets the needs of passengers and shippers. We must ensure that flexibility in setting rates does not become a license either for anti-competitive pricing at the expense of consumers, or for anti-competitive mergers that create or maintain inordinate market power at the expense of consumers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

The vital artery of urban America is mass transit. It saves energy by providing fuel-efficient alternatives to the automobile. For the poor, the elderly, the disabled, and many other city dwellers, there is no other transportation. If they are to travel at all, to go to work or to shop, they must rely on mass transit. Mass transit serves them, as well as the employers for whom they work and the businesses where they shop. It aids all of us, by unclogging our cities, cleansing our air, and increasing the economic health of our urban areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

The Democratic Party pledges to strengthen the nation's mass transit systems. Federal funds must be provided for maintenance and repair of deteriorating systems, and for new equipment purchases for growing systems. Federal aid formulae should be amended to give greater weight to ridership in the allocation of dollars. Reasonable operating subsidies must be provided to help subsidize rider fares.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

Mass transit is a high priority in our national transportation policy. We pledge support for significant increases in capital and operating subsidies for mass transit to enhance the reliability, safety, and affordability of existing and expanding systems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

The auto industry and its workers must be assisted during this difficult time. We are committed to an intensive review of the automobile industry's fundamental problems, and to prompt, effective action to help ameliorate those problems. We are also committed to a strong trade adjustment program to help currently unemployed auto workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

To meet the needs of international commerce and national security, this nation must have a strong, competitive and efficient American-flag ocean transportation system. In recent years, there has been a significant reduction in the ability of our merchant marine to compete for the carriage of world commerce because of economic policies pursued by other nations. Action must be taken to revitalize our merchant marine.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

To achieve this objective, we must develop a coherent, consistent, and responsive maritime policy which will encourage the development and maintenance of an American-flag ocean transportation system, staffed with trained and efficient American personnel, and capable of carrying a substantial portion of our international [p.21] trade in a competitive and efficient manner. Our maritime policy must also lead to the development and maintenance of a domestic shipbuilding and ship repair mobilization base adequate to satisfy the commercial and national security, requirements of the United States. Furthermore, we pledge continued commitment to the Merchant Marine Act of 1970 and greater utilization of the private merchant marine by the Navy for its support functions.

Urban Policy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.20

During the campaign of 1975–1976, our nation's great cities and urban counties were mired in a depression. Unemployment was well above 10 percent in many cities and counties; private sector investment and jobs were leaving the great urban centers; poverty and other serious social problems were left unattended; a severe budget squeeze was causing layoffs and cutbacks in essential city services; and the public works of our cities had been allowed to decay. The nation's mayors spent a portion of the year urging Congress to override the Republican Administration's veto of vitally important anti-recession programs. Most seriously, the leadership and citizens of our great urban centers had lost the hope that the future would be better.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

Upon taking office, the Democratic Administration responded to these conditions immediately with an $11 billion anti-recession package and, one year later, with the nation's first comprehensive urban policy. The urban policy was the product of a unique effort which actively involved the elected officials of state and local government, representatives of labor, neighborhood organizations, civil rights groups and the members of Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

These deliberations produced a blueprint to guide federal action toward cities. The Democratic Administration, in partnership with the Democratic Congress, has moved aggressively to implement parts of the urban policy. Some of these programs have already begun to contribute to the revitalization of the nation's older cities and to assure the continued health of the nation's growing cities. For example, the urban policy has:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–Created the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) Program to encourage private investment and jobs to locate or remain in our nation's major cities. UDAG, which is funded at $675 million annually, has already leveraged more than $7 billion of private investment and created more than 200,000 permanent jobs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–Targeted federal government procurement, facilities and jobs to the high unemployment central cities;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–Increased funding for the Community Development Block Grant program by more than 30 percent and proposed a formula change that provides substantial new aid to the older, more distressed cities and urban counties; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–Proposed a massive increase in the urban development programs of the Economic Development Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

Although many gains have been made, we recognize that a great deal more remains to be done. This is especially true in those cities which have borne the brunt of the current recession. We recognize that no urban policy can completely succeed in a period of high inflation and deepening recession.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

In this platform, the Democratic Party dedicates itself to the strength and survival of urban America. We are committed to developing imaginative, compassionate steps to deal with the causes and effects of rising unemployment, to make our cities fiscally strong, to provide jobs and economic growth, to preserve neighborhoods and communities and to meet the basic human needs of urban residents.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

Our policies must include the following features:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–A strong jobs policy which supports productive employment of people in the public sector and encourages employment in the private sector by attracting and strengthening business in the cities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

This jobs policy—and the need to guarantee a job for every American who is able to work—is our single highest domestic priority, and will take precedence over all other domestic priorities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–Public works programs which help rebuild our cities' infrastructure and which provide the unemployed with the opportunity to rebuild their own neighborhoods;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–Incentives for energy conservation by residents, business and industry in urban areas including incentives to convert oil facilities to coal and the construction of new coal-fired replacement plants;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–Increased education and training programs with special attention to employment of youth, women, and minorities and to training people for private sector jobs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–National economic policies intended to maintain growth in our economy and reduce the inflation rate, thereby easing the fiscal burden on cities and their residents;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.21

–Prompt enactment of the Carter Administration's proposal to expand the economic development initiative programs of the Department of Commerce. When fully implemented, this initiative will provide more than $1 billion in new loan guarantees to our urban centers and will double the amount of economic development grants available;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Prompt enactment of the Administration's five-year [p.22] extension of the local government revenue sharing program, including a $500 million transitional aid program for the areas most in need;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–A serious examination of the urban impact of the federal tax code, to ensure that businesses have substantial incentives to invest in our nation's neediest locales; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Renewed efforts to consolidate existing grants-in-aid programs in order to provide state and local governments with the flexibility to use these programs efficiently.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

In the last analysis, we must recognize that America's cities are centers of people with needs…needs for jobs, decent housing and health care, affordable mass transit, quality education and streets where they can walk in safety. Each is a crucial part of any effective urban program. The Democratic Party is committed to placing the highest priority in our budgets and our programs on meeting these needs of city-dwellers.

Neighborhoods

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

From the beginning of the Carter Administration, the government has worked to revitalize neighborhoods and to make them a central component of urban life. As a result of these efforts, the federal government now has a strong neighborhoods policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

During the 1980s we must continue to strengthen neighborhoods by:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Making neighborhood organizations partners with government and private sectors in neighborhood revitalization projects;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Continuing to make neighborhood concerns a major element of our urban policy;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Developing urban revitalization programs that can be achieved without displacing neighborhood residents; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Continuing to reduce discriminatory redlining practices in the mortgage and insurance industries.

Small Community and Rural Development

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

This Democratic Administration instituted the nation's first comprehensive small community and rural development policy. This policy establishes specific goals, directs numerous organizational and management changes, and initiates an extensive program of action to improve the quality of life for all rural Americans including American Indians/Alaska Natives, rural Hispanics, rural Blacks, and other minorities. Its principles emphasize the need for a strong partnership between the public and private sectors and among all levels of government. Recognizing rural America's great diversity and the limits of the federal role, the Administration's policy invites the nation's governors to establish rural affairs councils to define state rural development strategies and to advance federal-state coordination in addressing priority needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

Since assuming office in 1977, the Democratic Administration has acted to increase rural access to credit and capital, expand job opportunities, alleviate persistent rural poverty, rehabilitate substandard housing, address the shortage of health professionals in rural areas, improve the mobility of the rural transportation disadvantaged, and enhance educational and training opportunities for disadvantaged rural youth. For example, we have:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Addressed the problem of substandard housing through substantial increases in rural housing and community development assistance, and through revisions in minimum property standards to permit housing construction which is less expensive and better suited to rural conditions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Improved rural access to credit and capital by tripling the economic development resources of the Farmers Home Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Alleviated rural unemployment by doubling Department of Labor employment and training assistance to rural areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Addressed the shortage of doctors and other health professionals in rural areas through the Rural Health Clinic Services Act and a special initiative to construct 300 rural primary care health clinics by the end of 1981 in medically underserved areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

For the future, we must move aggressively to address long-standing rural problems and to implement fully the Administration's small community and rural development policy, with emphasis on:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Synthesizing efforts to improve the quality of life for American Indians/Alaska Natives. We must provide incentives for the development of an economic base that will improve the quality of life on reservations;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Ensuring that federal programs are administered in ways which encourage local solutions to local problems; target assistance to communities and individuals most in need; make federal investments in ways that leverage private sector investments and complement local and tribal investments; and make federal programs more accessible to rural jurisdiction, better adapted to rural circumstances and needs, and better coordinated in their administration and delivery;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Promoting rural energy self-sufficiency through improved rural transit and the application of alternative energy technologies on farms and in our rural homes and communities;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.22

–Passing satisfactory welfare reform legislation, with special attention to the needs of the rural disadvantaged;[p.23]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Protecting prime agricultural land as rural populations and the rural economy continue to grow;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Continuing to upgrade substandard rural housing to make it safe, decent, and sanitary;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Giving full attention to the health, education, and other basic needs of rural citizens, especially the young, the old, and the poor; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Providing low cost electric and telephone services to rural areas through the Rural Electrification Administration and the hundreds of rural cooperatives that provide these services.

Science and Technology

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

The Nixon-Ford Administration permitted serious decline in the state of science and technology in our country.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

There had been a decade of erosion of federal support of research and development. The funding of basic research in particular was far below its peak level of the mid-1960s.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

Science and technology advice had been seriously downgraded and removed from the White House, until pressures from the science and engineering community had it restored through an act of Congress.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

The previous decline in support had affected opportunities in science and engineering. It had resulted in the inadequate replacement of facilities and instrumentation and their growing obsolescence in the face of new scientific advances and needs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

Not only the work of our academic research centers, but also our technological innovation and economic competitiveness were impaired by this erosion of federal support.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

To counter these conditions and help revitalize the country's science and technology, the Carter Administration, working with Congress has taken a number of steps. The Office of Science and Technology Policy has been strengthened and upgraded. Growth has been restored in the budgets for federal research and development activities. Basic biomedical research has been strengthened to increase our fundamental knowledge of health and disease.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

These are just a few of the innovations that have been made. Our scientific and technological agenda remains unfinished. The 1980s offer great promise. During the next four years, we will work to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Continue to strengthen our science and technology and provide for continuity and stability of support to research and development;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Continue to monitor the flow of talent into science and engineering and provide the appropriate training and opportunities to ensure an adequate number of well-trained scientists and engineers in the coming years, with particular emphasis on women and minorities;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Pay continued attention to the support of research facilities to make certain they remain among the best in the world;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Successfully launch the Space Shuttle, take advantage of the many opportunities it offers to make space activities more economic and productive, and release new resources for the future scientific exploration of space; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Expand our programs of cooperation in science and technology with all nations who seek development and a stable, peaceful world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

In sum, we must continue to expand our scientific and technological capabilities and apply them to the needs of people everywhere.

The Arts and the Humanities

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

The arts and humanities are a precious national resource.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

Federal commitment to the arts and humanities has been strengthened since 1977 by expanding government funding and services to arts institutions, individual artists, scholars, and teachers. The budgets for the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities have increased substantially. The Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities has been reactivated. Policies of the Carter Administration have fostered high standards of creativity across our nation. The Administration has encouraged the arts and humanities through appropriate federal programs for the citizens of our smallest communities, as well as those of our largest cities. During the 1980s, the Party is committed to:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Continuing federal encouragement and support for institutions relating to the arts and to learning in the humanities;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Encouraging business participation in a comprehensive effort to achieve a truly mixed economy of support for the arts and humanities by individuals, foundations, corporations and governments at every level;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Exploring a variety of mechanisms to nurture the creative talent of our citizens and build audiences for their work;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Supporting strong, active National Endowments both for the Arts and the Humanities, and strengthening the Public Broadcasting System; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.23

–Seeking greater recognition for the rich cultural tradition of the nation's minorities. We will work to meet the cultural needs of minorities, encourage their greater participation in the performing arts on a national level, and provide grants for the arts in low-income neighborhoods.[p.24]

Ensuring Basic Rights and Liberties

Equal Rights Amendment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

The Democratic Party recognizes that every issue of importance to this nation and its future concerns women as well as men. As workers and consumers, as parents and heads of households, women are vitally concerned with the economy, energy, foreign policy, and every other issue addressed in this platform. The concerns of women cannot be limited to a portion of the platform; they must be reflected in every section of our Party's policy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

Them is, however, a particular concern of women which deserves special emphasis—their entitlement to full equality in our society.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

Women are a majority of the population. Yet their equality is not recognized in the Constitution or enforced as the law of the land. The choices faced by women—such as whether to seek employment or work at home, what career or profession to enter, and how to combine employment and family responsibilities—continue to be circumscribe by stereotypes and prejudices. Minority women face the dual discrimination of racism and sexism.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

In the 1980s, the Democratic Party commits itself to a Constitution, economy, and society open to women on an equal basis with men.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

The primary route to that new horizon is fabrication of the Equal Rights Amendment. A Democratic Congress, working with women's leaders, labor, civil and religious organizations, first enacted ERA in Congress and later extended the deadline for ratification. Now, the Democratic Party must ensure that ERA at last becomes the 27th Amendment to the Constitution. We oppose efforts to rescind ERA in states which have a;ready ratified the amendment, and we shall insist that at past recessions are invalid.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

In view of the high priority which the Democratic Party places on ratification of the ERA, the Democratic National Committee renews its commitment not to hold national or multi-state meetings, conferences, or conventions in states which have not yet ratified the ERA. The Democratic Party shall withhold financial support and technical campaign assistance from candidates who do not support the ERA. The Democratic Party further urges all national organizations to support the boycott of the unratified states by not holding national meetings, conferences, or conventions in those states.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

Furthermore, the Democratic Party shall seek to eliminate sex-based discrimination and inequities from all aspects of our society.

Civil Rights

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

The Democratic Party firmly commits itself to protect the civil fights of every citizen and to pursue justice and equal treatment under the law for all citizens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

In the 1960s, enormous progress was made in authorizing civil rights for all our citizens. In many areas, the promises of the civil rights efforts of the 1960s have been met, but much more remains to be done.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

An effective affirmative action program is an essential component of our commitment to expanding civil rights protections. The federal government must be a model for private employers, making special efforts in recruitment, training, and promotion to aid minority Americans in overcoming both the historic patterns and the historic burdens of discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

We call on the public and private sectors to live up to and enforce all civil rights laws and regulations, i.e., Equal Employment Opportunity Programs, Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, the Fair Housing Laws, and affirmative action requirements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

We advocate strengthening the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education and in the Department of Health and Human Resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

We oppose efforts to undermine the Supreme Court's historic mandate of school desegregation, and we support affirmative action goals to overturn patterns of discrimination in education and employment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

Ethnic, racial and other minorities continue to be victims of police abuse, persistent harassment and excessive use of force. In 1979, the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice noted that "alleged use of deadly force by police and the reaction of minorities was a major force of racial unrest in the nation in 1978." In response to this finding:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

–We call for the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division to develop uniform federal guidelines and penalties for the use of undue force by local law enforcement agencies;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

–We call for the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division to establish civil rights units at appropriate U.S. Attorneys' offices; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

–We call on the Department of Justice to move concurrently with federal prosecutors so that if a failure to obtain conviction takes place at the state or local level, federal prosecution can occur swiftly.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.24

The Democratic Party strongly condemns the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party. We pledge vigorous federal prosecution of actions by the Klan and American Nazi Party that violate federal law, including the creation of such laws in jurisdictions where [p.25] they do not exist. We further condemn those acts, symbols, and rituals. including cross-burnings, associated with anti-civil rights activities. We urge every state and local government to pursue vigorous prosecution of actions by the Klan and Nazi party that violate state or local law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

The Democratic Party asserts that the Immigration and Naturalization Service, in enforcing the immigration laws, must recognize its obligation to respect fully the human and constitutional rights of all within our borders. Such respect must include an end to practices affecting Hispanic, Caribbean, and Asian/Pacific American communities such as "neighborhood sweeps" and stop and search procedures which are discriminatory or without probable cause.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

Our commitment to civil rights embraces not only a commitment to legal equality, but a commitment to economic justice as well. It embraces a recognition of the right of every citizen—Black and Hispanic, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian/Pacific Americans, and the majority who are women—to a fair share in our economy. When that opportunity is denied, and the promise of social justice is unfulfilled, the risks of tension and disorder in our cities are increased. The Democratic Party condemns violence and civil disorder wherever they occur. But, we also pledge to attack the underlying injustices that contribute to such violence so that no person need feel condemned to a life of poverty and despair.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

The Democratic record provides a solid basis for future progress. There should be little doubt that virtually no progress would occur under a Republican Administration. Over the next four years, our Party must strengthen and improve what has already been accomplished.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

Both the ERA and District of Columbia Voting Rights Amendments to the Constitution must be ratified and our full commitment must be given to those efforts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

The Fair Housing Act must be amended to give the Department of Housing and Urban Development greater enforcement ability, including cease and desist authority.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

The Equal Pay and the Age Discrimination Acts must be strongly and effectively enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

To end discrimination against language minorities, we must enforce vigorously the amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1975 to assist Hispanic citizens. We must recognize the value of cultural diversity in education, expand bilingual facilities, and guarantee full protection of the civil and human rights of all workers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

We must affirm the dignity. of all people and the right of each individual to have equal access to and participation in the institutions and services of our society.. All groups must be protected from discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, language, age, sex or sexual orientation. This includes specifically the right of foreign citizens to enter this country. Appropriate legislative and administrative actions to achieve these goals should be undertaken.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

We are concerned about the opportunity for minorities to be adequately represented on trial juries if the trend toward smaller juries continues. Efforts must be initiated to correct this possible underrepresentation.

Civil Liberties

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

The Democratic Party has been actively committed to protecting fundamental civil liberties. Toward that end, over the past four years, the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress have enacted legislation to control the use of wiretaps by the government in the pursuit of foreign intelligence; developed the government's first comprehensive program to protect privacy; and worked to enact a criminal code which scrupulously protects civil liberties.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

As we enter the 1980s, we must enact grand jury reform; revise the Uniform Code of Military Justice; enact charters for the FBI and the intelligence agencies which recognize vital civil liberty concerns while enabling those agencies to perform their important national security tasks; shape legislation to overturn the Supreme Court Stanford Daily decision; and enact a criminal code which meets the very real concerns about protecting civil liberties, and which does not interfere with existing workers' rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

We call for passage of legislation to charter the purposes, prerogatives, and restraints on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other intelligence agencies of government with full protection for the civil rights and liberties of American citizens living at home or abroad. Under no circumstances should American citizens be investigated because of their beliefs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

We support the concept that no employee should be discharged without just cause.

Privacy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.25

Social and technological changes are threatening our citizens' privacy. To meet this challenge, the Carter Administration has developed the first comprehensive: privacy policy. Under this policy, administrative action has been taken to cut the number of federal [p.26] files on individuals and legislation has been passed to protect the privacy of telephone conversations and bank accounts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

In the 1980s we must complete this privacy agenda. Broad legislation must be enacted to protect financial, insurance, medical, and research records. We must have these safeguards to preserve a healthy balance between efficiency and privacy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

The Democratic Party recognizes reproductive freedom as a fundamental human right. We therefore oppose government interference in the reproductive decisions of Americans, especially those government programs or legislative restrictions that deny poor Americans their fight to privacy by funding or advocating one or a limited number of reproductive choices only.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

Specifically, the Democratic Party opposes involuntary or uninformed sterilization for women and men, and opposes restrictions on funding for health services for the poor that deny poor women especially the right to exercise a constitutionally-guaranteed right to privacy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

Federal legislation is also necessary to protect workers from the abuse of their fights and invasion of their privacy resulting from increased employer use of polygraphs and other so-called "truth test" devices. Workers should have the right to review all records retained by their employers relating to medical and employment information.

Appointments

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

One of President Carter's highest priorities has been to increase significantly the number of women, Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities in the federal government. That has been done.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

More women, Blacks and Hispanics have been appointed to senior government positions than during any other Administration in history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

Of the six women who have served in Cabinet positions, three have been Carter appointees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

More women, Blacks and Hispanics have been appointed to federal judgeships during the Carter Administration than during all previous Administrations in history.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

Of the 39 women federal judges, 35 have been Carter appointees; of the 38 Black federal judges, 19 have been Carter appointees; of the 14 Hispanic judges, 5 have been Carter appointees.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

This record must be continued. The Democratic Party is committed to continue and strengthen the policy of appointing more women and minorities to federal positions at all levels including the Supreme Court.

Handicapped

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

Great strides have been made toward ending discrimination against the handicapped, through increased employment and education opportunities and greater access to public facilities and services.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

In the 1980s, we must continue to work towards the goals of eliminating discrimination and opening opportunities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

All federal agencies must complete their Section 504 regulations and implement them effectively.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

We must continue to expand opportunities for independent living.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

The Fair Housing Act and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act must be amended to include the handicapped.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

We must face the task of making federal facilities and modes of transportation fully accessible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

Job opportunities and job training for the handicapped, including apprenticeship training programs, must be expanded.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

We must make the most basic American civil right—the right to vote—fully available to the handicapped.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. led this nation's effort to provide all of its citizens with civil rights and equal opportunities. His commitment to human rights, peace and non-violence stands as a monument to humanity and courage. To honor this outstanding national leader, we must enact legislation that will commemorate his birthday as a national holiday.

Domestic Violence

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

Each year, 3 to 6 million Americans are injured in acts of domestic violence. To combat this violence the Carter Administration has initiated a government-wide effort to assist and educate victims and rehabilitate victimizers, including:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

–The formation of a new Office of Domestic Violence in the Department of Health and Human Services; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

–Amendments to the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act which provides funds to state and community groups.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.26

The President has signed the Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act; HUD has developed demonstration projects for shelters for battered women: the Community Services Administration has established a pilot Family Crisis Center Program to [p.27] assist low-income battered women and children; and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held a Consultation on Battered Women in 1978.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

Existing federal programs have been coordinated through the Interdepartmental Committee on Domestic Violence, chaired by the Secretary, of Health and Human Services. The Democratic Administration must continue to support the passage of the legislation before the Congress, HR 2977, which would provide direct, immediate assistance to victims effectively and sensitively.

Insular Areas

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

We must be firmly committed to self-determination for the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa and the Northern Mariana Islands, and vigorously support the realization of whatever political status aspirations are democratically chosen by their peoples. The unique cultures, fragile economies, and locations of our Caribbean and Pacific Islands are distinct assets to the United States which require the sensitive application of policy. We are committed to pursuing initiatives we have begun to stimulate insular economic development, enhance treatment under federal programs, provide vitally needed special assistance and coordinate and rationalize policies. These measures will result in greater self-sufficiency and balanced growth.

Puerto Rico

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

We are committed to Puerto Rico's right to enjoy full self-determination and a relationship that can evolve in ways that will most benefit U.S. citizens in Puerto Rico. The Democratic Party respects and supports the desire of the people of Puerto Rico to associate, by their own will freely expressed in a peaceful and democratic process, in permanent union with the United States either as a commonwealth or as a state, or to become an independent nation. We are also committed to respect the cultural heritage of the people of Puerto Rico and to the elimination of discriminatory or unfair treatment of Puerto Ricans, as American citizens under federal programs.

American Indians

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

The Carter Administration has upheld and defended the historic special relationship between the federal government and Indian tribes. In addition, it has strongly supported the policy of self-determination and the right to practice the ancestral religions that are important to many tribal members. More than $24 million over the next ten years has been committed to assist Indian tribes with energy resources in making decisions about the development and protection of these resources. The Administration has firmly reiterated its fundamental opposition to the policy of termination which was so detrimental to Indians and their relationship with the federal government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

These policies must continue as the federal government finds better means of dealing effectively and compassionately with Indian tribes and individuals. The federal government must honor its treaty commitments. The federal government must redouble its efforts to improve the housing, health care, education and general welfare of Indians. Finally, the federal government must work as an equal partner with tribes as they decide for themselves the best means of managing their substantial energy resources.

Ethnic America

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

President Carter has stated that the composition of American society is analogous to a beautiful mosaic. Each separate part retains its own integrity and identity while adding to and being part of the whole.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

America is a pluralistic society. Each of us must learn to live, communicate, and cooperate with persons of other cultures. Our public policies and programs must reflect this pluralism. Immigrants from every nation and their descendants have made numerous contributions to this country, economically, politically and socially. They have traditionally been the backbone of the labor movement and an integral part of the Democratic Party.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

Ethnic Americans share the concerns of all Americans. They too are concerned about decent housing, health care, equal employment opportunities, care of the elderly, and education. In addition, ethnic Americans have some concerns of their own. They want to preserve the culture and language of their former homeland. They want to be integrated into the political, social and economic mainstream of American society, but at the same time they are concerned about the foreign policy issues that affect their native countries. We as a nation must be sensitive to their concerns.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.27

President Carter established the Office of Ethnic Affairs and charged it with a broad and diverse mission. The predominant functions of the office are to link the Administration and its ethnic constituents, to foster the concept of pluralism, and to enable all Americans to partake equally in the American way of life.[p.28]

Americans Living Abroad

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

Almost 3 million American citizens live overseas, both as government employees and private citizens. We know only too well the dangers and sacrifices some of these government officials face in serving their country. With the threat of terrorism and political unrest always present, we are committed to improving the security of our embassies and missions abroad. Our government must work with other governments to ensure that Americans are protected while performing their vital duties in the interest of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We also recognize the contributions of private citizens living overseas in bringing American ideals and culture to other lands and in helping the U.S. economy by promoting exports and increased trade with other countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

The President's Export Council has recommended that in order to encourage American exports and redress trade imbalances, the United States should conform with the practices of other major trading nations. Existing disincentives should be removed, so that Americans working abroad can compete more equitably and effectively with citizens from other nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

The Administration must continue to support changes in the law which make it simpler for American parents to ensure that their children born overseas are not denied U.S. citizenship.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We also believe that Medicare should be made available to Americans abroad who are eligible for Social Security.

Chapter III: Government Operation and Reform

Making Government Effective and Efficient

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

The Democratic Party has long stood for an active, responsive, vigorous government. Democrats of our generation have a special obligation to ensure that government is also efficient and well managed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We understand full well the importance of this obligation. We realize that even the most brilliantly conceived federal programs are doomed to failure if they are not intelligently and efficiently managed.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

The kind of government we Democrats stand for is a government that cares and knows how to translate that caring into effective action; a government whose heart and head are working in concert.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

Over the last rotor years the Democratic Administration and the Democratic Congress have built a dramatic government reform record. In the years ahead we must carefully implement the changes we have made, and we must pursue additional measures to provide the efficient government the people have a right to expect.

Regulatory Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

Federal regulations are needed to protect consumers and providers in the areas of health, safety, and the environment. Four years ago, however, the overall regulatory machine desperately needed an overhaul. Some rules served only to protect favored industries against competition, at the public's expense. Others imposed conflicting or needlessly costly requirements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

For decades, the economy has been hamstrung by anticompetitive regulations. A Democratic Administration and a Democratic Congress are completing the most sweeping deregulation in history. Actions already taken and bills currently pending are revamping the rules governing airlines, banking, trucking, railroads, and telecommunications. Airline deregulation in its first year of operation alone has saved passengers over 2.5 billion dollars.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

For the regulatory programs our country does need, the Administration has established a new management system. Under Executive Order 12044, agencies are reviewing and eliminating outdated rules and analyzing the full impact of new rules before they are issued. They are developing alternative regulatory approaches which can reduce compliance costs without sacrificing goals. They are increasing public participation in the regulatory process. The Regulatory Council is publishing the first government-wide list of upcoming rules, the Regulatory Calendar, and is using it to eliminate conflict and duplication.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

The challenges of the eighties will place great demands on our regulatory system. The reforms we have put in place are building machinery that can meet those challenges. However, much work lies ahead to implement the steps we have taken and go further.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We must continue to conduct an agency-by-agency review to make regulation less intrusive and more effective.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We must find and remove barriers that prevent steady progress toward competition in each industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

On the management side, we must increase the use of cost-effective regulatory techniques, without adversely affecting worker health or safety.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We must strengthen our research programs to ensure that we set sensible priorities for regulatory action.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We must eliminate those delays, layers of review, and litigation that unduly tie up the process.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We must make the regulatory process accessible to all members of the public who are affected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.28

We must oppose special interest efforts to undermine the ability of federal agencies to protect consumers, the environment, or public health and safety; and efforts to enable federal agencies to override or exempt [p.29] state or federal protections of the environment or public health and safety.

Tax Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

In 1976, this Party pledged to seek fundamental tax reform, for we believed that our tax system had lost much of its needed fairness and equity. President Carter honored that pledge by proposing to Congress the most comprehensive and far-reaching set of tax reform proposals ever made by any Administration. That proposal would have dosed over $9 billion worth of tax loopholes, simplified our tax laws, and provided funds for substantial tax reduction for low and middle income taxpayers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

Once again, we call on Congress to legislate meaningful tax reform. We cannot any longer allow the special interests to preserve their particular benefits and loopholes at the expense of the average taxpayers. The fight for tax reform must go forward, and the Party pledges to be a part of that important effort. Therefore, we pledge to seek tax reforms which:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

–Encourage savings by low and middle income taxpayers;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

–Close tax loopholes which benefit only special interests at the expense of the average taxpayer and use the proceeds to bring relief to low and middle income Americans;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

–Simplify the tax code and ease the burden on taxpayers in the preparation of their tax returns;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

–Encourage capital formation, innovation and new production in the United States;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

–Curb tax deductions, like those for three-martini lunches, conventions, first class travel, and other expense account deductions, which encourage consumption, discourage saving, and thus impede productivity;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

–End tax discrimination that penalizes married working couples; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

–End abuses in the tax treatment of foreign sources, such as special tax treatment and incentives for multi-national corporations that drain jobs and capital from the American economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

Capital formation is essential both to control inflation and to encourage growth. New tax reform efforts are needed to increase savings and investment, promote the principle of progressive taxation, close loopholes, and maintain adequate levels of federal revenue.

Management

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

The need to restrain federal spending means that every dollar of the budget must be spent in the most efficient way possible. To achieve this, the Democratic Partnership has been working to streamline the management of the federal government and eliminate waste and fraud from federal programs. Real progress has been made in these important areas.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

While these reforms have produced substantial savings for the taxpayers, they must be sustained in the coming years to realize their full potential.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

The Civil Service Reform Act can be used to encourage improved productivity of the federal government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

More business-like control of our assets, placing the government's operations on a sound financial basis, must be used to produce real savings.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

Special investigations and improved accounting systems must be used to attack fraud, abuse and wasteful practices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

Efforts must be continued to improve the delivery of services to citizens through greater accountability, consolidation and coordination in program administration, and elimination of unnecessary red tape and duplication.

Government Openness and Integrity

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

Under the Nixon-Ford Administration the federal government was closed to all but a privileged few and the public had lost faith in the integrity of its public servants.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

The Democratic Party takes pride in its long and outstanding record of leadership in opening up the processes of government to genuine participation by the people, and in making government truly responsive to the basic needs of all the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

For the last four years, the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress have devoted a great deal of time and resources to opening government processes and ensuring the integrity of government officials.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

The Ethics in Government Act now requires all senior government officials to make a full financial disclosure and severely limits the "revolving door" practice that has developed among former federal employees of representing private parties before the federal agencies in which they recently held significant positions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

A statutory provision has now been made for the appointment of a special prosecutor in eases of alleged wrong-doing by senior government officials.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

"Whistle-blowers" in the federal government (those who report waste and illegalities) have now been given special statutory protection to prevent possible retribution.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

An Executive Order has been issued significantly reducing the amount of classified information and increasing the amount of classified material to be released [p.30] over the next decade by about 250 million pages.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

As a result of actions such as these, trust and confidence in government officials have been restored. In the coming years, we must ensure full implementation of these initiatives. We must also work toward lobby law reform which is needed to ensure full disclosure of Congressional and executive lobbying activities.

Law Enforcement

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.29

Numerous changes were necessary when the Democrats took office in 1976. The essential trust between police officers and the public they protect had deteriorated. Funds committed by Congress had been terribly misspent during the eight Republican years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

The Carter Administration has taken solid steps toward correcting this serious problem. It has formalized the relationship between federal and state law enforcement officials to ensure maximum cooperation between federal and state agencies. It has taken long strides toward creating and implementing uniform national guidelines for federal prisons and encouraging state penal institutions to use the same guidelines.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

The Democratic Party supports the enactment of a revised federal criminal code which simplifies the currently complex federal criminal law in order to make our federal criminal justice efforts more effective, and repeals antiquated laws while fully protecting all civil liberties. As that effort proceeds, we must ensure that the rights of workers to engage in peaceful picketing during labor disputes are fully protected.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

The Democratic Party affirms the right of sports-men to possess guns for purely hunting and target-shooting purposes. However, handguns simplify and intensify violent crime. Ways must be found to curtail the availability of these weapons. The Democratic Party supports enactment of federal legislation to strengthen the presently inadequate regulations over the manufacture, assembly, distribution, and possession of handguns and to ban "Saturday night specials."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

Most important, the government has used its own resources to resolve satisfactorily concerns over the use of deadly force. The Administration has made progress toward the preparation of uniform guidelines for all police departments. They have also utilized the conciliation services available through the Community Relations Service to establish closer working ties among the police and community organizations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

The Democratic Party is pledged to continuing its strong record of providing needed assistance to local law enforcement. The new Law Enforcement Assistance Act, enacted by a Democratic Administration and a Democratic Congress, provides an important framework for this purpose. We are committed to using this framework effectively, in close cooperation with state and local law enforcement authorities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

We reaffirm our support for the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act and the Runaway Youth Act as responses to the serious challenge of youth crime.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

We must continue and strengthen efforts at prison reform, to upgrade the safety of our penal institutions, to enhance rehabilitation of offenders, and to lower the recidivism level.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

We support federal assistance to the victims of crime, including special programs to assist the elderly and to aid the victims of rape and domestic violence. Further efforts should be made to demonstrate the feasibility of restitution by the perpetrators of crime.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

As we work toward improved law enforcement, we must not permit or sanction excessive or illegal police force.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

Minorities in some areas have been discriminated against by such police actions, and we must take every action at the federal, state, and local level to prevent that from happening in the future, including a renewed commitment to affirmative action in the hiring of law enforcement personnel, establishment of civil rights units at appropriate U.S. Attorneys' offices, and swift investigation and prosecution of suspected civil rights violations.

Paperwork Reduction

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

Over the years the federal government has imposed more and more paperwork on the private sector. The Carter Administration has stopped that trend and worked to cut the paperwork burden. We have eliminated unnecessary forms, simplified and consolidated needed forms, and discouraged creation of new paperwork requirements. As a result, the federal paperwork burden has been cut 15 percent, or 127 million man-hours.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

The Administration is currently putting into place the tools we will need to continue and expand this program. In November 1979, President Carter signed an Executive Order that created the first "paperwork budget." This program will limit the reporting time each agency can impose on the public. In addition, the President has ordered agencies to tailor their forms to reduce the burden on individuals and small business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.30

We need further legislation. We urge a continuation of the effort to reduce government documents to simple English, easily understandable by all. The Administration is working with Congress to pass a Paperwork Reduction Act, which will close wide loopholes in the current oversight process.[p.31]

Election Reform

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

Recent reforms in the election process have aided immeasurably in opening the process to more people and have begun to reduce the influence of special interests. The limitations on campaign contributions and the public financing of Presidential elections are two reforms which have worked very well. Business political action committees continue to spend excessively, however. Further reform in this area is essential. In the 1980s we need to enact reforms which will:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Provide for public financing of Congressional campaigns;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Lower contribution limits for political action committees;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Close the loophole that allows private spending in Presidential elections contrary to the intent of the election law reforms;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Encourage voter participation in elections through use of simplified procedures for registration in states that lack mail or election day registration procedures, and by resisting efforts to reduce access to bilingual ballots; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Increase opportunities for full participation in all areas of party and government affairs by the low and moderate income majority of Americans.

Postal Service

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

The private expression statutes guarantee the protection and security of the mail for all Americans. They are essential to the maintenance of a national postal system, which will require an adequate public service subsidy to assure the delivery of mail to all Americans.

Chapter IV: Energy, Natural Resources, Environment and Agriculture

Energy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

For the past four years, the Democratic Party's highest legislative priority has been the development of our nation's first comprehensive energy policy. Our actions were necessitated by the Republican Administration's policy that fostered dependence on foreign oil. This Republican legacy led to America's petroleum paralysis, which weakened our security, undermined our strength abroad, threatened our environment and endangered our economic health.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

In perhaps no other domestic area did we inherit such a dangerous situation:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Domestic production of oil and natural gas was steadily declining, with price controls discouraging exploration and production;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Natural gas shortages were regularly plaguing parts of our country;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Our dependence on foreign oil was increasing every year;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Wasteful energy practices existed in our industries, homes and transportation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Solar and other renewable energy resources were being almost completely ignored;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Synthetic fuel production had been stalled;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–The federal government was not promoting energy conservation;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Our allies were unwilling to make adequate efforts to reduce their energy consumption; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Our energy policy was being made by nearly a dozen different agencies and bureaus throughout the federal government.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

The struggle to develop an energy policy was difficult and time-consuming. Tough decisions, especially in the area of oil price decontrol, were necessary to reduce our dependence of foreign oil.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

Not all of our energy problems have been solved. Yet the achievements of the past four years leave little doubt that we are finally serious about the problems caused by our excessive reliance on foreign oil. As a result of our national energy policy, oil imports will be cut in half by the end of this decade, saving our nation hundreds of billions of dollars. A framework is now in place that will permit further progress in the 1980s. Our economic security demands that we drastically reduce the massive flow of dollars into the OPEC treasuries and oil company bank accounts at the expense of American consumers and business.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

Our progress on energy has been realized because we have achieved four principal goals:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Incentives have been provided for the production of new energy sources;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Incentives for new oil production have been added, together with a windfall profits tax, which will fund low income energy assistance and energy research and development;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Incentives have been provided to encourage conservation of our existing energy resources; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Improved international energy cooperation has reduced our dependence on OPEC.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

These actions have produced enormous energy benefits to our nation:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–We are importing one million barrels of oil a day less than last year;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Domestic natural gas exploration and production are at record-high levels;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

Domestic oil exploration is at a 20-year high, and the decline in domestic production has been averted;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Per capita energy consumption is decreasing;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.31

–Use of solar energy has increased considerably,[p.32] and gasohol production has increased by 600 percent;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

–Coal production has increased, and foreign markets for our coal have been developed;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

–Gasoline consumption is 8 percent less than last year.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

In the 1980s, this program can be improved, as the framework laid in the last four years is used to ensure our energy security for all time.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

America's energy future requires a continued strong national policy based on two fundamental principles: efficient use of energy that will conserve our resources, preserve our economy and create jobs for Americans; and development of secure, environmentally safe and reasonably priced energy sources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

It is—and must be—the goal of the Democratic Party to mobilize this nation to use energy efficiently without asking Americans to suffer the loss of our strong economy and hard-earned standard of living. Energy efficiency, especially in buildings, transportation, and industrial production, must be made this nation's top priority.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

The following specific actions must be taken.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

We must make energy conservation our highest priority, not only to reduce our dependence on foreign oil, but also to guarantee that our children and grandchildren have an adequate supply of energy. If we can convince one of every four drivers exceeding the 55 mile per hour speed limit to reduce their speed, we can save 100,000 barrels a day. Conservation is the cheapest form of energy production.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

We must establish a massive residential energy conservation grant program. We must provide subsidized loans, direct financial assistance, and other substantial incentives to make all residences in the United States energy efficient, through upgraded insulation, heating, cooling and waterheating. Special incentives should he afforded for the use of renewable energy resources such as passive and active solar energy systems. Our goal should be to ensure that all economically justified energy efficiency investments are made by 1990.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

We should use our energy programs to aid in rebuilding the industrial heartland. Industry must be given financial incentives to improve the energy efficiency of industrial processes and to build substantial amounts of generating capacity through co-generation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

We must implement mandatory Building Energy Performance Standards (BEPS) to encourage the design and construction of energy efficient buildings. Energy efficiency standards should apply to all new construction. Implementation of energy efficiency standards should begin with federal government buildings. In addition, the federal government should lead the way in implementing solar and energy efficiency improvements programs through its loan and insurance agencies by requiring energy conservation standards for federally assisted properties.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

In recognition of the potential for substantial energy savings if our most efficient methods of transportation are utilized, we must provide direct economic assistance where private capital is unavailable to improve those means of transport.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

Major new efforts must be launched to develop synthetic and alternative renewable energy sources. In pursuing a strong program of synthetic fuel plants we must also be sensitive to environmental and water concerns. The federal government must help eliminate red tape involved in the construction of vital energy facilities. The Energy Mobilization Board, an essential mechanism to speed the construction of vital energy facilities, should be able to override state and local substantive law only with the consent of Congress and the President.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

The Democratic Party regards coal as our nation's greatest energy resource. It must play a decisive role in America's energy future. We must increase our use of coal. To accomplish this, we must see that shippers are not overburdened with excessive rates for transportation. Severance taxes levied for depletion of natural resources should be equitable. We must make clean coal conversion a reality. To this end, we will assist utilities that are large enough to permit coal conversion while maintaining or improving air quality. We must also provide incentives for industrial boiler coal conversion. Goal conversion can and must be accomplished in a manner that protects public health, nationally, regionally and locally. It can and must increase the use of coal, reduce the demand for oil, and provide employment where jobs are needed the most.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

The federal government should accept its responsibility as trustee for the American Indian and Alaska Native tribes to ensure that tribal resources develop at a pace that preserves the existing life-style and that the tribes participate in the contracting process for resource development with full knowledge of the environmental tradeoffs. The federal government must continue to cooperate with tribal governments in such matters as changes in the use of sacred and religious areas. The Democratic Party believes that American Indian and Alaska Native reservations should remain the permanent homeland for these peoples.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.32

We recognize that Hawaii, U.S. territories and Trust territories in the Pacific Basin are particularly vulnerable because of their total dependence on imported oil for meeting their energy needs. These insular areas do not have access to the alternative sources of energy that are available elsewhere. Consequently, the Democratic Party recommends that these areas, where feasible, be chosen as sites for demonstration[p.33] and/or pilot alternative energy projects, especially ocean thermal energy conversion, solar and wind.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

We must lead the Western World in developing a program for increased use of coal in Europe, Japan, and the developing nations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

Oil exploration on federal lands must be accelerated, consistent with environmental protections.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

Offshore energy leasing and development should be conditioned on full protection of the environment and marine resources. Lease sales should proceed only after appropriate safeguards necessary to preserve and protect vital natural resources are put in place. The determination of what safeguards are needed must be based on a complete assessment of the effects of offshore activity on the marine and coastal environment, and must be made in conjunction with the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency, the federal agencies charged with protecting our nation's fisheries and other environmental resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

Solar energy use must be increased, and strong efforts, including continued financial support, must be undertaken to make certain that we achieve the goal of having solar energy account for 20 percent of our total energy by the year 2000.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

To ensure that we reach the 20 percent goal, the Democratic Party commits itself to a federal program for solar or other renewable resources that exceeds the federal commitment to synthetic fuels. A greater share of federal funds should be committed to basic research and must be devoted to the development of renewable energy resources and fusion research and development. Moreover, we support the commercialization of solar, wind, low-head hydro, biomass and other renewable resources as quickly as possible through direct assistance, investment and loan guarantees in addition to monies available from the solar bank. The Democratic Party vigorously supports substantial funding for the construction of an engineering test facility for fusion technology. Fusion energy is a safe, clean alternative source of energy which can be used to generate electricity efficiently.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

We must encourage research and development of hydrogen or electric powered vehicles. We must fully commit ourselves to an alcohol fuel program. The federal government should expand its use of alcohol fuels in government and military vehicles. This will help reduce surplus feed grain and help to stabilize prices. The Democratic Party pledges that production of fuel-grade alcohol will be increased until at least a target of 500 million barrels of ethanol by 1981 is achieved.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

A stand-by gasoline rationing plan must be adopted for use in the event of a serious energy supply interruption. In times of supply interruption, rationing is essential for equitable and prompt distribution of gas to the public. The Strategic Petroleum Reserve should be filled as market conditions permit, consistent with the requirements of existing law.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

We must impose a moratorium on the acquisition of competing coal companies and solar energy companies by major oil companies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

Legislation must be enacted to prohibit purchases by oil companies of energy or non-energy companies unless the purchase would enhance competition.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

The major oil companies must be responsible and accountable in their production, importation and distribution of fossil fuels. Oil is as basic to our economy, defense, and general welfare as electric power and money. Consequently, the oil companies must be invested with public purpose. To accomplish this objective, we support strengthened leasing regulations, reporting requirements and monitoring by the departments of Energy and Justice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

Thorough investigations of the compliance of the off companies with energy price laws and regulations must be continued, and tough penalties imposed in the event of non-compliance. The Department of Energy, consistent with the law, should share its energy data with the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

We must make conservation and renewable energy our nation's energy priorities for the future. Through the federal government's commitment to renewable energy sources and energy efficiency, and as alternative fuels become available in the future, we will retire nuclear power plants in an orderly manner.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

We must give the highest priority to dealing with the nuclear waste disposal problem. Current efforts to develop a safe, environmentally sound nuclear waste disposal plan must be continued and intensified.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

The NRC shall issue no licenses or permits for new nuclear plants until the Kemeny Commission recommendations are fully implemented.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

Existing plants must be required to meet the safer recommendations of the Kemeny Commission. The Democratic Party supports prompt implementation of their recommendations. No plant unable to meet these standards can be allowed to operate.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.33

Safe permanent disposal of all high-level radioactive waste and transuranic waste should be the primary responsibility of the federal government, in consultation and concurrence with state, local, tribal, and territorial governments throughout the entire decision-making process, including the actual siting and operation of repositories. Neither the federal government nor the state or tribal or territorial governments should be permitted to act in a manner that forces an unsafe resolution of this problem or prevents a safe resolution from being accomplished. It is, therefore, essential that state and tribal governments, acting according to

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

[p.34] their constitutional processes, have the power to reject unsafe sites within their borders. Clear standards should be developed so that the courts may determine whether the federal government or a state or tribe is acting in an arbitrary manner. Every state should be responsible for the management and disposal of all low-level waste generated by non-defense sources within its boundaries. Where appropriate, this responsibility should be exercised through state regional compacts. There should be more federal funding for research and development of safer, more efficient methods of radioactive waste disposal.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

Funds generated by the Windfall Profits Tax must be used to expand mass transit. Federal assistance should be provided for construction and operation costs.

Environment

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We are charged with the stewardship of an irreplaceable environment. The Democratic Party must continue to be as environmentally progressive in the future as it has been in the past. Progress in environmental quality—a major achievement of the 1970s—must continue in the 1980s. The environmental problems we face today are, if anything, more challenging and urgent than those of ten years ago.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

The great strides we have taken during the past few years are the best evidence of our commitment to resource conservation and environmental restoration. We have compiled a proud record.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

During the next four years, we must carry forward vigorously with these important policies, and move to address a series of new challenges.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We must move decisively to protect our countryside and our coastline from overdevelopment and mismanagement. Major efforts are now underway to solve such problems as disappearing farmland and development on our barrier islands. These efforts should help forge a strong national consensus behind the realization that protection must be balanced with the need to properly manage and utilize our land resources during the 1980s.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We must develop new and improved working relationships among federal, state, local, tribal, and territorial governments and private interests, to manage effectively our programs for increased domestic energy production and their impact on people, water, air, and the environment in general. All of our energy development efforts should be carried out without sacrificing environmental quality.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We must continue on the path to a sustainable energy future—a future based increasingly on renewable resources and energy conservation. Our national goal of having 20 percent of our energy from renewable resources in the year 2000 must become a working target, not a forgotten slogan. Conservation must remain the cornerstone of our national energy supply.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

New efforts at home and abroad will be required in the early 1980s to face squarely such global problems as the destruction of forests, the loss of countless irreplaceable species, growing world population, acid rain, and carbon dioxide buildup.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

Passage by Congress of the hazardous waste cleanup proposal will provide the basis for a major effort beginning in 1981 to clean up the thousands of hazardous waste dump sites across the country. Toxic chemicals are a serious threat to the health of our people. We must continue our programs to improve agency performance in many areas, such as protection of groundwater, in order to better protect the public.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We must strive to ensure that environmental regulations cost no more than necessary and are streamlined to eliminate waste, duplication and delay. We must not lose sight of the fact that the benefits of these regulations far outweigh their costs. We must work to reform legislation without deforming it.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We support the allocation of resources to the Environmental Protection Agency and other environmental agencies sufficient to carry out their mandates.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We support strict adherence to automobile pollution standards.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We will support policies to eliminate acid rain pollution from power plant emissions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We will commit ourselves to efficient transportation alternatives, including mass transit, car pooling, van pooling, employer based commuter plans, and hydrogen and electric commuter vehicles.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We will continue to fight noise pollution in our urban centers and job sites.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We will encourage the recycling of municipal solid waste.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We will seek a strong "super-fund" law financed by government and industry.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We must continue to pursue offshore energy leasing to stimulate our domestic oil and gas production and reduce our dependence on foreign oil consistent with environmental and marine concerns.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We will fund adequately the Land and Water Conservation Fund to protect our national park system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

We will implement vigorously the Toxic Substances Control Act.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

Often, actions by one nation affect the economic growth and the quality of life in other nations. Such actions can be influenced by international agreement and incentives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.34

To defend against environmental risks that cross national frontiers, international cooperation must be extended to new areas, such as acid rain, deforestation and desertification, buildup of carbon dioxide in the [p.35] atmosphere, thinning of the ozone shield, air and water pollution, oil spills, chemicals in the environment, and disposal of radioactive waste.

Water

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.35

Water is a necessity to all, and represents life itself to much of the American Union. We recognize especially the singular dependence of the Western states on scarce water supplies. The development of navigation, irrigation, flood control, and hydroelectric projects is vital to the economic health of the West, and correspondingly to the entire nation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.35

Working with Congress, the Democratic Administration will implement a national water policy which recognizes the special needs of the West. Toward this end, we support the modern standards and valid cost-benefit analysis suggested by the Federal Water Resources Council. We support a federal study, in partnership with the affected states, to explore possibilities and recommend alternatives relative to importation of water into arid and semi-arid states. We also support state, local, and tribal participation in all phases of water programs within their respective jurisdictions.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Recently, water programs across the nation have become enmeshed in controversy and conflicting values. It is not unusual for a federal water project to take a generation from the time it is authorized to the time construction actually begins.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Yet the national need for expanded and accelerated investment in water development grows ever more pressing, and is increasingly acknowledged. If, as but one example, we are to develop our unequaled coal resources as a substitute for imported oil, we will require expansion of water transportation and improvement of seaports beyond the imagination of even those early Americans who sensed the path to empire in our inland waterways. The development of synthetic fuels, which must of necessity be concentrated in states with sparse water supplies, is an enormous challenge to engineering and science.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Similarly, the task of reindustrialization requires that we recognize the water development needs of all sections of the nation.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Water to supply steel mills and automobile factories, to provide for the needs of commercial cities and associated suburbs, makes a legitimate and pressing claim on national priorities.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

We recognize the need to develop a truly national water program which responds to the needs of each region of our country in an active and effective manner and which recognizes the social effects of water projects.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

The Democratic Party strongly supports the desalinization of sea water and the development of water resources in those areas of the country where water is scarce.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.35

America's farmers are among the most vital economic forces of the nation. Because of their extraordinary productivity, Americas farm workers provide more food and fiber per person at a lower cost than their counterparts in any other country. American consumers have a more certain food supply than consumers in any other nation, even though a third of our farm production is sold abroad each year.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

In 1977, the Democratic Administration inherited a farm economy marked by serious over-production and badly outdated price support programs. Farm prices and incomes were plummeting, partly in response to misguided attempts at price controls. The livestock sector was in its third straight year of loss, and a herd liquidation of unprecedented scale was under way.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Because of actions taken by the Democratic Administration and Democratic Congress, this situation was turned around in 1978 and 1979. U.S. agriculture was put back on a track of steady, sustained growth and improvement. The sharp decline of farm prices and farm incomes was reversed. An aggressive program of export promotion resulted in record high agricultural exports in each of the past three years.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Recently, however, the nation's farm economy has been hurt by reduced prices; high costs of production, including energy, inflation, equipment, and high interest rates. As a result, our nation's farmers are facing a time of hardship.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Agricultural policy in the 1980s must strengthen the forces which made American farmers the most productive in the world and American agriculture the hope of hungry people everywhere. In this way, we can ensure a decade of prosperity for farmers and of agricultural abundance for America's consumers.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

The Democratic Party pledges itself to the following goals.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Continued attention to expanding farm exports—American agriculture's long-run interests remain firmly tied to the sale of U.S. farm products abroad. Despite the significant progress made to date, it is important that we continue to work at breaking down barriers to trade and capitalizing on our nation's enormous advantage in the production of food and fiber.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

If food is to be used as an instrument of foreign policy, it is inoperative that farm income be protected. Farmers must have access to free markets.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.35

Recognizing the patriotic sacrifices made by the American farmer during the agricultural embargo protesting the invasion of Afghanistan, we commend the agricultural community's contribution in the field [p.36] of foreign affairs. Except in time of war or grave threats to national security, the federal government should impose no future embargoes on agricultural products.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.36

Protecting farm prices and farm income— Rapidly rising costs of production, especially energy costs, make it imperative that we increase the level of support for farm prices and income by increasing target prices to cover the cost of production. For those farm products not covered by target prices, such as soy-beans, cattle, hogs, poultry, sugar cane, and sugar beets, we pledge support programs that will maintain viable domestic production. Low cost farm credit should be extended with the least possible delay in times of stress from decreased farm income or disasters.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

It is in the nation's long-run interest that returns to farmers keep pace with rising costs to ensure a fair return on investment.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

Measures to protect and further enhance agricultural productivity—Although agricultural productivity remains high in comparison with productivity in the non-farm sector, its rate of increase has slowed over the past two or three decades. This trend must be reversed through greater attention to the effects of regulatory actions, increased support for agricultural research, and intensified efforts to conserve our vital land and water resources.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

Rebuilding our agricultural transportation system—The transportation system which moves our agricultural products to their final markets, including ports for export shipment, has been strained to the limit. While needed improvements have begun, through such measures as trucking and rail deregulation and the expansion of Lock and Dam 26 (on the Mississippi River at Alton, Illinois), more intensive efforts will be required in the future. In the ease of railroads, a rebuilding effort will be required.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

Protecting our soil resource—American agriculture is critically dependent on the productivity of its soil. Without careful and consistent stewardship of this important resource, it can become depleted. An assessment of our nation's conservation needs is now underway. We must be prepared to act on the findings of this assessment. Emergency procedures should be enacted to increase soil conservation incentives for construction of watersheds, tile intake terraces, and other soil saving practices.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

Protecting family farms—The real genius of American agriculture is the role and prominence of the farm family. It is this form of organization that provides agriculture with its vitality, independent spirit, and progressiveness. We must protect farmers from land speculators, giant farm combinations, and foreign buyers. We support laws requiring disclosure of all foreign ownership of farmland and we will continue to monitor such ownership to determine its impact on our farms.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

While we recognize the need to modernize the 1902 Reclamation Act, we reaffirm our support for its intent—to assure that the federal subsidy program assists only family farmers.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

We support reforms in the estate tax to strengthen the stability of family farms.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

Farmer Involvement—There is a continuing need to devise better ways of involving people in the decisions of their government, particularly in those decisions that have direct and important effects on their lives. We realize the need for a strong cattle industry and for ranchers' involvement in the development of farm programs. Considerable progress has been made in this regard, but more is required.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

Capper-Volstead Act—We reaffirm our strong support for agricultural cooperatives and bargaining associations to engage in vigorous programs to pack, process and market their members' crops as provided for in the Capper-Volstead Act.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

Farm labor—We must vigorously enforce existing laws relating to farm labor organization and recognize the right of farm workers to bargain collectively, while ensuring the legal rights of farmers.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

Farm mechanization—We support restraining programs for farm workers displaced by mechanized farming.

Forestry

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.36

America's national forests contain a national treasure that provides recreation, wilderness, fish and wildlife, and timber products.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

We reaffirm the Democratic Party's traditional support for multiple-use management to ensure the survival of these precious resources for this generation and generations to come.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

We call for the speedy resolution by Congress of the Roadless Area Review and Evaluation, stimulated by this Administration, to determine which areas are best suited for wilderness and which should be released for timber harvest and multiple-use management.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

We support continued assistance to private, non-industrial forest owners to increase their management potential.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

On federal lands identified as part of our timber resource, we support:

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

–Management policies which, consistent with sound, complete land management plans, will result in the highest timber yields, when trees are mature, and which can be sustained over the long term;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.36

–Concentration of timber sales on areas of greater potential;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.37

–Management [p.37] of these irreplaceable and environmentally unique areas to maintain perpetually their value; and

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Provision of adequate access facilities for all of these uses.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

We shall insist that administration of public lands by the Department of Interior be fair and equitable. The interest of the state within which such public lands lie must be of paramount importance in the decision-making process. We encourage all federal agencies to consult with the states on such matters.

Fisheries

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.36

Under the Democratic Administration the U.S. fishing industry has made substantial progress, as evidenced by the following:

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Commercial landings of fish in 1979 were up 45 percent in value and 21 percent in quantity compared with 1977;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–The U.S. share of the catch in our 200-mile fisheries conservation zone increased from 27 percent in 1978 to 33 percent in 1979;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Over the same period, the foreign catch of fish in the U.S. 200-mile zone dropped 6 percent, and 29 percent from the average for the five preceding years;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–The U.S. has moved from fifth in the world in 1977 to fourth in 1978 in total commercial fish landings; and

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Exports of U.S. edible fishery products in 1979 were up 116 percent in value and 67 percent in quantity compared with 1977.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

While such trends are encouraging, there remains a tremendous potential for growth. By volume, 67 percent, and by value, 34 percent, of the harvest in the fishery conservation zone is still taken by foreign vessels. The value of the catch to foreign fishermen was $470 million in 1979.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

The need for more rapid growth of the U.S. fishing industry is illustrated by the fact that imports of fisheries' products outweighed exports by $1.7 billion last year. With full development of our industry, this deficit could be erased. Moreover, 43,000 new jobs could be created.

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

One-fifth of the world's fish are found in waters off the United States. We pledge to continue the development of our fishing industry so that the U.S. achieves self-sufficiency in this sector and fully utilizes the valuable and abundant fisheries resources off our shores. To this end, continuing effort in the following areas is needed:

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Develop a balanced U.S. harvesting processing and marketing capability on a geographical and fishery-by-fishery basis;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Continue to phase out foreign fishing within our 200-mile zone;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Target efforts to stimulate and expand those fisheries that are presently unutilized and underutilized;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Increase research and development through cooperative federal-private efforts with emphasis on industry initiatives;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Encourage the availability of capital in sectors where it is particularly needed;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Promote market development, and to that end, continue to allocate surplus fishery resources of the U.S. 200-mile zone to foreign nations in order to stimulate improved access to their markets for our fish products;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Enhance conservation and management of U.S. fishery resources and in that effort, increase observer coverage of foreign fishing operations in the 200-mile zone;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Work toward ensuring that a fair share of the costs of conservation, management, research and enforcement in the 200-mile zone is borne by foreign fishermen who enjoy access to our surplus fishery resources;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Assist the U.S. distant-water fleets through international agreements;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Support an international ocean regime for fisheries management through successful completion of Law-of-the-Sea negotiations;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Encourage development of a diversified U.S. aquaculture industry;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Protect, restore and enhance fish habitats;

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–Continue support for research, propagation and management of our anadromous fish resource; and

Democratic Party Platforms: 1976 and 1980, p.37

–In recognition of its economic and recreational importance, accord a high priority to maintaining and improving marine sports fishing.

Chapter V: Foreign Policy

Introduction

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.36

When the Democratic Party came into office almost four years ago, the most dangerous threat to America's position in the world was the profound disillusionment and mistrust which the American people felt for their own government. This had reached the point where the very term "national security" had become synonymous with the abuse of power, deceit and violation of public trust. It undermined our capacity to defend our interests and to play our proper role in the world at a time when Soviet power was continuing to grow.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.37

The hallmark of the previous eight years of Republican Administration had been to emphasize the primacy of power politics irrespective of compatibility with American values and with the increasing power [p.38] of the Soviet Union. The result was disrespect abroad and discontent at home.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

The Democratic Party was determined to make our values a central factor in shaping American foreign policy. The one-sided emphasis of the previous Republican Administration had led many Americans to a suspicion of power, and in some respects, even to rejection of military strength. The American people longed to see their country once again identified with widespread human aspirations. The Democratic Party understood, if the Republicans did not, that this is essential to preserve our long-term interest in the world.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

The Democratic Administration sought to reconcile these two requirements of American foreign policy—principle and strength. Both are required to maintain a constructive and secure relationship between America and the rest of the world. We have tried to make clear the continuing importance of American strength in a world of change. Without such strength, there is a genuine risk that global change will deteriorate into anarchy to be exploited by our adversaries' military power. Thus, the revival of American strength has been a central preoccupation of the Democratic Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

The use of American power is necessary as a means of shaping not only a more secure, but also a more decent world. To shape a decent world, we must pursue objectives that are moral, that make clear our support for the aspirations of mankind and that are rooted in the ideals of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

That is why the Democrats have stressed human rights. That is why America once again has supported the aspirations of the vast majority of the world's population for greater human justice and freedom. As we continue to strive to solve our own internal problems, we are proud of the values for which the United States has always stood. We should continue to be a beacon of liberty around the world and to effectively and positively state America's case for freedom to the world through various governmental and nongovernmental channels.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

A foreign policy which seeks to blend our ideals and our strength does not easily reduce itself to simple statements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

First, we must consistently strengthen our relations with like-minded industrial democracies. In meeting the dangers of the coming decade the United States will consult closely with our Allies to advance common security and political goals. As a result of annual summit meetings, coordinated economic policies and effective programs of international energy conservation have been fashioned. With the cooperation of rich and poor nations alike, a new international trade agreement has been reached which safeguards our free enterprise system from protectionism and gives us greater economic opportunity in the world, while it gives the developing world a stake in the stability of the world's economy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

Second, we must continue to improve our relations with the Third World by being sensitive to their legitimate aspirations. The United States should be a positive force for peaceful change in responding to ferment in the Third World. Today, thanks to a number of steps that have been taken—strengthening the international aid institutions, the Panama Canal treaties, the Zimbabwe settlement, the normalization of relations with China—the United States has a healthier and more productive relationship with these countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

Our third objective must be peace in the Middle East. The Carter Administration has pursued this objective with determination and together with the leaders of Israel and Egypt, has overcome great obstacles in the last three years. America made this commitment for two fundamental reasons—morality and national security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

Our nation feels a profound moral obligation to sustain and assure the security of Israel. That is why our relationship with Israel is, in most respects, a unique one. Israel is the single democracy, the most stable government, the most strategic asset and our closest ally in the region.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

To fulfill this imperative, we must move towards peace in the Middle East. Without peace, there is a growing prospect, indeed inevitability, that this region will become radicalized, susceptible to foreign intrusion, and possibly involved in another war. Thus, peace in the Middle East also is vital for our national security interests.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

The strength of these two impulses—our moral commitment and national security—has sustained the Democratic Administration in many difficult trials. The result has been the first peace ever between Israel and an Arab country, as well as the eventual prospect of a wider comprehensive agreement which will assure peace and security to all parties concerned. Our goal is to make the Middle East an area of stability and progress in which the United States can play a full and constructive role.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.38

Our fourth major objective is to strengthen the military security of the United States and our Allies at a time when trends in the military balance have become increasingly adverse. America is now, and will continue to be, the strongest power on earth. It was the Democratic Party's greatest hope that we could, in fact, reduce our military effort. But realities of the world situation, including the unremitting buildup of Soviet military forces, required that we begin early to reverse the decade-long decline in American defense efforts.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

[p.39]In 1977, the United States joined with NATO to develop, for the first time in the history of the Alliance, a long-term defense program calling for 3 percent annual real growth in our collective defense efforts. This is being fulfilled. In the first year, the Democratic Administration decided that the U.S. needed an enhanced strategic posture and policy to deal with the increased first strike capability of the Soviet Union. To this end basic commitments were made regarding U.S. strategic capabilities for the late 1980s, in particular, the MX land-based mobile ICBM deterrent. Finally, development is now underway of a rapid deployment force capable of defending our interests and protecting our friends in those parts of the world where American military forces are not regularly present.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

At the same time, the Democratic Administration has determined to cut waste in defense spending. The B-1 bomber was cancelled because it was technologically obsolete. A defense bill containing unnecessary expenditures for a new nuclear carrier, while neglecting the readiness of our day-to-day forces, was vetoed and the veto was sustained. These decisions involved difficult choices, but the result is a leaner, stronger American military posture.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

As a fifth objective the Democrats have been and remain committed to arms control, especially to strategic arms limitations, and to maintain a firm and balanced relationship with the Soviet Union. Our resolve to pursue this goal remains as strong as ever.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

To avoid the danger to all mankind from an intensification of the strategic arms competition, and to curb a possible acceleration of the nuclear arms race while awaiting the ratification of the SALT II Treaty, we endorse the policy of continuing to take no action which would be inconsistent with its object and purpose, so long as the Soviet Union does likewise,

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

Arms control and strategic arms limitation are of crucial importance to us and to all other people. The Salt II Agreement is a major accomplishment of the Democratic Administration. It contributes directly to our national security, and we will seek its ratification at the earliest feasible time.

Defense

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

America's military strength is and must be unsurpassed. The Democratic Administration has moved to reverse the threatened decline in America's world position. While claiming concern for our nation's defense preparedness, the Nixon-Ford Administration presided over a steady decline of 33 percent in real U.S. military pending between 1968 and 1976.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

As a result of the joint efforts of the Democratic Administration and Congress, there has been a real increase in our defense spending every year since 1976.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

This increase is necessary in order to compensate for the decline in U.S. military strength over the previous eight years and to assure a high quality of military personnel, an effective nuclear deterrent capability, a capable conventional fighting force and an improved intelligence capability. We will act to further improve intelligence gathering and analysis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

We must be careful that our defense dollars are spent wisely. We must make sure that we develop and deploy practical weapons and that we have the resources to ensure that the men and women who must operate these weapons have the skill to do so.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

The serious question of manpower shortages must be addressed promptly. In order to prevent the necessity of a peacetime draft, the all-volunteer force must have wage standards which will retain experienced personnel or recruit new personnel upon whom an increasingly sophisticated military heavily depends.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

We will upgrade the combat readiness of our armed forces. We will give the highest priority to combat training, to an effective Reserve and Guard force, and to sufficient supplies, spare parts, fuel and ammunition. Registration of 18-year-olds is intended to enable the United States to mobilize more rapidly in the event of an emergency, which is the only time it should be used. We do not favor a peacetime draft or the exclusion of women from registration. We will seek ways to expand voluntary service in both the armed forces and non-military programs such as VISTA, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, and the Peace Corps.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

We need to go forward to protect our retaliatory capabilities in the face of continuing Soviet advances in their strategic forces.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

The nation has moved to modernize its strategic deterrent through the MX, Trident, and cruise missile systems. The MX missile deployment will enhance the survivability of our land-based intercontinental ballistic missile force. Cruise missiles will modernize our strategic air deterrent, and the new Trident submarine, with a missile range of over 4,000 miles, will both improve and help guarantee the invulnerability of our nuclear deterrent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.39

The United States has acted to correct the dangerous military imbalance which had developed in Europe by initiating and obtaining Allied support for a long overdue NATO long-term defense program and proceeding toward the deployment in Europe of long-range theater nuclear deterrents to counter the Soviet buildup of such weaponry in Europe. Our commitment to increase defense speeding by at least 3 percent per year is crucial to the maintenance of Allied consensus and confidence in his regard. We need to modernize our conventional military capabilities so that we can better protect American lives and American an interests abroad.[p.40]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

The Democratic Administration has acted to improve our ability to make rapid responses to contingencies by organizing and supporting rapid deployment forces capable of responding to military problems in any part of the world where our vital interests are threatened. To that end, we favor the development and production of a new fleet of cargo aircraft with intercontinental range, the design and procurement of a force of Maritime Propositioning ships that will carry heavy equipment and supplies for three Marine Corps brigades, and an increase in regional military exercises, in cooperation with friendly states. We have given particular attention to developing the facilities and capabilities to further support the policy of the United States with regard to the Persian Gulf enunciated by President Carter in the State of the Union address on January 23, 1980: "Let our position be absolutely dear: an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

We are confident that the negotiation of American overseas military facilities in support of this effort as well as in other areas of the world will be conducted with respect for the independence, integrity and cultural values of the host countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

The Democratic Party recognizes the strategic value of Israel and that peace in the Middle East requires a military secure Israel. Because Middle East nations that have not joined the peace process have been able to purchase the latest sophisticated Soviet and other weaponry, the technological advantage which Israel holds over its adversaries has been jeopardized. The progress of the peace talks means that Israel has gained considerable security advantages from peace with Egypt. At the same time, Israel will lose some of the tactical advantages previously provided by territory occupied in 1967. Any further war Israel fights could take place close to its population centers. Therefore, we pledge a continued high level of U.S. military support for Israel.

U.S.-Soviet Relations

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

A strong, consistent, and principled policy toward the Soviet Union is a vital element of our foreign policy everywhere. The Democratic Administration will use all its resources—including both firm diplomacy and military power—to deter adventurism and to make restraint the only acceptable course available to our adversaries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

We stand ready to pursue good faith negotiations with the Soviet Union at every opportunity on a wide range of issues including strategic arms forces in the European theater, and other matters which would contribute to peace and a more genuine and reciprocal detente.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

At the heart of our policy toward the Soviet Union must be a clear recognition of the reality of Soviet power. We must reject the easy mythology that the Soviets see the world as we do. A long-term strategy for the 1980s requires a dear view of the Soviet Union, a view without illusion that our adversary is either benign or omnipotent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

The Soviet attack on Afghanistan, the murder of its leaders, and the ruthless effort to exterminate those resisting the Soviet invasion have violated all norms of international law and practice and have been thoroughly condemned by the international community.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

This attempt to subjugate an independent, non-aligned Islamic people is a callous violation of international law, the United Nations Charter, and the principle of restraint which underlies detente.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

This invasion places the Soviet armed forces within fighter aircraft range of the Straits of Hormuz, the lifeline of the bulk of the world's exportable oil.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

It creates fear and instability among our friends in the region who are already buffeted by the disintegration of Iran as a stabilizing force.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

More broadly, the success or failure of Soviet military aggression will affect present and future Soviet leaders' readiness to use force to gain their ends.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

Hence, it is a threat not only to our strategic interests in the region but to world peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

A strong American response to the illegal and brutal invasion of Afghanistan serves our nation's security interests. It must and will be sustained, as long as Soviet troops remain there.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

In response to the Soviet invasion, the United States has cut grain exports, curbed high technology trade and interrupted scientific and cultural relations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

The United States has also committed itself to a boycott of Moscow as the site of the Olympic Games. To attend while the Soviet armed might brutally seeks to crush the national liberation movement in Afghanistan would be a travesty of the Olympic spirit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

We must continue to support U.S. actions such as the Olympic boycott and trade restrictions in order to show determined opposition to Soviet aggression. We insist on immediate Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the reestablishment of a non-aligned, independent government which is supported by the people of Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan makes it extremely important that the United States be ready to aid those in the Third World resisting Soviet, Cuban, and East German domination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.40

While the invasion of Afghanistan has sidetracked our pursuit of a productive relationship with the Soviet Union, the Democratic Party supports efforts to [p.41] strengthen ties to the nations of Eastern Europe. Treating each of those nations with sensitivity to its individual situation, the U.S. has steadily improved relations with the people of Hungary, Poland, and Romania. While Soviet conduct has profoundly damaged East-West relations, the U.S. should continue to draw distinctions, to the extent possible, between the sanctions it imposes on economic dealings with Moscow and similar relations with some other members of the Warsaw Pact, as long as they are not diverting that trade, in grain or items under export control, to the use of the Soviet Union and as long as they are willing to maintain a constructive dialogue on issues of concern and significance to the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

Through the measures now being taken, including both denial of economic benefits and the Olympic boycott, as well as our efforts to enhance the security of the region more directly affected, the objective should be to make the Soviets pay a price for their act of international aggression. We should continue to do so along with efforts to strengthen our national defense. We cannot permit this attack across an international border, with the threat it poses to the region and thus to the strategic balance, to go unanswered. Only firmness now can prevent new adventures later.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

The Democratic Administration will also seek to reverse the recent sharp downturn in Soviet Jewish emigration and to obtain the release of dissidents now detained in the Soviet Union, including 41 members of the Helsinki Watch Groups who are in Soviet prisons, labor camps and banishment for their human rights activity. We will pursue our human rights concerns as a necessary part of overall progress on the range of political, military and economic issues between the United States and the Soviet Union—including the possibility of improved, mutually beneficial economic relations between our two countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

Consideration of human rights should be a permanent feature of U.S.-Soviet relations. We salute those Soviet citizens active in the Moscow, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Armenian, and Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Groups, assert our support of the courageous human rights advocate, Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, and call for Dr. Sakharov's release from forced exile as well as the release of all political prisoners in the U.S.S.R.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

We pledge that a Democratic Administration will raise the question of the Soviet violation of human rights at all appropriate international forums.

Arms Control

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

The SALT II Treaty also serves our security interests. It is a vital step in an arms control process that can begin to lift from humanity the shadow of nuclear war. That process, also, must be sustained.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

Soviet aggression against Afghanistan has delayed the course of ratification of the SALT II Treaty, but we must continue to pursue both security priorities: deterrence of Soviet aggression and balanced arms control agreements. Both the response to Afghanistan and the SALT II Treaty serve this purpose.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

The SALT Treaty is in the U.S. interest because it is an important way of restraining Soviet behavior.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

Without SALT II, the Soviets could have hundreds more missiles and thousands more nuclear warheads than the Treaty permits. Under the Treaty, they would have to eliminate many nuclear weapons they already have.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

The Treaty helps sustain a strong American position in the world. Our Allies and other nations around the world know the SALT II Treaty serves their security interests as well as ours. American support for arms control is important to our standing in the international community, the same community that has rebuked the Soviets for their attempted suppression of Afghanistan. It is also important to our efforts to organize an enduring response to the growing threat to Europe of the Soviet SS-20 nuclear missiles and to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

Along with support for SALT, we seek to maintain a stable conventional and theater nuclear balance in Europe. We will support modernization programs in which European countries bear their fair share of the cost and other burdens. At the same time, we will ensure that no possibility for effective limits on theater nuclear weapons is left unexplored. The Democratic Administration will join with our NATO allies in making far-reaching, equitable, and verifiable proposals for nuclear and conventional arms control in Europe.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

The Democratic Party wants an arms control process to continue, just as it wants to sustain strong policies against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. We understand that both build peace and make our nation more secure. Accordingly, we must persist in a strong policy regarding the Soviet aggression, and we must seek ratification of SALT as soon as it is feasible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.41

A Democratic Administration will not accept an indefinite deferral of strategic arms control. On the basis of review and planning of U.S. security requirements in the coming decade, we are determined to pursue negotiations with the Soviet Union, aimed at the achievement of strategic stability and, for the first time, of major reductions and qualitative limits on strategic systems. The American SALT proposals in March 1977 were the first effort to seek such reductions, which remain the goal and justification of arms control. A Democratic Administration will treat the Soviet government's readiness to negotiate verifiable, substantial and significant reductions and qualitative [p.42] limits as a test of its seriousness about arms control and the compatibility of its approach to arms control with that of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

We will pursue other arms control opportunities that can enhance both our national security and the prospects of peace. In particular, the Democratic Administration will pursue a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Such a treaty is vital to our hopes to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Following the 1980 Review Conference on the Nuclear NonProliferation Treaty, we will step up our efforts to expand adherence to the treaty, to strengthen international safeguards and controls over nuclear materials, equipment and technology, and to forestall the spread of nuclear explosive capabilities. In any peaceful nuclear supply, we will continue to seek the full application of international safeguards and undertakings not to explode nuclear devices.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

We have placed significant limits on our conventional arms transfers and will vigorously press other arms suppliers and recipients to accept mutual restraints.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

The Democratic Administration has increased our capacity to counter national terrorism, both on a national basis and in coordination with other governments, and to deal with acts of terrorism including hostage-taking committed either by individuals or by governments. We will strengthen multilateral arrangements for contingency planning, information sharing, military coordination, and the isolation of countries that harbor terrorists.

Human Rights

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

In the area of international affairs, the Democratic Administration has placed America's power in the service of a more decent world by once again living up to our own values and working in a formal, deliberate way to foster the principles set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

This has been accomplished through a strong commitment to human rights, which must be seen not only as a moral imperative but as the only secure and enduring basis upon which a truly stable world order can he fashioned. There have been successes in Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere in the world. We must be undaunted by the increasing repression in the Soviet Union. We support measures designed to restrict trade with the Soviet Union until such time as Soviet emigration policy is made fair and non-restrictive.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

We must be vigilant about human rights violations in any country in which they occur including South Africa. We note in particular that many of the Communist-dominated countries are persistent violators of the most basic human freedoms—the right to free speech, the right to religious freedom, the right to travel and emigrate, and the right to be free from arbitrary harassment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

We support Senate ratification of the Genocide Convention and the International Covenants on Human Rights as soon as possible.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

We support continuation of the leadership role taken by the United States in the area of human rights and urge that the Democratic Administration continue to speak out openly and forcefully on human rights violations whenever and wherever they occur.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

We will fulfill the letter and the spirit of current law by denying assistance to governments that violate fundamental human rights, except for that aid which is clearly humanitarian. We also recognize the exception for assistance that is required for overriding security purposes, but that exception should not he used as an excuse for ignoring abuses of human rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

We will provide additional assistance and support, as needed, to governments that strive successfully for greater political liberty and protection of human rights.

Refugees and Migration

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

America's roots are found in the immigrants and refugees who have come to our shores to build new lives in a new world. The Democratic Party pledges to honor our historic commitment to this heritage.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

The first comprehensive reform of this nation's refugee policies in over 25 years was completed with the signing in March 1980 of the Refugee Act of 1980, based on legislation submitted to Congress by the Carter Administration in March 1979.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

This act offers a comprehensive alternative to the chaotic movement and the inefficient and inequitable administration of past refugee programs in the United States. We favor the full use of refugee legislation now to cope with the flow of Cuban and Haitian refugees, and to help the states, local communities and voluntary agencies resettle them across our land. We urge that monies be distributed to voluntary agencies fairly so that aid is distributed to all refugees without discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

The Administration also established the first refugee coordination office in the Department of State under the leadership of a special ambassador and coordinator for refugee affairs and programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

The new legislation and the coordinator's office will bring common sense and consolidation to our nation's previously fragmented, inconsistent, and, in many ways, outdated refugee and immigration policies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.42

A Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy is now at work to further reform the system. We pledge oar support to the goals and purposes of the [p.43] Commission, and we urge the Administration to move aggressively in this area once the Commission submits its report.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

Once that report has been completed, we must work to resolve the issue of undocumented residents in a fair and humane way. We will oppose any legislation designed to allow workers into the country to undercut U.S. wages and working conditions, and which would re-establish the bracero program of the past.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

World population projections, as well as international economic indicators—especially in the Third World—forewarn us that migration pressures will mount rapidly in many areas of the world in the decade ahead. Our own situation of undocumented workers underscores how difficult it is to deal with economic and employment forces that are beyond any nation's immediate control. Most of Europe, and many parts of Latin America and Asia, face similar dilemmas. For example, Mexico faces the pressure of migration from Central America.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

We will work with other nations to develop international policies to regularize population movement and to protect the human rights of migrants even as we protect the jobs of American workers and the economic interest of the United States. In this hemisphere, such a policy will require close cooperation with our neighbors, especially Mexico and Canada.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

We must also work to resolve the difficult problems presented by the immigration from Haiti and from the more recent immigration from Cuba. In doing so, we must ensure that there is no discrimination in the treatment afforded to the Cubans or Haitians. We must also work to ensure that future Cuban immigration is handled in an orderly way, consistent with our laws. To ameliorate the impact on state and local communities and school districts of the influx of new immigrants from Cuba and Haiti, we must provide the affected areas with special fiscal assistance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

We support continued financial backing of international relief programs such as those financed by the United States, the International Red Cross, UNICEF and the private, non-profit organizations to aid the starving people of Kampuehea. We also endorse such support for the Cambodian refugees and encourage participation in the campaign of the National Cambodian Crisis Committee.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

We support, through U.S. contributions to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and other means, aid for the mounting Afghan refugee population in Pakistan and other desperate refugee situations.

The Middle East

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

When the Democratic Administration began in 1977, the prospects for peace in the Middle East were bleak. Despite efforts over thirty years, Israel still faced an Arab world that was totally hostile to it; it was still denied any movement towards its dream of living at peace with its neighbors, behind secure and recognized frontiers.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

Almost immediately after his inauguration, President Carter undertook to move the peace process forward. Following the historic visit of President Sadat to Jerusalem, the Administration's efforts led to Camp David, where the two presidents and Prime Minister Begin in thirteen days created the Camp David Accords—the most promising effort in three decades for creating a genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

Following President Carter's trip to the Middle East in March 1979, Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat signed the Israel-Egypt peace treaty at the White House. A year later, that treaty has led to the transfer of two-thirds of the Sinai to Egypt—along with the Sinai oil fields; ambassadors have been exchanged; borders have been opened; and normalization of relations is well underway. Israel has finally gained peace with its largest Arab neighbor. In sum, this Democratic Administration has done more to achieve Israel's dream of peace than any other Administration in thirty years.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

Negotiations are continuing under the Camp David framework on full autonomy for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, in order to preserve fully Israel's security while permitting the Palestinians living in the territories to participate in determining their own future. The United States is a full partner in negotiations between Israel and Egypt to provide for a five-year transitional regime in the West Bank and Gaza.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

It is recognized that the Democratic Administration has to proceed with special care and sensitivity resulting from its deep engagement in the delicate process of promoting a wider peace for Israel.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

At the same time, the United States' commitment to the independence, security, and future of Israel has been strengthened. Nearly half of all U.S. aid to Israel since its creation as a sovereign state—more than $10 billion—has been requested during the last three and a half years. We provide Israel with modern military equipment and we fully support Israel's efforts to create a just and lasting peace with all of its Arab neighbors.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

U.S. policy is—and should continue to be—guided also by the following principles.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

UN Security council Resolution 242, unchanged, and the Camp David Accords are the basis for peace in the Middle East.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.43

We support Israel's security, and will continue to provide generous military and economic aid to that end.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

[p.44]We pledge not to provide Israel's potential enemies with sophisticated offensive equipment that could endanger the security of Israel.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

Jerusalem should remain forever undivided, with free access to the holy places for people of all faiths.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

We oppose creation of an independent Palestinian state.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

We will not negotiate with or recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization, unless and until it accepts Israel's right to exist and UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. It is also long past time for an end to all terrorism and other acts of violence against Israel.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

We have not and will not use our aid to Israel as a bargaining tool; and we will never permit oil policies to influence our policy toward peace or our support for Israel.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

As stated in the 1976 platform, the Democratic Party recognizes and supports "the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, with free access to all its holy places provided to all faiths. As a symbol of this stand, the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

Elsewhere in the Middle East, we support the improvement of relations with moderate Arab states. We support the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of Lebanon. We earl upon all states in the region to support the historic efforts of Israel and Egypt to build a comprehensive peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

We believe a cooperative effort among the nations of the Middle East and the United States can help provide needed assistance to Israel and her Middle East neighbors engaging in the peace process with Israel in the vital areas of refugee resettlement, agricultural development, water development, health and medical facilities, and productivity and trade. A planning group should be created to pursue an effort to provide this type of assistance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

The Democratic Administration will also take needed measures to protect American interests in the Persian Gulf, including energy security, regional stability, and national independence. This will require sophisticated diplomacy as well as military capability. We will seek both to counter external threats and to encourage necessary political and economic development. In the end, our allies have an equal or greater interest than we in the security of oil supply and regional stability, and the Democratic Administration will continue to cooperate with them in a common strategy and to share common burdens.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

We condemn the government of Iran for its outrageous conduct in the taking of our diplomatic personnel as hostages. We insist upon respect for the principle—as repeatedly enunciated by the UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice—of the inviolability for diplomatic personnel. We call upon all governments to abide by and uphold this basic tenet of civilized international conduct.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

In the region as a whole, we must end our dangerous dependence on foreign oil. Only in this way can our foreign policy counter effectively the pressures of OPEC and of Soviet power poised above the Persian Gulf in Afghanistan. The Democratic Administration will fulfill its commitments to the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to protect America against an oil embargo. As we reduce oil consumption and dependence on OPEC, we will be able to bargain on equal terms with the OPEC states for an assurance of more certain supplies of oil at more stable prices.

Europe and Japan

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

America and her allies must continue the mutual confidence and commitment, the sense of common purpose, that marked our relations for decades. The problems we face are global in scope. We cannot begin to solve them if each of us goes a separate way. We must learn to work in partnership, on an increasing range of problems, in areas such as Africa and the Persian Gulf, and on worldwide economic and security issues.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

The Democratic Administration will be committed to a strong NATO and a stable military balance in Europe. We will pursue both modernization of NATO conventional and nuclear forces and equitable limitations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

The Democratic Administration will seek collective solutions to the common economic problems of inflation, unemployment, energy, trade and monetary. relations which confront us and our allies. This will require increased cooperation and coordination among all OECD countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

The Democratic Administration will continue to support the growth and cohesion of the European community, and will increase our support for Greece, Spain and Portugal, which have rejoined the ranks of democracy.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

We have been particularly concerned about the need to maintain strategic stability in the eastern Mediterranean. To this end, we have worked with Congress toward the resolution of differences between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus and other divisive issues. We have worked toward a balanced treatment of both countries in our assistance programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.44

We will give priority to the reintegration of Greece into NATO's military structure and to the strengthening of NATO's southern flank, including the economic progress of each of our allies in southern Europe.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

[p.45]We have worked towards a fair settlement of the Cyprus issue by giving our support to the United Nations efforts to encourage intercommunal talks. We agree with Secretary General Waldheim's opinion that such talks, if properly used, represent the best possible solution to a just and lasting political settlement of the Cyprus problem based on the legitimate rights of the two communities.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

We must do all that is possible, consistent with our interest in a strong NATO in southern Europe and stability in the eastern Mediterranean, to encourage a fair settlement of the Cyprus issue, which has caused so much suffering in that area.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

We will press strongly for the full implementation of UN Resolution 3212 in order to bring about an agreed resolution to the tragic conflict in Cyprus; including the withdrawal of all Turkish military forces from Cyprus, the safe return of all refugees to their homes, full cooperation of all parties with a negotiated solution and a full peace and respect for human rights in Cyprus.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

Consistent with our traditional concern for peace and human rights, the next Democratic Administration will play a positive role in seeking peace in Northern Ireland. We condemn the violence on all sides. We will encourage progress toward a long-term solution based upon consent of all parties to the conflict, based on the principle of Irish unity. We take note of the Saint Patrick's Day statement "…that the solution offering the greatest promise of permanent peace is to end the division of the Irish people" and its urging of "…the British Government to express its interest in the unity of Ireland and to join with the government of Ireland in working to achieve peace and reconciliation." New political structures which are created should protect human rights, and should be acceptable to both Great Britain and Ireland and to both parts of the community of Northern Ireland.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

Our relations with Japan have moved to a new level of maturity and cooperation. The United States is able to deal with patience and understanding on a wide range of difficult and contentious economic issues. In the foreign policy and security area, Japan's record in support of U.S. foreign policy objectives is second to none. We will continue to nurture this relationship.

The International Economy

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

A vigorous American foreign policy and a sustained defense effort depend on the strength of the U.S. economy and its ability to compete in the international marketplace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

Through annual economic summits in London, Bonn, Tokyo and Venice, we have established a sound basis for economic progress in the 1980s by improving the coordination of our economic policies. We have sought to strengthen international institutions to deal with our common problems; to reduce worldwide inflation, which undermines Western security and prosperity; to encourage investment and innovation to increase productivity; and simultaneously to find ways to reduce unemployment, especially among our youth. We have made substantial progress, but the battle continues.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

The Democratic Administration, which has wrestled with these issues over the past three and a half years, pledges a renewed effort to revitalize the world economy and to maintain our position as the leader of the free world's economic forces.

Trade

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

In 1976, we called for trade policies that would benefit economic growth. Trade promotes new jobs for American workers, new markets for farmers and businessmen, and lower prices for consumers. But trade can also cause dislocations within the economy, and we have sought—and will continue to seek—ways to ease the burden of adjustment to foreign competition without impeding the process of structural change so vital to our economic health. We favor a free international trading system, but that system must also be fair. We will not allow our workers and industries to be displaced by unfair import competition. We have entered orderly marketing agreements and other arrangements in areas such as color television, footwear and textiles, to help promote the competitive position of American industry. Others may be necessary.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

Last year, we successfully concluded the Multilateral Trade Negotiations, an ambitious set of negotiations designed to reduce barriers to international trade. Before the Democratic Administration took office, these negotiations had proceeded at a snail's pace, and there had been a growing risk of failure which could have sparked a trade war damaging to our interests. It was the imaginative leadership of this Administration which breathed new life into an otherwise somnolent negotiation.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.45

To strengthen the U.S. economy and improve our competitive position in the world economy, U.S. export-import policy must be based on the principle of fair trade that will enhance our exports while safeguarding domestic industry from unfair trade practices. In assuring orderly foreign trade, the U.S. must require observance of our trade laws, as well as cooperation with our trade policies if economic disruption is to be avoided. This will require:

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

[p.46]–Encouragement of exert expansion through vigorous negotiations to open foreign markets and enforce U.S. rights;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

–The government to take swift, effective antidumping actions and enforce all U.S. trade laws to assure an end to unfair trade practices that lead to the export of American jobs;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

–Regulations of imports of textiles and apparel in accordance with current laws and agreements;

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

–Enforcement of customs laws through the assessment of appropriate penalties. Imports, exports, technology transfers, money flows and investments must be reported in accordance with current laws, monitored and regulated to protect U.S. interests; and

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

–Implementation of the government procurement code only as negotiated and on a truly reciprocal basis.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

We bargained long and hard to obtain concessions which would benefit Americans and open new markets to U.S. producers of both agricultural and industrial goods. The agreements, which won the overwhelming support of the U.S. Congress, achieved that objective. They represent a sensible balance of benefits. At the same time, they will ensure a liberal, but fair, international trading environment for the 1980s.

Monetary Affairs

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

We will continue to take whatever actions are necessary to maintain a sound and stable dollar. We will cooperate with other nations to minimize exchange rate disturbances. We fully support efforts underway to strengthen the ability of international financial institutions to adapt to changing needs and to facilitate the recycling of funds from the surplus off-producing nations to those countries facing large, oil-induced deficits. We will urge OPEC countries to participate constructively in this process.

International Energy Cooperation

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

We have cooperated with other industrial countries, at summit meetings and in the International Energy Agency, in developing joint programs to conserve oil and increase production of alternative energy sources. Only through a truly global effort can the present imbalance between energy supply and demand be redressed. We will continue to support such efforts, showing our leadership by continuing the actions that have reduced oil consumption and imports by a greater proportion in the U.S. than in any other industrial country in the last year. We will work with our partners abroad to elicit increased effort by them, even as we seek increased U.S. effort at home, to the same ends.

The Developing World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

Under the previous Republican Administration, the nations of the Third World viewed the United States as uninterested in or hostile to the need to treat the North-South economic issues which are of greatest importance to developing countries. Since then, the United States has adopted a range of economic policies on trade (MTN, Generalized System of Preferences expansion), commodities (Common Fund, sugar, coffee, tin), aid (International Financial Institutions replenishments) which have demonstrated that the Carter administration is responsive to the aspirations of peoples in developing countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

But this task is only begun. We share the globe with more than 4 billion people, more than three-quarters of whom live in developing nations, most of them poor. By the end of this century, the population of developing countries will grow by about 1.7 billion people. Their prospects for jobs, food, and peace will increasingly affect our own prospects. These nations can be the fastest growing market for our exports, as they are today, or they can become sources for new immigration and hostility toward the industrial democracies.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

Thus, America's defense, energy, and economic security depend on stability and growth not only among our allies, but among our friends in the Third World. It is unacceptable that the United States ranks 13th among 17 major industrial powers in percentage of GNP devoted to development assistance.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

The Democratic Administration will work with the Congress to develop and sustain policies and programs of economic cooperation with the developing nations, guided by the test of mutual interest. We will approach the global negotiations next year on economic relations between the industrial North and developing South in this positive spirit. We will contribute the United States' fair share to the capital of the multilateral development banks and agencies, and we will continue substantial and innovative U.S. programs of direct development assistance to low-income countries.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

These policies will be reflected in further concentration of U.S. development assistance in countries that make good use of aid and on programs that address the basic needs of poor people, especially food, health, and voluntary family planning services. We will increase U.S. and multilateral technical and financial assistance to oil-importing nations for the development of their energy resource. The participation of U.S. private enterprises in the economic growth of developing nations will be selectively encouraged, with due regard for our own employment objectives.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

[p.47]We are deeply concerned about the growing problem of world hunger as reported by the President's Commission on World Hunger. We are determined to increase our resources, and to seek a similar increase on the part of other nations, with a view toward solving this problem by the end of the century.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

Together with our allies, the Democratic Administration will challenge OPEC and the Communist nations to reach a new collective worldwide commitment to economic development. All sides must increase their contributions for this development, so that the world may escape the spectre of international bankruptcy from rising energy costs and rising burdens of debt. Development in the Third World is vital to international political and economic stability and therefore to our own national security.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

In all of our relations with developing nations, we will actively promote the cause of human rights and express America's abhorrence of the denial of freedom.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

Our security depends critically on events in the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and Africa, events marked by either the pursuit of goals common to or conflicting with our interests. We will continue to cooperate with key friendly developing nations in security relations and in economic measures ensuring our mutual security. Great care will be exercised in our security assistance activities to avoid stimulating regional arms races or needlessly diverting resources from development to armament.

The Third World

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

Under the previous Republican Administration relations with the Third World were at their nadir. The United States appeared hostile and indifferent to the developing world's aspirations for greater justice, respect, and dignity. All this has changed.

Latin America and the Caribbean

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.46

In stark contrast to the policies of previous Republican Administrations, this Democratic Administration has begun to forge a new, collaborative relationship with nations of Latin America and the Caribbean; one resting on a firm commitment to human rights, democratization, increased economic and industrial development, and non-intervention.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

We must now move innovatively to strengthen our ties with our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere, first to obviate any vacuum for outside intervention and second to promote bilateral approaches for social progress and economic development including energy resources.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

Through systematic and structural high level attention to the problems of the Western Hemisphere we will mobilize the resources of our government to achieve this end. One such possibility to be considered is to appoint an Under Secretary of State for the Western Hemisphere. This would encourage both economic and political freedom throughout the Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

We have given particular attention to developing a more balanced relationship with Mexico, a country with which we share so many important interests and also problems.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

The successful negotiation of the Panama Canal Treaties—after fourteen fruitless years of effort—was seen as an indication of our willingness to treat Latin America on the basis of mutual respect. With those treaties ratified, the United States in 1980 is not only identified with the cause of human rights and democracy, but also we have opened a new chapter in our relations with the nations of this Hemisphere. Moreover, through regular multilateral consultations at all levels, more balanced relationships with the nations in the region have been forged.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

The United States has worked hard to encourage the expansion of democracy in Latin America, respect for human rights, and the preservation of national independence and integrity from the threat of Soviet and Cuban intervention.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

For the first time, an approach has been developed and tailored to the unique needs and aspirations of the Caribbean area. The Administration has supported change within a Democratic framework; more than doubled aid programs; and worked with twenty-nine other nations and fifteen international institutions to establish the Caribbean Group for Cooperation in Economic Development, which has quadrupled external aid to the region.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

Through strengthened relations with the Caribbean Community and the Andean Pact, the Administration has worked to enhance subregional cooperation as well.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

President Carter has worked for peace in the region. By signing Protocol I of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, President Carter has demonstrated his support for nonproliferation objectives in the Hemisphere. We support its ratification. By supporting regional efforts at arms restraints, the United States has taken the lead in trying to reduce the possibilities for conflict in the region.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.47

We reaffirm our commitment to the protection of universally recognized and fundamental human rights throughout the Americas by urging that the Senate ratify the American Convention on Human Rights, which was signed by' President Carter in June 1977.[p.48]

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

We will join with other like-minded states in pursuing human fights, democracy, and economic development throughout the region. We will uphold our own law and terminate all aid except for clearly humanitarian purposes to human rights violators. In our relationships with Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and others throughout the Hemisphere we will press further for respect for human rights and political liberalization. In Central America especially, we will align ourselves with those who are trying to build a better future out of the aftermath of tyranny, corruption and civil war.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

We will oppose a spiral of confrontation with Cuba, for its own sake, but we will not evade the real issues between that country and the United States. Under no condition will we accept a Soviet military offensive capability based in Cuba or anywhere else in the Hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

In order to permit the pursuit of normal relations between our countries, Cuba should stop its disorderly movement of those seeking to leave; it should cooperate with the international community to develop a fair and orderly emigration program; it must withdraw its armed forces from Africa; it must cease subversive activities throughout the Hemisphere; and it should follow the principles of the American Convention on Human Rights.

Asia

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

The establishment of normal diplomatic and economic relations with China is an historic foreign policy achievement.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

Progress in U.S.-China relations was stalled in 1977, but with patience, political courage and historic vision, the deadlock was broken by this Democratic Administration.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

In the fifteen months since normalization, the benefits of normalization have already become clear: trade, travel, cultural exchange, and, most important of all, the security and stability of the Pacific region is greater now than in any time in this century.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

The Democratic Party commits itself to a broadening and deepening of our relationship with China in a way that will benefit both our peoples and the peace and security of the world. We will continue to seek new areas where the United States and China can cooperate in support of common interests. We have not and will not play "China cards" or other dangerous games; nor will we allow our relationship with any other country to impede our efforts to continue the process of normalization of relations with China.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

In 1976, the so-called Koreagate affair had badly hurt our ties to Korea. A friendly and increasingly frank dialogue with the Korean government has been promoted. We will continue not only to fulfill our commitment to security, but equally to the promotion of a more democratic government. North and South Korea have renewed their dialogue and made a difficult but hopeful start down a long, uncertain road. In our relationships with the Philippines, Taiwan and others in the region, we will also press for political liberalization and human rights.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

With ASEAN, the Democratic Administration has developed a coherent and supportive approach, encouraging the cohesion of those five nations just at the time when their unity was being tested by the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea. ASEAN now stands as one of the most viable regional organizations in the world. The Democratic Party recognize the important role the U.S. territories and other emerging island states in the Pacific Basin play in the solidification of defense and economic ties with the ASEAN nations. The Democratic Party commits itself to humanitarian aid to the people of East Timor.

Africa

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

Africa will be of central importance to American foreign policy in the 1980s. By the end of the previous Republican Administration in 1977, the United States had little credibility in Black Africa for they had made little or no attempt to see African problems from an African perspective. Our policy had no clearly defined goals. As a consequence, our attempts to bring an end to the war in Southern Africa were ineffective. We were becoming, in African eyes, irrelevant—even antagonistic—to African aspirations.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

The Democratic Administration developed a long-term African policy—a policy that is viable on its own merits and does not treat Africa as an appendage to great power competition. It recognized the need for a new approach to the Continent, an approach based on mutual respect, fundamental concern for human rights and the necessity for economic justice.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

Considerable success has been achieved, perhaps most notably in Southern Africa. Our diplomatic efforts there have been instrumental in helping to bring about a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia—now Zimbabwe—while lessening Soviet/Cuban influence in the area. We will continue to assist in the reconstruction and development of an independent Zimbabwe, as a means of promoting stability in the region.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

Much remains to be done. Many of the fifty African nations are politically unstable and economically weak—partially as a result of their colonial heritage, but increasingly due to endemic drought and the economic dislocation resulting from ever-rising energy costs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

The Democratic Party pledges itself to continue efforts to improve U.S. relations with all African nations, [p.49] on the basis of mutual respect and a mutual commitment to enhance economic justice and human dignity everywhere, with particular emphasis on the recurrent problem of drought and starvation. U.S. aid in the form of grain and foodstuffs must be continued but, in addition, we must seek with African governments ways of removing famine permanently from the African Continent.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

The Democratic Party pledges itself to the process of economic reconstruction in Zimbabwe within the context of a coherent multi-donor development plan for all the cooperating nations of the Southern African region.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

The Democratic Party pledges active support for self-determination in Namibia, and for full social and economic justice for all the peoples of Southern Africa.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

The Democratic Administration will press for the withdrawal of Soviet and Cuban troops.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

In Southern Africa, we will exert our influence to promote progress toward majority rule and to end the racist system of apartheid. We condemn the brutal suppression of Black Native African people in Soweto and Capetown by the South African regime and support increased political and economic pressure on this oppressive regime, through legal sanctions.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

We support increased pressure through legal diplomatic sanctions on the oppressive South African regime. Initially we will divest, under legal procedures, South African holdings of all public institutions and deploy full legal economic sanctions until that government abandons its undemocratic apartheid system.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

Following the removal of Cuban troops from Angola, we will seek to normalize relations with Angola. We will strengthen relations with nations committed to the objectives of economic development, respect for human rights and political liberalization. In the western Sahara we will support a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

The United Nations and International Agencies

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.48

In each of the regions of the globe, international organizations and agencies will be tested in the coming decade and will play an increasingly crucial role. The United Nations remains the only forum where rich and poor, East and West, and neutral nations can come together to air their grievances, participate in respected forums of world opinion, and find mechanisms to resolve disputes without resort to force. In particular, in recent months the UN has been a forum for expressing the world's condemnation and rejection of both the hostage-taking in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

The United Nations is also vital in other ways—through its international refugee efforts, coordination of development assistance, support for agricultural research, and worldwide eradication of disease.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

In the next decade, international monetary and development institutions will also be under increasing pressure. Their efforts must be expanded to meet more fully the urgent needs of the two-thirds of the world's population which suffers the damaging and depressing effects of underdevelopment.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

The United Nations and these agencies perform a vital role in the search for peace. They deserve America's continuing support—and they will receive it from the Democratic Administration. We support the U.S. position on freedom of the press to be voted again in Belgrade during the 1980 UNESCO meeting.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

We support the call in Section 503 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1978, for the United States to make "a major effort toward reforming and restructuring the United Nations system."

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

We also endorse that portion of the President's report to Congress in March, 1978 on UN reform and restructuring which calls for the Senate "to reexamine the Connally reservation," "the creation of a U.N. Peacekeeping Reserve composed of national contingents trained in peacekeeping functions," the establishment of "a new UN senior post as High Commissioner of Human Rights," and the development of autonomous sources of income for the international community.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

We will work toward new structures which will enhance the UN in the fields of economic development, including international trade organizations, higher education, volunteer service, mediation and conciliation, international disarmament, implementation of the Law of the Sea Agreement, and controlling international terrorism.

Into the 1980s

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

As we look to the 1980s, we have a full and challenging agenda.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

With our Allies, we face the challenge of building greater unity of action while preserving the diversity of our democracies. Europe is increasingly united and is finding its own identity and voice. We must forge new links of consultation and revive the political process within the North Atlantic Alliance so that Europe remains America's partner in meeting the challenges to our common security and economic interests. We must find ways to include Japan in this process, broadening the mechanisms for cooperation which exist in current international forums, such as the Seven-Nation Summit.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.49

With the Third World countries, we must continue to do our part in the realization of their aspirations for justice, respect, and freedom. We must continue to [p.50] work for full political participation by all in South Africa, including independence and majority rule in Namibia. We must work to strengthen democracy in the Caribbean and Central America in the face of efforts by the Cubans to export their failed revolution. Throughout Latin America, we must continue to cooperate for the realization of greater human rights and the fulfillment of basic human needs. In Asia, we must continue to strengthen our relationships with our friends and Allies as they confront the twin dangers flowing from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Soviet-backed invasion of Cambodia.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.50

We must persevere with the Middle East peace process. There is no viable alternative. We can welcome initiatives from other countries so long as they contribute to the Camp David process that is leading toward a comprehensive peace in that region. But we will oppose efforts that undermine Camp David while offering no viable alternative. Our goal is to see the achievement of a comprehensive peace for all parties.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.50

With our defenses, we will continue to meet the requirements of the Administration's five-year defense program, including the deployment of the MX missile, cruise missiles, the Trident submarine, and long-range theater nuclear forces in Europe. At the same time, we intend to increase readiness and strengthen the All-Volunteer Force with a standby system of draft registration. We will continue with our Allies to meet the commitments of the long-term NATO defense program and, as we strengthen our military capabilities and presence in Southwest Asia and the region of the Persian Gulf, we will look to our Allies to assume more of the burden for the defense and security of Europe. Finally, we must recognize that development assistance represents a crucial part of our national security. As such, we may have to make a greater contribution of resources to these programs.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.50

In the field of arms control, in addition to ratification of SALT II, we must proceed to more comprehensive and drastic reductions and qualitative limitations on strategic nuclear forces. SALT III must also include effective limitations and reductions in long-range theater nuclear forces based on the principle of equality. We must pursue to a conclusion a comprehensive test ban, effective curbs in the international traffic of conventional arms and a more rigorously effective international regime to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology. We must bring to at least an initial conclusion the negotiations for mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe. The decade of the 1980s is not to become the decade of violence. We must make renewed efforts to stabilize the arms competition and widen the scrape of arms control arrangements.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.50

As we look to the future, we hope the progress in arms control and the strength and determination we shall demonstrate in the face of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan will soon result in the fashioning of stronger, more productive relationship with the Soviet Union. We favor a genuine detente—one with equivalent benefits to ourselves and the Soviets, one that is based on genuine restraint, one that benefits all mankind by harnessing the enormous potential of our two societies for cooperation rather than competition and confrontation. This will take patience, but we shall persevere for the prize is peace.

National Party Platforms, Democratic Platform, 1980, p.50

By reaffirming America's values as the centerpiece of our foreign policy and by pursuing realistically the requirements of military strength, the Democratic Party is forging a new and broader consensus among the American people in support of our foreign policy. We are turning the tide against the paralysis of despair that came from a tragic war in Asia and political scandal at home. We are restoring America to its rightful place, not only as the strongest nation in the world but as the nation which is the champion of human justice and freedom.[p.50]

Republican Platform of 1980

Adopted by the Republican National Convention,

July 15, 1980, Detroit, Mich.

Republican Platform: A Preamble

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

The Republican Party convenes, presents this platform, and selects its nominees at a time of crisis. America is adrift. Our country moves agonizingly, aimlessly, almost helplessly into one of the most dangerous and disorderly periods in history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

At home, our economy careens, whiplashed from one extreme to another. Earlier this year, inflation skyrocketed to its highest levels in more than a century; weeks later, the economy plummeted, suffering its steepest slide on record. Prices escalate at more than 10 percent a year. More than eight million people seek employment. Manufacturing plants lie idle across the country. The hopes and aspirations of our people are being smothered.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

Overseas, conditions already perilous, deteriorate. The Soviet Union for the first time is acquiring the means to obliterate or cripple our land-based missile system and blackmail us into submission. Marxist tyrannies spread more rapidly through the Third World and Latin America. Our alliances are frayed in Europe and elsewhere. Our energy supplies become even more dependent on uncertain foreign suppliers. In the ultimate humiliation, militant terrorists in Iran continue to toy with the lives of Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

These events are not isolated, or unrelated. They are signposts. They mark a continuing downward spiral in economic vitality and international influence. Should the trend continue, the 1980s promise to be our most dangerous years since World War II. History could record, if we let the drift go on, that the American experiment, so marvelously successful for 200 years, came strangely, needlessly, tragically to a dismal end early in our third century.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

By far the most galling aspect of it all is that the chief architects of our decline—Democratic politicians—are without program or ideas to reverse it. Divided, leaderless, unseeing, uncomprehending, they plod on with listless offerings of pale imitations of the same policies they have pursued so long, knowing full well their futility. The Carter Administration is the unhappy and inevitable consequence of decades of increasingly outmoded Democratic domination of our national life. Over the past four years it has repeatedly demonstrated that it has no basic goals other than the perpetuation of its own rule and no guiding principle other than the fleeting insights provided by the latest opinion poll. Policies announced one day are disavowed or ignored the next, sowing confusion among Americans at home and havoc among our friends abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

Republicans, Democrats, and Independents have been watching and reading these signs. They have been watching incredulously as disaster after disaster unfolds. They now have had enough. They are rising up in 1980 to say that this confusion must end; this drift must end; we must pull ourselves together as a people before we slide irretrievably into the abyss.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

It doesn't have to be this way; it doesn't have to stay this way. We, the Republican Party, hold ourselves forth as the Party best able to arrest and reverse the decline. We offer new ideas and candidates, from the top of our ticket to the bottom, who can bring to local and national leadership firm, steady hands and confidence and eagerness. We have unparalleled unity within our own ranks, especially between our presidential nominee and our Congressional membership. Most important, we go forth to the people with ideas and programs for the future that are as powerful and compelling as they are fresh. Together, we offer a new beginning for America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

Our foremost goal here at home is simple: economic growth and full employment without inflation. Sweeping change in economic policy in America is needed so that Mr. Carter's promise of hard times and austerity—his one promise well kept—can be replaced with Republican policies that promise economic growth and job creation. It is our belief that the stagflation of recent years not only has consigned millions of citizens to hardship but also has bottled up the enormous ingenuity and creative powers of our people. Those energies will not be released by the sterile policies of the past: we specifically reject the Carter doctrine that inflation can be reduced only by throwing people out of work. Prosperity will not be regained simply by government fiat. Rather, we must offer broad new incentives to labor and capital to stimulate a great outpouring of private goods and services and to create an abundance of jobs. From America's grass roots to the White House we will stand united as a party behind a bold program of tax rate reductions, spending restraints, and regulatory reforms that will inject new life into the economic bloodstream of this country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.3

Overseas, our goal is equally simple and direct: to preserve a world at peace by keeping America strong. This philosophy once occupied a hallowed place in American diplomacy, but it was casually, even cavalierly dismissed at the outset by the Carter Administration—and the results have been shattering. Never before in modern history has the United States endured as many [p.4] humiliations, insults, and defeats as it has during the past four years: our ambassadors murdered, our embassies burned, our warnings ignored, our diplomacy scorned, our diplomats kidnapped. The Carter Administration has shown that it neither understands totalitarianism nor appreciates the way tyrants take advantage of weakness. The brutal invasion of Afghanistan promises to be only the forerunner of much more serious threats to the West—and to world peace—should the Carter Administration somehow cling to power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

Republicans are united in a belief that America's international humiliation and decline can be reversed only by strong presidential leadership and a consistent, far-sighted foreign policy, supported by a major upgrading of our military forces, a strengthening of our commitments to our allies, and a resolve that our national interests be vigorously protected. Ultimately, those who practice strength and firmness truly guard the peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

This platform addresses many concerns of our Party. We seek to restore the family, the neighborhood, the community, and the workplace as vital alternatives in our national life to ever-expanding federal power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

We affirm our deep commitment to the fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of all Americans—blacks and whites, women and men, the young and old, rural and urban.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

For too many years, the political debate in America has been conducted in terms set by the Democrats. They believe that every time new problems arise beyond the power of men and women as individuals to solve, it becomes the duty of government to solve them, as if there were never any alternative. Republicans disagree and have always taken the side of the individual, whose freedoms are threatened by the big government that Democratic idea has spawned. Our case for the individual is stronger than ever. A defense of the individual against government was never more needed. And we will continue to mount it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

But we will redefine and broaden the debate by transcending the narrow terms of government and the individual; those are not the only two realities in America. Our society consists of more than that; so should the political debate. We will reemphasize those vital communities like the family, the neighborhood, the workplace, and others which are found at the center of society, between government and the individual. We will restore and strengthen their ability to solve problems in the places where people spend their daily lives and can turn to each other for support and help.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

We seek energy independence through economic policies that free up our energy production and encourage conservation. We seek improvements in health care, education, housing, and opportunities for youth. We seek new avenues for the needy to break out of the tragic cycle of dependency. All of these goals—and many others—we confidently expect to achieve through a rebirth of liberty and resurgence of private initiatives, for we believe that at the root of most of our troubles today is the misguided and discredited philosophy of an all-powerful government, ceaselessly striving to subsidize, manipulate, and control individuals. But it is the individual, not the government, who reigns at the center of our Republican philosophy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

To those Democrats who say Americans must be content to passively accept the gradual but inexorable decline of America, we answer: The American people have hardly begun to marshal their talents and resources or realize the accomplishments and dreams that only freedom can inspire.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

To those Democrats who say we face an "age of limits," we ask: Who knows the limit to what Americans can do when their capacity for work, creativity, optimism, and faith is enhanced and supported by strong and responsive political leadership and ideals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

To those who, with Mr. Carter, say the American people suffer from a national "malaise," we respond: The only malaise in this country is found in the leadership of the Democratic Party, in the White House and in Congress. Its symptoms are an incompetence to lead, a refusal to change, and a reluctance to act. This malaise has become epidemic in Washington. Its cure is government led by Republicans who share the values of the majority of Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

Republicans pledge a restoration of balance in American society. But society cannot be balanced by the actions of government or of individuals alone. Balance is found at society's vital center, where we find the family and the neighborhood and the workplace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

America will not, however, achieve any of these goals on its present course nor under its present leadership. The uncharted course of Mr. Carter will lead surely to catastrophe. By reversing our economic decline, by reversing our international decline, we can and will resurrect our dreams.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

And so, in this 1980 Republican Platform, we call out to the American people: With God's help, let us now, together, make America great again; let us now, together, make a new beginning.

Free Individuals in a Free Society

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

It has long been a fundamental conviction of the Republican Party that government should foster in our society a climate of maximum individual liberty and freedom of choice. Properly informed, our people as individuals or acting through instruments of popular consultation can make the right decisions affecting personal or general welfare, free of pervasive and heavy-handed intrusion by the central government into the decisionmaking process. This tenet is the genius of representative democracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.4

Republicans also treasure the ethnic, cultural, and regional diversity of our people. This diversity fosters a dynamism in American society that is the envy of the world.ppp [p.5]

Taxes

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Elsewhere in this platform we discuss the benefits, for society as a whole, of reduced taxation, particularly in terms of economic growth. But we believe it is essential to cut personal tax rates out of fairness to the individual.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Presently, the aggregate burden of taxation is so great that the average American spends a substantial part of every year, in effect, working for government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Substantial tax rate reductions are needed to offset the massive tax increases facing the working men and women of this country. Over the next four years, federal taxes are projected to increase by over $500 billion due to the Carter Administration's policies. American families are already paying taxes at higher rates than ever in our history; as a result of these Carter policies, the rates will go even higher. The direct and indirect burden of federal taxes alone, imposed on the average family earning $20,000, has risen to $5,451—over 27 percent of the family's gross income. During the Carter term, the federal tax alone on this family will have risen $2,000.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

The Republican Party believes balancing the budget is essential but opposes the Democrats' attempt to do so through higher taxes. We believe that an essential aspect of balancing the budget is spending restraint by the federal government and higher economic growth, not higher tax burdens on working men and women.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Policies of the Democratic Party are taxing work, saving, investment, productivity, and the rewards for human ingenuity. These same tax policies subsidize debt, unemployment, and consumption. The present structure of the personal income tax system is designed to broaden the gap between effort and reward.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Therefore, the Republican Party supports across-the-board reductions in personal income tax rates, phased in over three years, which will reduce tax rates from the range of 14 to 70 percent to a range from 10 to 50 percent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

For most Americans, these reduced tax rates will slow the rate at which taxes rise. This will assure workers and savers greater rewards for greater effort by lowering the rate at which added earnings would be taxed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

These reductions have been before the Congress for three years in the Roth-Kemp legislation. The proposal will not only provide relief for all American taxpayers, but also promote non-inflationary economic growth by restoring the incentive to save, invest, and produce. These restored incentives will in turn increase investment and help reinvigorate American business and industry, leading to the creation of more jobs. In fact, Governor Reagan and Congressional Republicans have already taken the first step. Working together, they have boldly offered the American people a 10 percent tax rate cut for 1981, which will stimulate growth in our economy, and a simplification and liberalization of depreciation schedules to create more jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Once tax rates are reduced, Republicans will move to end tax bracket creep caused by inflation. We support tax indexing to protect taxpayers from the automatic tax increases caused when cost-of-living wage increases move them into higher tax brackets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Tax rate reductions will generate increases in economic growth, output, and income which will ultimately generate increased revenues. The greater justification for these cuts, however, lies in the right of individuals to keep and use the money they earn.

Improving the welfare system

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

The measure of a country's compassion is how it treats the least fortunate. In every society there will be some who cannot work, often through no fault of their own.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Yet current federal government efforts to help them have become counterproductive, perpetuating and aggravating the very conditions of dependence they seek to relieve. The Democratic Congress has produced a jumble of degrading, dehumanizing, wasteful, overlapping, and inefficient programs that invite waste and fraud but inadequately assist the needy poor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

Poverty is defined not by income statistics alone, but by an individual's true situation and prospects. For two generations, especially since the mid–1960s, the Democrats have deliberately perpetuated a status of federally subsidized poverty and manipulated dependency for millions of Americans. This is especially so for blacks and Hispanics, many of whom remain pawns of the bureaucracy, trapped outside the social and economic mainstream of American life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

For those on welfare, our nation's tax policies provide a penalty for getting a job. This is especially so for those whose new income from a job is either equal to, or marginally greater than, the amount received on welfare. In these cases, due to taxes, the individual's earned income is actually less than welfare benefits. This is the "poverty trap" which will continue to hold millions of Americans as long as they continue to be punished for working.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

The Carter Administration and the Democratic Party continue to foster that dependency. Our nation's welfare problems will not be solved merely by providing increased benefits. Public service jobs are not a substitute for employable skills, nor can increases in the food stamp program by themselves provide for individual dignity. By fostering dependency and discouraging self-reliance, the Democratic Party has created a welfare constituency dependent on its continual subsidies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.5

The Carter Administration has proposed, and its allies in the House of Representatives actually voted for, legislation to nationalize welfare, which would have cost additional billions and made millions more dependent [p.6] upon public assistance. The Democrats have presided over—and must take the blame for—the most monstrous expansion and abuse of the food stamp program to date. They have been either unable or unwilling to attack the welfare fraud that diverts resources away from the truly poor. They have sacrificed the needy to the greedy, and sent the welfare bills to the taxpayers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

We categorically reject the notion of a guaranteed annual income, no matter how it may be disguised, which would destroy the fiber of our economy and doom the poor to perpetual dependence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

As a party we commit ourselves to a welfare policy that is truly reflective of our people's true sense of compassion and charity as well as an appreciation of every individual's need for dignity and self-respect. We pledge a system that will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Provide adequate living standards for the truly needy;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

End welfare fraud by removing ineligibles from the welfare rolls, tightening food stamp eligibility requirements, and ending aid to illegal aliens and the voluntarily unemployed;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Strengthen work incentives, particularly directed at the productive involvement of able-bodied persons in useful community work projects;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Provide educational and vocational incentives to allow recipients to become self-supporting; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Better coordinate federal efforts with local and state social welfare agencies and strengthen local and state administrative functions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

We oppose federalizing the welfare system; local levels of government are most aware of the needs in their communities. We support a block grant program that will help return control of welfare programs to the states. Decisions about who gets welfare, and how much, can be better made on the local level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Those features of the present law, particularly the food stamp program, that draw into assistance programs people who are capable of paying for their own needs should be corrected. The humanitarian purpose of such programs must not be corrupted by eligibility loopholes. Food stamp program reforms proposed by Republicans in Congress would accomplish the twin goals of directing resources to those most in need and streamlining administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Through long association with government programs, the word "welfare" has come to be perceived almost exclusively as tax-supported aid to the needy. But in its most inclusive sense—and as Americans understood it from the beginning of the Republic—such aid also encompasses those charitable works performed by private citizens, families, and social, ethnic, and religious organizations. Policies of the federal government leading to high taxes, rising inflation, and bureaucratic empire-building have made it difficult and often impossible for such individuals and groups to exercise their charitable instincts. We believe that government policies that fight inflation, reduce tax rates, and end bureaucratic excesses can help make private effort by the American people once again a major force in those works of charity which are the true signs of a progressive and humane society.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Republicans recognize the very special sacrifice of those who have served in our nation's armed forces. Individual rights and societal values are only as strong as a nation's commitment to defend them. Because of this our country must never forget its appreciation of and obligation to our veterans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Today the veteran population numbers 30 million. This is the largest veteran population in our nation's history. We recognize the major sacrifices they have made for their fellow Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

We will maintain the integrity of the Veterans Administration. We will seek to keep it separate and distinct from other federal agencies as the single agency for the administration of all veterans' programs. In particular we feel it is of vital importance to continue and expand the health-programs provided to veterans through the Veterans Administration hospitals. Here we see the need for increased access to care, especially for older veterans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

We further advocate continued and expanded health care for our Vietnam veterans and consider it vital for the Veterans Administration to continue its programs for the rehabilitation of the disabled as well as its job training efforts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

We are committed to providing timely and adequate adjustments in compensation for service-disabled veterans and the survivors of those who died as a result of their service. We are also committed to maintaining the pension program for those who have served during a period of war, for those who were disabled and impoverished, and for their widows and orphans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

We will support measures to provide for every veteran at death a final resting place for his remains in a national cemetery, and for costs of transportation thereto.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Veterans preference in federal employment in all departments and agencies will be continued and strictly enforced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Retired military benefits deserve more than the cursory attention given them by a Department of Defense otherwise interested in on-going programs. We believe that such benefits should be administered by the Veterans Administration.

Private property

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

The widespread distribution of private property ownership is the cornerstone of American liberty. Without it neither our free enterprise system nor our republican form of government could long endure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.6

Under Democratic rule, the federal government has become an aggressive enemy of the human right to private property ownership. [p.7] It has dissipated savings through depreciation of the dollar, enforced price controls on private exchange of goods, attempted to enforce severe land use controls, and mistreated hundreds of thousands of national park and forest inholders.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

The next Republican Administration will reverse this baneful trend. It will not only protect the cherished human right of property ownership, but will also work to help millions of Americans—particularly those from disadvantaged groups—to share in the ownership of the wealth of their nation.

Transportation—Personal mobility

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Americans enjoy greater personal mobility than any other people on earth, largely as a result of the availability of automobiles and our modern highway system. Republicans reject the elitist notion that Americans must be forced out of their cars. Instead, we vigorously support the right of personal mobility and freedom as exemplified by the automobile and our modern highway system. While recognizing the importance of fuel efficiency and alternate modes of transportation, we quickly acknowledge that for millions of Americans there is no substitute on the horizon for the automobile. We reaffirm our support for a healthy domestic automobile industry, complete with continued support for the highway trust fund, which is the fairest method yet devised for financing America's highway system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Republicans recognize the need for further improvement in highway safety. Projections indicate that highway fatalities may exceed 60,000 per year in the coming decades. Republicans support accelerated cost-effective efforts to improve highway, automobile, and individual driver safety.

Privacy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

The essence of freedom is the right of law-abiding individuals to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness without undue governmental intervention. Yet government in recent years, particularly at the federal level, has overwhelmed citizens with demands for personal information and has accumulated vast amounts of such data through the IRS, the Social Security Administration, the Bureau of the Census, and other agencies. Under certain limited circumstances, such information can serve legitimate societal interests, but there must be protection against abuse.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Republicans share the concerns of our citizens as to the nature, use, and final disposition of the volume of personal information being collected. We are alarmed by Washington's growing collection and dissemination of such data. There must be protection against its misuse or disclosure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

The Republican Party commits itself to guaranteeing an individual's right of privacy. We support efforts of state governments to ensure individual privacy.

Black Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

For millions of black Americans, the past four years have been a long trail of broken promises and broken dreams. The Carter Administration entered office with a pledge to 'all minorities' of a brighter economic future. Today there are more black Americans unemployed than on the day Mr. Carter became President. The unemployment rate of black teenagers is once again rising sharply. And the median income of black families has declined to less than 60 percent of white family income.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Republicans will not make idle promises to blacks and other minorities; we are beyond the day when any American can live off rhetoric or political platitudes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Our Party specifically rejects the philosophy of the Carter Administration that unemployment is the answer to inflation. We abhor the notion that our cities should become battlegrounds in the fight against inflation and that the jobs of black Americans should be sacrificed in an attempt to counterbalance the inflationary excess of government. Nor are we prepared to accept the practice of turning the poor into permanent wards of the state, trading their political support for continued financial assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Our fundamental answer to the economic problems of black Americans is the same answer we make to all Americans—full employment without inflation through economic growth. First and foremost, we are committed to a policy of economic expansion through tax-rate reductions, spending restraint, regulatory reform, and other incentives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

As the Party of Lincoln, we remain equally and steadfastly committed to the equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of race. Although this nation has not yet eliminated all vestiges of racism over the years we are heartened by the progress that has been made, we are proud of the role that our Party has played, and we are dedicated to standing shoulder to shoulder with black Americans in that cause.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Elsewhere in this platform, we set forth a number of specific proposals that will also serve to improve the quality of life for blacks. During the next four years we are committed to policies that will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Encourage local governments to designate specific enterprise zones within depressed areas that will promote new jobs, new and expanded businesses, and new economic vitality;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Open new opportunities for black men and women to begin small businesses of their own by, among other steps, removing excessive regulations, disincentives for venture capital, and other barriers erected by the government;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.7

Bring strong, effective enforcement of federal civil rights statutes, especially those dealing with threats to physical safety and security which have recently been increasing; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Ensure that the federal government follows a non-discriminatory system of [p.8] appointments up and down the line, with a careful eye for qualified minority aspirants. Hispanic Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Hispanics are rapidly becoming the largest minority in the country and are one of the major pillars in our cultural, social, and economic life. Diverse in character, proud in heritage, they are greatly enriching the American melting pot.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Hispanics seek only the full rights of citizenship—in education, in law enforcement, in housing—and an equal opportunity to achieve economic security. Unfortunately, those desires have not always been fulfilled; as in so many other areas, the Carter Administration has been long on rhetoric and short on action in its approach to the Hispanic community.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

We pledge to pursue policies that will help to make the opportunities of American life a reality for Hispanics. The economic policies enunciated in this platform will, we believe, create new jobs for Hispanic teenagers and adults and will also open up new business opportunities for them. We also believe there should be local educational programs which enable those who grew up learning another language such as Spanish to become proficient in English while also maintaining their own language and cultural heritage. Neither Hispanics nor any other American citizens should be barred from education or employment opportunities because English is not their first language.

The handicapped

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

The Republican Party strongly believes that handicapped persons must be admitted into the mainstream of American society. It endorses efforts to enable our handicapped population to enjoy a useful and productive life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Too often in the past, barriers have been raised to their education, employment, transportation, health care, housing, recreation, and insurance. We support a concerted national effort to eliminate discrimination in all these areas. Specifically we support tax incentives for the removal of architectural and transportation barriers. We pledge continued efforts to improve communications for the handicapped and to promote a healthy, constructive attitude toward them in our society.

Women's rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

We acknowledge the legitimate efforts of those who support or oppose ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

We reaffirm our Party's historic commitment to equal rights and equality for women.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

We support equal rights and equal opportunities for women, without taking away traditional rights of women such as exemption from the military draft. We support the enforcement of all equal opportunity laws and urge the elimination of discrimination against women. We oppose any move which would give the federal government more power over families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is now in the hands of state legislatures, and the issues of the time extension and rescission are in the courts. The states have a constitutional right to accept or reject a constitutional amendment without federal interference or pressure. At the direction of the White House, federal departments launched pressure against states which refused to ratify ERA. Regardless of one's position on ERA, we demand that this practice cease.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

At this time, women of America comprise 53 percent of the population and over 42 percent of the work force. By 1990, we anticipate that 51 percent of the population will be women, and there will be approximately 57 million in the work force. Therefore, the following urgent problems must be resolved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Total integration of the work force (not separate but equal) is necessary to bring women equality in pay;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Girls and young women must be given improved early career counseling and job training to widen the opportunities for them in the world of work;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Women's worth in the society and in the jobs they hold, at home or in the workplace, must be re-evaluated to improve the conditions of women workers concentrated in low-status, low-paying jobs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

Equal opportunity for credit and other assistance must be assured to women in small businesses; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

One of the most critical problems in our nation today is that of inadequate child care for the working mother. As champions of the free enterprise system, of the individual, and of the idea that the best solutions to most problems rest at the community level, Republicans must find ways to meet this, the working woman's need. The scope of this problem is fully realized only when it is understood that many female heads of households are at the poverty level and that they have a very large percentage of the nation's children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

The important secret about old age in America today is that it is primarily a woman's issue, and those over 65 are the fastest growing segment of the population. With current population trends, by the year 2020, 15.5 percent of our population will be over 65; by 2035, women in this age group will outnumber men by 13 million.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.8

In 1980, 42 percent of women between 55 and 64 are in the work force. Half of the six million elderly women who live alone have incomes of $3,700 or less, and black women in that category have a median income of $2,600. How do they survive with the present rate of inflation? The lower salaries they earned as working women are now reflected in lower retirement benefits, if they have any at all. The Social Security system is still biased against women, and non-existent pension plans combine with that to produce a [p.9] bereft elderly woman. The Republican Party must not and will not let this continue.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

We reaffirm our belief in the traditional role and values of the family in our society. The damage being done today to the family takes its greatest toll on the woman. Whether it be through divorce, widowhood, economic problems, or the suffering of children, the impact is greatest on women. The importance of support for the mother and homemaker in maintaining the values of this country cannot be over-emphasized.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

In other sections of this platform, we call for greater equity in the tax treatment of working spouses. We deplore this marriage tax which penalizes married two-worker families. We call for a reduction in the estate tax burden, which creates hardships for widows and minor children. We also pledge to address any remaining inequities in the treatment of women under the Social Security system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

Women know better than anyone the decline in the quality of life that is occurring in America today. The peril to the United States and especially to women must be stressed. Women understand domestic, consumer, and economic issues more deeply because they usually manage the households and have the responsibility for them. With this responsibility must also come greater opportunity for the achievement and total equality toward solution of problems.

Equal rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

The truths we hold and the values we share affirm that no individual should be victimized by unfair discrimination because of race, sex, advanced age, physical handicap, difference of national origin or religion, or economic circumstance. However, equal opportunity should not be jeopardized by bureaucratic regulations and decisions which rely on quotas, ratios, and numerical requirements to exclude some individuals in favor of others, thereby rendering such regulations and decisions inherently discriminatory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

We pledge vigorous enforcement of laws to assure equal treatment in job recruitment, hiring, promotion, pay, credit, mortgage access, and housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

Millions of Americans who trace their heritage to the nations of Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe have for too long seen their values neglected. The time has come to go beyond the ritual election year praise given to Ethnic Americans. We must make them an integral part of government. We must make recognition of their values an integral part of government policy. The Republican Party will take positive steps to see to it that these Americans, along with others too long neglected, have the opportunity to share the power, as well as the burdens of our society. The came holds true of our Asian-American citizens from the cultures of the Orient.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

As a party we also recognize our commitment to Native Americans. We pledge to continue to honor our trusted relationship with them and we reaffirm our federal policy of self-determination. We support the assumption by Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos themselves of the decisions and planning which will affect their lives and the end of undue federal influence on those plans and decisions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

Puerto Rico has been a territory of the United States since 1898. The Republican Party vigorously supports the right of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico to be admitted into the Union as a fully sovereign state after they freely so determine. We believe that the statehood alternative is the only logical solution to the problem of inequality of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico within the framework of the federal Constitution, with full recognition within the concept of a multicultural society of the citizens' right to retain their Spanish language and traditions. Therefore we pledge to support the enactment of the necessary legislation to allow the people of Puerto Rico to exercise their right to apply for admission into the Union at the earliest possible date after the presidential election of 1980.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

We also pledge that such decision of the people of Puerto Rico will be implemented through the approval of an admission bill. This bill will provide for the Island's smooth transition from its territorial fiscal system to that of a member of the Union. This enactment will enable the new state of Puerto Rico to stand economically on an equal footing with the rest of the states and to assume gradually its fiscal responsibilities as a state.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

We continue to favor whatever action may be necessary to permit American citizens resident in the United States territories of the Virgin Islands and Guam to vote for President and Vice President in national elections.

Abortion

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

There can be no doubt that the question of abortion, despite the complex nature of its various issues, is ultimately concerned with equality of rights under the law. While we recognize differing views on this question among Americans in general—and in our own Party—we affirm our support of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children. We also support the Congressional efforts to restrict the use of taxpayers' dollars for abortion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parent's obligation and right to guide their minor children.

Strong Families

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.9

The family is the foundation of our social order. It is the school of democracy. Its daily lessons—cooperation, tolerance, mutual concern, responsibility, industry—are fundamental to the order and progress of our Republic. But the Democrats have shunted the family aside. They have given its power to the bureaucracy, its jurisdiction to the [p.10] courts, and its resources to government grantors. For the first time in our history, there is real concern that the family may not survive.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

Government may be strong enough to destroy families, but it can never replace them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

Unlike the Democrats, we do not advocate new federal bureaucracies with ominous power to shape a national family order. Rather, we insist that all domestic policies, from child care and schooling to Social Security and the tax code, must be formulated with the family in mind.

Education

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

Next to religious training and the home, education is the most important means by which families hand down to each new generation their ideals and beliefs. It is a pillar of a free society. But today, parents are losing control of their children's schooling. The Democratic Congress and its counterparts in many states have launched one fad after another, building huge new bureaucracies to misspend our taxes. The result has been a shocking drop in student performance, lack of basics in the classroom, forced busing, teacher strikes, manipulative and sometimes amoral indoctrination.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

The Republican Party is determined to restore common sense and quality to education for the sake of all students, especially those for whom learning is the highway to equal opportunity. Because federal assistance should help local school districts, not tie them up in red tape, we will strive to replace the crazy quilt of wasteful programs with a system of block grants that will restore decisionmaking to local officials responsible to voters and parents. We recognize the need to preserve, within the structure of block grants, special educational opportunities for the handicapped, the disadvantaged, and other needy students attending public and private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

We hail the teachers of America. Their dedication to our children is often taken for granted, and they are frequently underpaid for long hours and selfless service, especially in comparison with other public employees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

We understand and sympathize with the plight of America's public school teachers, who so frequently find their time and attention diverted from their teaching responsibilities to the task of complying with federal reporting requirements. America has a great stake in maintaining standards of high quality in public education. The Republican Party recognizes that the achievement of those standards is possible only to the extent that teachers are allowed the time and freedom to teach. To that end, the Republican Party supports deregulation by the federal government of public education, and encourages the elimination of the federal Department of Education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

We further sympathize with the right of qualified teachers to be employed by any school district wishing to hire them, without the necessity of their becoming enrolled with any bargaining agency or group. We oppose any federal action, including any action on the part of the Department of Education, to establish "agency shops" in public schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

We support Republican initiatives in the Congress to restore the right of individuals to participate in voluntary, non-denominational prayer in schools and other public facilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

Our goal is quality education for all of America's children, with a special commitment to those who must overcome handicap, deprivation, or discrimination. That is why we condemn the forced busing of school children to achieve arbitrary racial quotas. Busing has been a prescription for disaster, blighting whole communities across the land with its divisive impact. It has failed to improve the quality of education, while diverting funds from programs that could make the difference between success and failure for the poor, the disabled, and minority children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

We must halt forced busing and get on with the education of all our children, focusing on the real causes of their problems, especially lack of economic opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

Federal education policy must be based on the primacy of parental rights and responsibility. Toward that end, we reaffirm our support for a system of educational assistance based on tax credits that will in part compensate parents for their financial sacrifices in paying tuition at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary level. This is a matter of fairness, especially for low-income families, most of whom would be free for the first time to choose for their children those schools which best correspond to their own cultural and moral values. In this way, the schools will be strengthened by the families' involvement, and the families' strengths will be reinforced by supportive cultural institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

We are dismayed that the Carter Administration cruelly reneged on promises made during the 1976 campaign. Wielding the threat of his veto, Mr. Carter led the fight against Republican attempts to make tuition tax credits a reality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

Next year, a Republican White House will assist, not sabotage, Congressional efforts to enact tuition tax relief into law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

We will halt the unconstitutional regulatory vendetta launched by Mr. Carter's IRS Commissioner against independent schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

We will hold the federal bureaucracy accountable for its harassment of colleges and universities and will clear away the tangle of regulation that has unconscionably driven up their expenses and tuitions. We will respect the rights of state and local authorities in the management of their school systems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.10

The commitment of the American people to provide educational opportunities for all has resulted in a tremendous expansion of schools at all levels. And the more we reduce the federal proportion of taxation, the more resources will be left to sustain and develop state and local institutions.[p.11]

Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

Our country's unequalled system of medical care, bringing greater benefits to more people than anywhere else on earth, is a splendid example of how Americans have taken care of their own needs with private institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

Significant as these achievements are, we must not be complacent. Health care costs continue to rise, farther and faster than they should, and threaten to spiral beyond the reach of many families. The causes are the Democratic Congress' inflationary spending and excessive and expensive regulations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

Republicans unequivocally oppose socialized medicine, in whatever guise it is presented by the Democratic Party. We reject the creation of a national health service and all proposals for compulsory national health insurance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

Our country has made spectacular gains in health care in recent decades. Most families are now covered by private insurance, Medicare, or in the case of the poor, the entirely free services under Medicaid.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

Republicans recognize that many health care problems can be solved if government will work closely with the private sector to find remedies that will enhance our current system of excellent care. We applaud, as an example, the voluntary effort which has been undertaken by our nation's hospitals to control costs. The results have been encouraging. More remains to be done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

What ails American medicine is government meddling and the strait-jacket of federal programs. The prescription for good health care is deregulation and an emphasis upon consumer rights and patient choice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

As consumers of health care, individual Americans and their families should be able to make their own choices about health care protection. We propose to assist them in so doing through tax and financial incentives. These could enable them to choose their own health coverage, including protection from the catastrophic costs of major long-term illness, without compulsory regimentation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

Americans should be protected against financial disaster brought on by medical expenses. We recognize both the need to provide assistance in many cases and the responsibility of citizens to provide for their own needs. By using tax incentives and reforming federal medical assistance programs, government and the private sector can jointly develop compassionate and innovative means to provide financial relief when it is most needed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

We endorse alternatives to institutional care. Not only is it costly but it also separates individuals from the supportive environment of family and friends. This is especially important for the elderly and those requiring long-term care. We advocate the reform of Medicare to encourage home-based care whenever feasible. In addition, we encourage the development of innovative alternate health care delivery systems and other out-patient services at the local level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

We must maintain our commitment to the aged and to the poor by providing quality care through Medicare and Medicaid. These programs need the careful, detailed reevaluation they have never received from the Democrats, who have characteristically neglected their financial stability. We believe that the needs of those who depend upon these programs, particularly the elderly, can be better served, especially when a Republican Administration cracks down on fraud and abuse so that program monies can be directed toward those truly in need. In the case of Medicaid, we will aid the states in restoring its financial integrity and its local direction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

We welcome the long-overdue emphasis on preventive health care and physical fitness that is making Americans more aware than ever of their personal responsibility for good health. Today's enthusiasm and emphasis on staying well holds the promise of dramatically improved health and well-being in the decades ahead. Additionally, health professionals, as well as individuals, have long recognized that preventing illness or injury is much less expensive than treating it. Therefore, preventive medicine combined with good personal health habits and health education, can make a major impact on the cost of health care. Employers and employees, unions and business associations, families, schools, and neighborhood groups all have important parts in what is becoming a national crusade for better living.

Youth

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

The Republican Party recognizes that young people want the opportunity to exercise the rights and responsibilities of adults.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

The Republican agenda for making educational and employment opportunities available to our youth has been addressed in detail in other sections of this platform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

Republicans are committed to the enactment of a youth differential in the minimum wage and other vitally needed incentives for the creation of jobs for our young.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

In addition, we reaffirm our commitment to broaden the involvement of young people in all phases of the political process—as voters, party workers and leaders, candidates and elected officials, and participants in government at all levels.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

We pledge, as we have elsewhere in this platform, efforts to create an environment which will enable our nation's youth:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

To live in a society which is safe and free;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

To pursue personal, educational, and vocational goals to the utmost of their abilities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

To experience the support, encouragement, and strength that come from maintenance of the family and its values; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.11

To know the stimulus of challenge, renewal through encouragement, provision of opportunities, and the growth that comes from responsible participation in numerous aspects of our society.[p.12]

Older Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Inflation is called "the cruellest tax." It strikes most cruelly at the elderly, especially those on fixed incomes. It strikes viciously at the sick and the infirm, and those who are alone in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Inflation has robbed our elderly of dignity and security. An entire generation of responsible and productive citizens who toiled and saved a full working life to build up a retirement nest egg now finds that it cannot survive on its savings. Today's inflation rates dwarf yesterday's interest rates, and the pensions and annuities of our elderly citizens cannot keep up with the rising cost of living. Millions of once-proud and independent elderly Americans face a future of welfare dependency and despair.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

We propose to assist families, and individuals of all ages, to meet the needs of the elderly, primarily through vigorous private initiative. Only a comprehensive reduction in tax rates will enable families to save for retirement income, and to protect that income from ravaging inflation. Only new tax exemptions and incentives can make it possible for many families to afford to care for their older members at home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Present laws can create obstacles to older Americans' remaining in the family home. Federal programs for the elderly, such as Medicare and Supplemental Security Income, must address, humanely and generously, the special circumstances of those who choose to stay with thir families rather than enter a nursing home or other institution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Social Security is one of this nation's most vital commitments to our senior citizens. We commit the Republican Party to first save, and then strengthen, this fundamental contract between our government and its productive citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Republicans consider older Americans a community asset, not a national problem. We are committed to using the sadly wasted talents of the aged throughout our society, which sorely needs their experience and wisdom. To that end, and as a matter of basic fairness, we proudly reaffirm our opposition to mandatory retirement and our long-standing Republican commitment to end the Democrats' limitation on earnings for elderly Social Security recipients. In addition, the Republican Party is strongly opposed to the taxation of Social Security benefits and we pledge to oppose any attempts to tax these benefits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Republicans have resisted Democratic electioneering schemes to spend away the Social Security trust funds for political purposes. Now the bill has come due, and the workers of America are staggering under their new tax burdens. This must stop.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Precisely because Social Security is a precious lifeline for millions of the elderly, orphaned, and disabled, we insist that its financing be sound and stable. We will preserve Social Security for its original purpose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

The problems of Social Security financing are only an aspect of the overriding problems of the economy which Democratic mismanagement has produced. There is but one answer, the comprehensive tax rate reduction to which Republicans are committed. To save Social Security, we have no choice but to redirect our economy toward growth. To meet this country's commitments to Social Security recipients, present and future, we need more people at work, earning more money, thereby paying more into the trust funds. That same growth can balance the federal budget with lower taxes, over time reducing inflation, which falls so cruelly on senior citizens whose income is fixed by the size of their public or private pension.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

We pledge to clean up the much-abused disability system. We will also expand eligibility for Individual Retirement Accounts to enable more persons to plan for their retirement years.

The Welfare System

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

The Republican agenda for welfare reform has been discussed in a previous section, but we think it important to stress that central to it is the preservation of the families the system is designed to serve. The current system does not do this. Neither would guaranteed annual income schemes. By supplanting parental responsibility and by denying children parental guidance and economic support, they encourage and reward the fragmentation of families. This is unconscionable. The values and strengths of the family provide a vital element in breaking the bonds of poverty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Ultimately, the Republican Party supports the orderly, wholesale transfer of all welfare functions to the states along with the tax sources to finance them.

The Family Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

It is increasingly common for both husbands and wives to work outside the home. Often, it occurs out of economic necessity, and it creates major difficulties for families with children, especially those of pre-school age. On one hand, they are striving to improve the economic well-being of their family; on the other, they are concerned about the physical and emotional well-being of their children. This dilemma is further aggravated in instances of single parenthood due to death or divorce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

Recognizing these problems, we pledge to increase the availability of non-institutional child care. We see a special role for local, private organizations in meeting this need.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

We disapprove of the bias in the federal tax system against working spouses, whose combined incomes are taxed at a proportionately higher rate than if they were single. We deplore this "marriage tax" and call for equity in the tax treatment of families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.12

We applaud our society's increasing awareness of the role of homemakers in the economy, not apart from the work force but as a very special part of it: the part that combines the labor of a full-time job, the skills of a [p.13] profession, and the commitment of the most dedicated volunteer. Recognizing that home-making is as important as any other profession, we endorse expanded eligibility for Individual Retirement Accounts for homemakers and will explore other ways to advance their standing and security.

Family protection

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

In view of the continuing efforts of the present Administration to define and influence the family through such federally funded conferences as the White House Conference on Families, we express our support for legislation protecting and defending the traditional American family against the ongoing erosion of its base in our society.

Handicapped people

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

Republicans will seek every effective means to enable families more easily to assist their handicapped members and to provide for their education and special medical and therapeutic needs. In the case of handicapped children particularly, flexibility must be maintained in programs of public assistance so that, whenever possible, these youngsters may remain at home rather than in institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

Targeted tax relief can make it possible for parents to keep such a child at home without foregoing essential professional assistance. Similarly, tax incentives can assist those outside the home, in the neighborhood and the workplace, who undertake to train, hire, or house the handicapped.

Secure and Prosperous Neighborhoods

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

The quality of American neighborhoods is the ultimate test of the success or failure of government policies for the cities, for housing, and for law enforcement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

Obsessed with the demands of special interest groups and preoccupied with the design of expensive "comprehensive" programs, the Democrats in Congress and the Administration have lost sight of that simple but important criterion. They have proposed more social and fiscal tinkering with our cities and towns.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

Republicans will address the real problems that face Americans In their neighborhoods day by day—deterioration and urban blight, dangerous streets and violent crime that make millions of Americans, especially senior citizens, fearful in their own neighborhoods and prisoners in their own homes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

In the summer of 1980, Americans suffer a rising national unemployment rate, now at nearly eight percent, and double-digit inflation and interest rates. As Republicans meet in Detroit, the policies of the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress have pushed the economy into recession and have resulted in unemployment approaching 20 percent in our host city.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

The people of Detroit have worked long and hard to revitalize their city, and the evidence of its rebirth is impressive. Their efforts have been severely set back by Carter Administration policies outside or this or any city's control. The grim evidence is manifested in jobs lost as a direct consequence of bankrupt economic policies which have fostered this recession. Republicans will address and resolve the real problems of today's economy, problems that destroy jobs and deny even the hope of homeownership to millions of American families. We are, moreover, committed to nurturing the spirit of self-help and cooperation through which so many neighborhoods have revitalized themselves and served their residents.

Neighborhood self-help

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

The American ethic of neighbor helping neighbor has been an essential factor in the building of our nation. Republicans are committed to the preservation of this great tradition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

To help non-governmental community programs aid in serving the needs of poor, disabled, or other disadvantaged, we support permitting taxpayers to deduct charitable contributions from their federal income tax whether they itemize or not.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

In contrast, the Democrats' assault against Meals-on-Wheels highlights their insensitivity to the neighborly spirit that motivates so many Americans. For over 25 years, voluntary Meals-on-Wheels organizations have been feeding needy homebound citizens—usually the elderly—with funding from local private charitable sources. Promising for the first time to "help" these neighborhood volunteer efforts in 1978, the Democratic Congress and Administration instead used the carrot of federal funding and the stick of federal regulation to crowd out private ventures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

Government must never elbow aside private institutions—schools, churches, volunteer groups, labor and professional associations—in meeting the social needs in our neighborhoods and communities.

Neighborhood revitalization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

The city is the focus for the lives of millions of Americans. Its neighborhoods are places of familiarity, of belonging, of tradition and continuity. They are arenas for civic action and creative self-help. The human scale of the neighborhood encourages citizens to exercise leadership, to invest their talents, energies, and resources, and to work together to create a better life for their families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

Republican economic programs will create conditions for rebirth of citizen activity in neighborhoods and cities across the land. In a Republican economic climate, America's cities can once again produce, build, and grow.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

A Republican Administration will focus its efforts to revitalize neighborhoods in five areas. We will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

Cut taxes, increase incentives to save, restore sound money, and stimulate capital investment to create jobs;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.13

Create and apply new tax incentives for employees and employers alike to stimulate economic growth and reduce red-tape for business ventures. Local government will be [p.14] invited to designate specific depressed areas as jobs and enterprise zones;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

Encourage our cities to undertake neighborhood revitalization and preservation programs in cooperation with the three essential local interests: local government, neighborhood property owners and residents, and local financial institutions;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

Replace the categorical aid programs with block grant or revenue sharing programs and, where appropriate, transfer the programs, along with the tax sources to pay for them, back to the state and local governments; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

Remain fully committed to the fair enforcement of all federal civil rights statutes and continue minority business enterprise and similar programs begun by Republican Administrations but bungled by overregulation and duplication during the Carter Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

Republican programs will revitalize the inner cities. New jobs will be created. The federal government's role will be substantially reduced. The individual citizen will reclaim his or her independence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

The revitalization of American cities will proceed from the revitalization of the neighborhoods. Cities and neighborhoods are no more nor less than the people who inhabit them. Their strengths and weaknesses provide their character. If they are to grow, it is the people who must seize the initiative and lead.

Housing and homeownership

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

Our citizens must have a real opportunity to live in decent, affordable housing. Due to the disastrous policies of the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress, however, the goal of homeownership and all that aspiration entails is now in jeopardy. These irrational policies have been catastrophic to the housing industry. The highest home mortgage interest rates in the history of the United States have depressed housing starts to the lowest level since World War II. Democratic policies guarantee shortages in owner-occupied and rental housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

As many as 1.4 million people who depend upon homebuilding for work may lose their jobs in this recession. Many already have. In addition to the toll taken on millions of American families, intolerable pressures will build on state, local, and federal budgets as tax revenues decline and expenditures increase to aid the unemployed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

We support financing and tax incentives to encourage the construction of rental housing as an essential addition to our housing inventory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

Prospective first-time home buyers simply cannot afford to buy. The affordability of housing has become a crisis. The high rates of inflation have driven mortgage payments, house prices, and down-payment requirements beyond the means of close to 80 percent of young American families. In order to assist the record number of young families who wish to become home buyers, we propose to implement a young family housing initiative, which would include several elements such as: urban homesteading, savings and tax reforms, and innovative alternate mortgage instruments to help meet monthly payment requirements without federal subsidies. To assist older homeowners, again without federal subsidy, we urge more extensive availability of the reverse annuity mortgage which allows older homeowners to withdraw the substantial equity they have built up in their homes and thus supplement their retirement income. In order to slow increases in housing costs, regulations which artificially limit housing production and raise housing costs must be eliminated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

We favor expansion of the Republican-sponsored urban homesteading program as a means of restoring abandoned housing. This innovative program is locally administered, returns property to the tax rolls, and develops new ownership and stability within our neighborhoods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

The collapse of new home production and the distress of the housing finance system are closely related. The stop and go economic policies of the past year have created extreme volatility in financial markets which have made it impossible for thrift institutions to supply housing credit at a reasonable cost.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

A set of policies aimed at higher and more stable levels of housing production will simultaneously reduce housing costs and unemployment in the economy. To assure a stable and continuous flow of funds for home mortgage financing, we pledge to allow responsible use of mortgage revenue bonds. We will work to change the tax laws to encourage savings so that young families will be able to afford their dreams.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

Specifically, we will support legislation to lower tax rates on savings in order to increase funds available for housing. This will help particularly to make homeownership an accessible dream for younger families, encouraging them not to despair of ever having a home of their own, but to begin working and saving for it now. We oppose any attempts to end the income tax deductibility of mortgage interest and property taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.14

Republicans will also end the mismanagement and waste that has characterized the Department of Housing and Urban Development during the Carter Administration. As presently structured, HUD programs present local governments and developers with a maze of bureaucracy, complicated applications, and inflexible requirements, often unsuited to local needs. Such programs often infringe upon the right of local governments to retain jurisdiction over their own zoning laws and building codes. As a result, their cost is so high that relatively few of the needy are ultimately housed or helped. Republicans will replace many of HUD's categorical programs with decentralized block grants to provide more efficient and responsive housing assistance to the elderly, the handicapped, and the poor. In remaining programs, particular emphasis should be [p.15] given to rehabilitation and preservation of existing housing stock as a priority in federal housing policy.

Crime

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

Safety and security are vital to the health and well-being of people in their neighborhoods and communities. Republicans are committed to ensuring that neighborhoods will be safe places in which families and individuals can live, and we support and encourage community crime fighting efforts such as neighborhood crime watch and court monitoring programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

First, we believe that Republican economic proposals, more particularly those proposals which strengthen society and smaller communities discussed elsewhere in this document, will go a long way toward stabilizing American society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

Second, we support a vigorous and effective effort on the part of law enforcement agencies. Although we recognize the vital role of federal law enforcement agencies, we realize that the most effective weapons against crime are state and local agencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

Just as vital to efforts to stem crime is the fair but firm and speedy application of criminal penalties. The existence and application of strong penalties are effective disincentives to criminal actions. Yet these disincentives will only be as strong as our court system's willingness to use them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

We believe that the death penalty serves as an effective deterrent to capital crime and should be applied by the federal government and by states which approve it as an appropriate penalty for certain major crimes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

We believe the right of citizens to keep and bear arms must be preserved. Accordingly, we oppose federal registration of firearms. Mandatory sentences for commission of armed felonies are the most effective means to deter abuse of this right. We therefore support Congressional initiatives to remove those provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968 that do not significantly impact on crime but serve rather to restrain the law-abiding citizen in his legitimate use of firearms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

In recent years, a murderous epidemic of drug abuse has swept our country. Mr. Carter, through his policies and his personnel, has demonstrated little interest in stopping its ravages. Republicans consider drug abuse an intolerable threat to our society, especially to the young. We pledge a government that will take seriously its responsibility to curb illegal drug traffic. We will first and most urgently restore the ability of the FBI to act effectively in this area. Republican government will work with local law enforcement agencies to apprehend and firmly punish drug pushers and drug smugglers with mandatory sentences where appropriate. We support efforts to crack down on the sale and advertising of drug paraphernalia. Private, nonprofit drug abuse rehabilitation agencies have taken the lead in fighting drug abuse, and they deserve greater cooperation and flexibility from federal, state, and local agencies and grant programs. We pledge the enactment of legislation to ban the utilization of federal funds by grantees of the Legal Services Corporation to render their services in cases involving the pushing or smuggling of drugs as well as in cases of repeat offenders. We commend the religious leaders, community activists, parents, and local officials who are working with fervor and dedication to protect young Americans from the drug plague.

Urban transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

The complex problems of mobility, congestion, and energy resources demand creative solutions if we are to improve the living conditions of our urban areas. Many urban centers of our nation need dependable and affordable mass transit systems. The first line of responsibility must lie with the local governments. They must be given the latitude to design and implement the transportation system best suited to their singular circumstances. Republicans believe we should encourage effective competition among diverse modes of transportation. The role of the federal government should be one of giving financial and technical support to local authorities, through surface transportation block grants. Because of the long planning and construction times inherent in bus, rail, and other mass transit systems, a consistent and dependable source of revenue should be established.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

Mass transportation offers the prospect for significant energy conservation. In addition, both management and labor agree that ease of access to the workplace is an important factor in employment decisions and industrial plant location. Lack of adequate access is a major reason why businesses have moved out of crowded urban areas, resulting in lower tax bases for cities. To encourage existing businesses to remain in urban centers and to attract new businesses to urban areas, it is vital that adequate public and private transportation facilities be provided.

Rural transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

Republicans recognize the importance of transportation in the rural areas of America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

Public transit is becoming more significant to rural areas as the costs of energy rise. While public transit will not replace the importance of private vehicles in rural America, it can serve as a vital adjunct to transportation in neighborhoods throughout rural America.

Jobs and the Workplace

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

We propose to put Americans back to work again by restoring real growth without inflation to the United States economy. Republican programs and initiatives detailed in this platform will create millions of additional new jobs in the American workplace. As a result of Mr. Carter's recession, more than eight million Americans are now out of work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.15

Sweeping change in America's economic policy is needed. We must replace the Carter Administration's promise of hard times and austerity—one promise which has been [p.16] kept—with Republican policies that restore economic growth and create more jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

The Democratic Congress and the Carter Administration are espousing programs that candidate Carter in 1976 said were inhumane: using recession, unemployment, high interest rates, and high taxes to fight inflation. The Democrats are now trying to stop inflation with a recession, a bankrupt policy which is throwing millions of Americans out of work. They say Americans must tighten their belts, abandon their dreams, and accept higher taxes, less take-home pay, fewer jobs, and no growth in the national economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

We categorically reject this approach. Inflation is too much money chasing too few goods. Shutting down our nation's factories and throwing millions of people out of work leads only to shortages and higher prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

We believe inflation can only be controlled by monetary and spending restraint, combined with sharp reductions in the tax and regulatory barriers to savings, investment, production, and jobs.

The need for growth and its impact on workers

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

The Republican Party believes nothing is more important to our nation's defense and social well-being than economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Since 1973, the U.S. economy has grown in real terms at a rate of only 1.9 percent a year. This is barely half of the 3.7 percent annual growth rate we experienced between 1950 and 1973 and well below the 4.6 percent growth rate we enjoyed between 1961 and 1969. If our economy continues to grow at its current rate of less than two percent a year, our Gross National Product (GNP) will barely reach $3 trillion by 1990.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

But if we can regain the growth we experienced during the economic boom of the 1960s, our GNP will reach nearly $4 trillion by the end of the decade, nearly one-third higher.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

With this kind of economic growth, incomes would be substantially higher and jobs would be plentiful. Federal revenues would be high enough to provide for a balanced budget, adequate funding of health, education and social spending, and unquestioned military preeminence, with enough left over to reduce payroll and income taxes on American workers and retirees. Economic growth would generate price stability as the expanding economy eliminated budget deficits and avoided pressure on the Federal Reserve to create more money. And the social gains from economic growth would be enormous. Faster growth, higher incomes, and plentiful jobs are exactly what the unemployed, the underprivileged, and minorities have been seeking for many years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

All working men and women of America have much to gain from economic growth and a healthy business environment. It enhances their bargaining position by fostering competition among potential employers to provide more attractive working conditions, better retirement and health benefits, higher wages and salaries, and generally improving job security. A stagnant economy, which Democratic policies have brought about, decreases competition among business for workers, discourages improved employee benefits, reduces income levels, and dramatically increases unemployment.

Savings, productivity, and jobs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Savings and investment are the keys to economic growth. Only that part of national income which goes into savings and which is not consumed by government deficits is available to finance real economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Americans now save less than any other people in the Western world because inflation and the high rates of taxation imposed by the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress have destroyed their ability and incentive to save and invest. This has strangled economic growth, choked off private initiative, pushed up prices, and retarded productivity and job creation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

The sharp drop in the growth of American productivity is the main reason why Americans' average real weekly earnings are no more than they were 19 years ago. This problem has worsened to the point that workers earn eight percent less in real purchasing power as the Carter term comes to a close than they did when it began.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

The 25 years of Democratic domination of the Congress have cost us a generation of lost opportunities. The Carter Administration in particular has opposed every Republican effort to restore the health of the economy through lower taxes on work effort, savings, and the modernization of America's productive machinery.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Republicans are committed to an economic policy based on lower tax rates and a reduced rate of government spending.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Therefore, the Republican Party pledges to:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Reduce tax rates on individuals and businesses to increase incentives for all Americans and to encourage more savings, investment, output and productivity, and more jobs for Americans;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Provide special incentives for saving by lowering the tax rates on savings and investment income;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Revitalize our productive capacities by simplifying and accelerating tax depreciation schedules for facilities, structures, equipment, and vehicles;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Limit government spending to a fixed and smaller percentage of the Gross National Product; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

Balance the budget without tax increases at these lower levels of taxation and spending.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.16

We also oppose Carter proposals to impose withholding on dividend and interest income. They would serve as a disincentive to save and invest and create needless paper-work burdens for government, business, industry, and the private citizen. They would literally rob the saver of the benefits of interest compounding and automatic dividend reinvestment programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

[p.17] Unless taxes are reduced and federal spending is restrained, our nation's economy faces continued inflation, recession, and economic stagnation. Tax fate reductions and spending restraint will restore the savings and investment needed to create new jobs, increase living standards, and restore our competitive position in the world.

Employment safety-net

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

To those individuals who have lost their jobs because of the Carter recession, we pledge to ensure that they receive their rightfully earned unemployment compensation benefits.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

The Republican Party recognizes the need to provide workers who have lost their jobs because of technological obsolescence or imports the opportunity to adjust to changing economic conditions. In particular, we will seek ways to assist workers threatened by foreign competition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

The Democratic Administration's inability to ensure fairness and equity between our nation and some of our trading partners has resulted in massive unemployment in many core industries. As we meet in Detroit, this Party takes special notice that among the hardest hit have been the automotive workers whose jobs are now targeted by aggressive foreign competition. Much of this problem is a result of the present Administration's inability to negotiate foreign trade agreements which do not jeopardize American jobs. We will take steps to ensure competitiveness of our domestic industries to protect American jobs. But for workers who have already lost their jobs, we will provide assistance, incentives for job refraining and placement, and job search and relocation allowances. Toward this end, we will pursue specific tax and regulatory changes to revitalize America's troubled basic industries. We will also seek the aid of private individuals, businesses, and non-profit organizations to formulate creative new self-supporting answers to training and placement problems as well as non-governmental sources of temporary financial support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

The Republican Party believes that protectionist tariffs and quotas are detrimental to our economic well-being. Nevertheless, we insist that our trading partners offer our nation the same level of equity, access, and fairness that we have shown them. The mutual benefits of trade require that it be conducted in the spirit of reciprocity. The Republican Party will consider appropriate measures necessary to restore equal and fair competition between ourselves and our trading partners.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

The international exchange of goods and services must take place under free and unfettered conditions of market entry.

Training and skills

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

Unemployment is a growing problem for millions of Americans, but it is an unparalleled disaster for minority Americans. As this country's economic growth has slowed over the past decade, unemployment has become more intractable. The gravity of the crisis is so severe that as we entered the present recession, unemployment was over six percent for the entire labor force but it was 33 percent for minority youth. In addition, the black unemployment rate was 10.8 percent and youth between the ages of 16 and 24 continued to account for about one-half of the total unemployed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

Despite the almost $100 billion spent on well-intended public sector employment and training programs, the structural unemployment problem continues to fester among minorities and young people. In addition to providing a growth climate for job creation, specific and targeted programs must be developed to alleviate these problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

Since four out of every five jobs are in the private sector, the success of federal employment efforts is dependent on private sector participation. It must be recognized as the ultimate location for unsubsidized jobs, as the provider of means to attain this end, and as an active participant in the formulation of employment and training policies on the local and national level. Throughout America, the private and independent sectors have repeatedly helped in the creation of minority business through donated counseling and consulting services. They have encouraged equal opportunity hiring practices within their own industries and have built nonprofit, self-supporting training centers where the products produced during training are sold to support the programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

A coordinated approach needs to be developed which maximizes the use of existing community resources, offers adequate incentives to the private sector, focuses on both large and small business, and minimizes red tape.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

in recognizing the seriousness of the youth employment problem, Republicans also realize that a job alone will do very little to move a disadvantaged young person beyond the poverty line. Republicans support the creation of comprehensive programs for disadvantaged youth which would offer pre-employment training, education, instruction, and job placement and retention services. Republicans support efforts to establish and maintain programs which seek to match the needs of the private sector and our young people as efficiently and effectively as possible. We also support expansion of proven skill training practices, such as apprenticeship, as well as private schools and trade schools. These methods can provide quality training and point toward the acquisition of specific job skills leading to specific employment goals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.17

We will encourage and foster the growth of new organizations operated by public-private partnerships to help forge a closer link between the schools and private employers. These institutions can afford in-school and out-of-school disadvantaged youth the opportunity to upgrade basic [p.18] skills, acquire work habits and orientation to work, and move directly from successful completion of the program to private unsubsidized jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

We believe that present laws create additional barriers for unemployed youth. One of the keys to resolving the youth unemployment problem is to reduce the cost to private employers of hiring young people who lack the necessary skills and experience to become immediately productive. Unfortunately, current government policy makes it too expensive for employers to hire unskilled youths. We urge a reduction of payroll tax rates, a youth differential for the minimum wage, and alleviation of other costs of employment until a young person can be a productive employee.

Small business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

Small business is the backbone of the American economy, with unique strengths and problems which must be recognized and addressed. For more than half of all American workers, the workplace is a small business. Small business is family business both in the sense that many of them are owned and operated by single families, and also because most American families rely not only on the goods and services, but on the jobs produced there for their livelihood and standard of living.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

Republicans have demonstrated their sensitivity to the problems of the small business community. The Carter Administration held a conference to learn what Republicans have long known. In the Congress, we have been working to pass legislation to solve small business problems and achieve the very goals later identified by that conference. A 1978 initiative by the late Representative Bill Steiger reduced the capital gains tax rates which were destroying capital formation in America. Under the leadership of Republicans in Congress, efforts to simplify and liberalize the restrictive depreciation schedule are a top priority. Another proposal long advocated by our Party is the drive to encourage the entrepreneur by reform of the regulatory laws which stifle the very life of business through fines, threats, and harassment. Republicans realize the immediate necessity of reducing the regulatory burden to give small business a fighting chance against the federal agencies. We believe that wherever feasible, small business should be exempt from regulations and, where exemption is not feasible, small business should be subject to a less onerous tier of regulation. We have offered legislation to reimburse small businessmen who successfully challenge the federal government in court. Republicans believe the number one priority for small business in America is the achievement of lower business and personal tax rates for small businessmen and women and we intend to work to secure them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

All of these initiatives will receive immediate attention from a Republican Administration and Congress. Without such changes as these, the small entrepreneur, who takes the risks which help make the economy grow and provides over 90 percent of all new jobs annually, will be an endangered species.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

By fostering small business growth, we are promoting permanent private sector solutions to the unemployment problem. We will continue to provide for small business needs by enacting a substantial increase in the surtax exemption. The heavy estate tax burden imposed on the American people is threatening the life savings of millions of our families, forcing spouses and children to sell their homes, businesses, and family farms to pay the estate taxes. To encourage continuity of family ownership, we will seek to ease this tax burden on all Americans and abolish excessive inheritance taxes to allow families to retain and pass on their small businesses and family farms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

We will reform the patent laws to facilitate innovation and we will further this goal by encouraging a greater share of federal research and development be done by small businesses. Finally, we will reform those tax laws which make it more profitable to break up a small business or merge it into a conglomerate than to allow it to grow and develop as an independent business.

Fairness to the worker

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

The Republican Party is committed to full employment without inflation. We will seek to provide more jobs, increase the standard of living, and ensure equitable treatment on the job for all American workers by stimulating economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

We reaffirm our commitment to the fundamental principle of fairness in labor relations, including the legal right of unions to organize workers and to represent them through collective bargaining consistent with state laws and free from unnecessary government involvement. We applaud the mutual efforts of labor and management to improve the quality of work life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

Wage demands today often represent the attempt of working men and women to catch up with government-caused inflation and high tax rates. With the blessing of the Democrats' majority in Congress, the Council on Wage and Price Stability has put a de facto ceiling of seven to eight and one-half percent on workers' wages, while the Administration devalues their paychecks at a rate of 13 to 15 percent. The government, not the worker, is the principal cause of inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

We recognize the need for governmental oversight of the health and safety of the workplace, without interfering in the economic well-being of employers or the job security of workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

The Republican Party reaffirms its long-standing support for the right of states to enact "Right-to-Work" laws under section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.18

The political freedom of every worker must be protected. Therefore, the Republican Party strongly supports protections against [p.19] the practice of using compulsory dues and fees for partisan political purposes.

Fairness to the consumer

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

The Republican Party shares the concerns of consumers that there be full disclosure and fairness in the marketplace. We recognize that government regulation and taxes add significantly to costs of goods and services to the consumer, reducing the standard of living for all Americans. For example, safety and environmental standards, some of which are counterproductive, increase the average price of a new car by over $700. Compliance with those regulations alone costs motorists as much as $12 billion a year.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

Fairness to the consumer, like fairness to the employer and the worker, requires that government perform certain limited functions and enforce certain safeguards to ensure that equity, free competition, and safety exist in the free market economy. However, government action is not itself the solution to consumer problems; in fact, it has become in large measure a part of the problem. By consistent enforcement of law and enhancement of fair competition, government can and should help the consumer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

An informed consumer making economic choices and decisions in the marketplace is the best regulator of the free enterprise system. Consumers are also taxpayers, workers, investors, shoppers, farmers, and producers. The Republican Party recognizes the need for consumer protection but feels that such protection will not be enhanced by the creation of a new consumer protection bureaucracy. Just as there can be no single monolithic consumer viewpoint, so the Republican Party opposes the funding of special self-proclaimed advocates to represent consumer interests in federal agency proceedings.

Fairness to the employer

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

The Republican Party declares war on government overregulation. We pledge to cut down on federal paperwork, cut out excessive regulation, and cut back the bloated bureaucracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

In addressing these problems we recognize that overregulation is particularly harmful to America's small businesses whose survival is often threatened by the excessive costs of complying with government rules and handling federal paperwork.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

While we recognize the role of the federal government in establishing certain minimum standards designed to improve the quality of life in America, we reaffirm our conviction that these standards can best be attained through innovative efforts of American business without the federal government mandating the methods of attainment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

The extraordinary growth of government, particularly since the middle 1960s, has brought mounting costs to society which, in turn, have added to inflationary pressures, reduced productivity, discouraged new investment, destroyed jobs, and increased bureaucratic intrusion into everyday life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

Regulatory costs are now running in excess of $100 billion each year, or about $1,800 for every American family. Federal paperwork annually costs businesses from $25 to $32 billion. According to official figures, it takes individuals and business firms over 143 million man-hours to complete 4,400 different federal forms each year. Government regulation produces many indirect immeasurable costs as well and has led to increased bureaucratization of industry. Regulation also restricts personal choices, tends to undermine America's democratic public institutions, and threatens to destroy the private, competitive free market economy it was originally designed to protect.

Government reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

In the face of a crisis of overregulation, the Carter Administration and the Democrats who control Congress have failed to recognize the problems facing workers, employers, and consumers and seem unable to come to grips with the underlying causes. While belatedly supporting transportation deregulation programs initiated by previous Republican Administrations, they have embarked on ambitious new schemes to tighten Washington's hold on energy and education. They have ignored or sidetracked Republican proposals to eliminate wasteful and outmoded spending programs and regulations. They have combined to push through more legislation and create additional programs which expand the size and power of the federal bureaucracy at the expense of ordinary taxpayers, consumers, and businesses. In contradiction to 1976 Carter campaign promises to cut back on regulation, the number of pages in the Federal Register devoted to new rules and regulations has increased from 57,072 in 1976 to 77,497 in 1979 and will approach 90,000 by the end of 1980.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

The result of Democratic rule in both the White House and the Congress is that government power has grown unchecked. Excessive regulation remains a major component of our Nation's spiraling inflation and continues to stifle private initiative, individual freedom, and state and local government autonomy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

The Republican Party pledges itself to a comprehensive program of government reform. We propose to enact a temporary moratorium on all new federal regulations that diminish the supply of goods and services and add significantly to inflation. Such a moratorium will be consistent with the goal of achieving a safe and healthy working environment. We shall work to reduce substantially the regulatory and paperwork burdens on small businesses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.19

We encourage management and labor to form joint safety and health committees to make the workplace a better place to produce goods and services. At the same time we believe that the arbitrary and high-handed tactics used by OSHA bureaucrats must end. OSHA should concentrate its resources on encouraging voluntary compliance by employers and monitoring situations where [p.20] close federal supervision is needed and serious hazards are most likely to occur. OSHA should be required to consult with, advise, and assist businesses in coping with the regulatory burden before imposing any penalty for noncompliance. Small businesses and employers with good safety records should be exempt from safety inspections, and penalties should be increased for those with consistently poor performance.

Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

In no American workplace is there to be found greater productivity, cooperation, neighborly concern, creative use of applied science, information and relevant research, honesty, perseverance, hard work, and independence than on the farm and ranch.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

The Republican Party takes pride in the ability of American farmers to provide abundant, high quality, and nutritious food and fiber for all our citizens including those most in need and to millions throughout the world, and at the same time to supply the largest single component in our export balance of trade.

Crisis in Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Four years of the Carter Administration and 25 consecutive years of a Congress controlled by Democrats have brought farmers and ranchers to the brink of disaster and the hardest times they have known since the Great Depression. In the last four years, more than 100,000 family farms have failed as farm income has plummeted. Even the present Administration's own figures show a decrease in real net farm income of some 40 percent in the last year alone—from $33 billion in 1979 to less than $22 billion projected for 1980.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

The Democratic Party and the Carter Administration have abused their authority and failed in their responsibility to provide sound agricultural policies. Republicans pledge to make life in rural America prosperous again. We will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Increase net farm income by supporting and refining programs to bring profitable farm prices with the goal of surpassing parity levels in a market-oriented agricultural economy;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Control inflation by adopting sound fiscal and monetary policies and by eliminating excessive and unnecessary federal regulations;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Expand markets at home by effectively utilizing the advantages of the energy potential for farm, forestry, and other biomass products. We encourage the continued innovative efforts in developing alcohol and other renewable energy sources and equipment for both on-farm and commercial use;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Aggressively expand markets abroad by effectively using the Eisenhower Food for Peace program and revolving credit incentives, working to remove foreign restraints on American products, and encouraging the development of dependable new markets in developing countries;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Assure a priority allocation of fuel for U.S. agriculture, including food and fiber production, transportation, and processing; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Combine efforts to encourage the renewable resource timber production capability of privately-owned forests and woodlands with a federal program committed to multiple-use (timber, recreation, wildlife, watershed and/or range management) where federal land has not been designated as wilderness.

Rural America

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Attention to the quality of life in our rural areas is a vital necessity because rural Americans impart a special strength to the national character. It is our goal to assure that all rural citizens—whether they are farmers or not—have the same consideration in matters of economic development, in energy, credit and transportation availability, and in employment opportunities which is given to those who live in towns and cities. The opportunity for non-farm jobs enhances the ability of people to live and work in rural America in the decade ahead, and our dedication to a prosperous and energetic rural America is part and parcel of our commitment to make America great again.

Expand Export Markets

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Agriculture's contribution to the U.S. trade balance makes it especially fitting that an aggressive market development program to establish dependable new markets for farm exports will be a vital part of the policies to restore profitability to American agriculture. Republicans will ensure that:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

International trade is conducted on the basis of fair and effective competition and that all imported agricultural products meet the same standards of quality that are required of American producers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade becomes a meaningful vehicle for handling agricultural trade problems and grievances;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

An aggressive agricultural market development program and the streamlining of the export marketing system is given top national priority;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

Government-to-government sales of agricultural commodities be eliminated, except as specifically provided by law;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

The future of U.S. agricultural commodities is protected from the economic evils of predatory dumping by other producing nations and that the domestic production of these commodities, so important to the survival of individuals and small rural communities is preserved; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

The important and productive potential of the commercial seafood industry is given encouragement.

Farmer-Held Reserves

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.20

We support farmer-owned grain reserves, should they become necessary, and adamantly oppose government-controlled reserves.

Grain Embargo

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

[p.21] We believe that agricultural embargoes are only symbolic and are ineffective tools of foreign policy. We oppose singling out American farmers to bear the brunt of Carter's ill-conceived, ineffective, and improperly implemented grain embargo. The Carter grain embargo should be terminated immediately.

Excessive Regulation of Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

The crushing burden of excessive federal regulations such as many of those imposed on farmers, ranchers, foresters, and commercial fishermen by OSHA, EPA, the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, Justice, Interior, and other government entities are unrealistic and unnecessary.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

We pledge a sensible approach to reduce excessive federal regulation that is draining the profitability from farming, ranching, and commercial fishing. Especially high on the agenda for changes in policy under Republican leadership are such regulatory issues as the Interior Department's ineffective predator control policies, EPA and FDA's excessive adherence to "zero risk" policies relative to the use of pesticides, herbicides, antibiotics, food additives, preservatives, and the like.

Soil and Water Conservation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

We believe the strong soil and water conservation stewardship to which farmers, ranchers, watermen, and rural Americans are devoted is exemplary, and encourage appropriate local, state, and federal programs to give conservation practices vitality. Voluntary participation with adequate incentives is essential to the effective conservation of our soil and water resources.

Water Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

The conservation and development of the nation's water resources are vital requisites for rebuilding America's national strength. The natural abundance of water can no longer be taken for granted. The impending crisis in water could be far more serious than our energy problems unless we act now. A dynamic water policy, which addresses our national diversity in climate, geography, and patterns of land ownership, and includes all requirements across the spectrum of water use, including Reclamation policy, will be a priority of the Republican Administration working with the advice and counsel of state and local interests. We must develop a partnership between the federal and state governments which will not destroy traditional state supremacy in water law. Further, there must be cooperation between the Executive Branch and Congress in developing and implementing that policy. Lack of such partnership has resulted in four years of bitter confrontation between the states and the obstructive policies of the Democratic Administration. The Congress has been frustrated in its efforts to conserve and develop our water resources. Working together, the states and the federal government can meet the impending water crisis through innovative and alternative approaches to such problems as cleaning our lakes and rivers, reducing toxic pollution, developing multiple-use projects, and achieving a workable balance between the many competing demands on our water resources.

Agricultural Labor

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

Comprehensive labor legislation, which will be fair to American workers and encourage better relations with our neighbors in Mexico and Canada with whom we wish to establish a working North American Accord, is an essential endeavor. We deplore disruptive work stoppages which interrupt the supply of food to consumers.

Taxation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

Federal estate and gift taxes have a particularly pernicious effect on family farms. Young farmers who inherit farm property are often forced to sell off part of the family farm to pay taxes. Once these taxes are paid, young farmers often must begin their careers deeply in debt. Our tax laws must be reformed to encourage rather than discourage family farming and ranching.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

We deplore the imposition of present excessive estate and gift taxes on family farms. We support the use of lower, productivity-based valuation when farms are transferred within the family. Further, we believe that no spouse should pay estate taxes on farm property inherited from a husband or wife. We support the Republican tax cut proposal which provides accelerated depreciation and expanded investment tax credits to farm vehicles, equipment, and structures. Finally, we support legislation which would remove tax advantages foreign investors realize on the sale of U.S. forests, farmland, and other real estate.

Rural Transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

It is essential to the well-being and security of our nation that an adequate rural transportation system be restored as a vital link between rural areas and their markets, both domestic and export. Overall, we pledge to eliminate those rules and regulations which restrict the free flow of commerce and trade of agricultural products and encourage an environment that will enhance the private development and improvement of all modes of transportation to move agricultural production swiftly, safely, and economically. Recognizing the inherent advantages of each mode of transportation, the Republican Party will work to encourage and allow those advantages to be utilized on a balanced and equitable basis.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.21

We believe the federal 55 miles per hour speed limit is counterproductive and contributes to higher costs of goods and services to all communities, particularly in rural America. The most effective, no-cost federal assistance program available would be for each state to set its own speed limit.

A Strong USDA

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

[p.22] We pledge an Administration dedicated to restoring profitability to agriculture. A top priority will be the selection of a qualified and effective Secretary and policy staff who will speak up for American farmers—and a President who will listen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

America's preeminence in agriculture is rooted in a system of agricultural research, extension, and teaching—unique and unequalled in the world. Land Grant Universities focus on problems of national, regional, and local concern. Cooperative extension, operating in every county of the United States and its territories, brings the results of USDA and Land Grant University research to farmers and ranchers, rural women, consumers, agribusiness, and to youth through 4-H programs.

Food Safety

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

The Republican Party favors a legislative effort to revise and modernize our food safety laws, providing guidelines for risk assessment, benefit assessment, peer review, and regulatory flexibility which are consistent with other government health and safety policies.

Cooperatives

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

We believe farmer cooperatives and rural electric and telephone cooperatives provide essential benefits to farmers and the rural Americans they serve, and we support exclusive jurisdiction of USDA in the effective administration of the Capper-Volstead Act.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

We Republicans pledge ourselves to work with farmers, ranchers, and our friends and neighbors to make America great again.

The Nation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

Though a relatively young nation among those of western civilization, we are possessed of one of the oldest institutions of government extant. Steeped in the Judeo-Christian ethic and in Anglo-Saxon theories of law and right, our legal and political institutions have evolved over many generations to form a stable system that serves free men and women well. It governs a people of multifarious heritage dispersed across a great continent of marked geographical contrasts. It presides over a diverse economy that in its collective whole is the largest, most powerful, and most resilient in the world. In the two centuries of its life, though it has from time to time been sorely tested by constitutional, economic, and social crises, it has stood and not been found wanting. Its timeless strength, coupled with and reinforced by the faith and good will, the wisdom and confidence of the people from whom it derives its powers, has preserved us as a nation of enormous vitality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

The intent of the Founders, embraced and reflected by succeeding generations of Americans, was that the Central government should perform only those functions which are necessary concomitants of nationality, preserve order, and do for people only those things which they cannot do for themselves. The durability of our system lies in its flexibility and its accommodation to diversity and changing circumstance. It is notable as much for what it permits as for what it proscribes. Government must ever be the servant of the nation, not its master.

Big government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

Under the guise of providing for the common good, Democratic Party domination of the body politic over the last 47 years has produced a central government of vastly expanded size, scope, and rigidity. Confidence in government, especially big government, has been the chief casualty of too many promises made and broken, too many commitments unkept. It is time for change— time to de-emphasize big bureaucracies—time to shift the focus of national politics from expanding government's power to that of restoring the strength of smaller communities such as the family, the neighborhood, and the workplace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

Government's power to take and tax, to regulate and require, has already reached extravagant proportions. As government's power continues to grow, the "consent of the governed" will diminish. Republicans support an end to the growth of the federal government and pledge to return the decisionmaking process to the smaller communities of society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

The emergence of policies and programs which will revitalize the free enterprise system and reverse the trend toward regulation is essential. To sustain the implementation of such policy, it is necessary to raise the public awareness and understanding that our free enterprise system is the source of all income, government and private, and raise the individual's awareness of his or her vested interest in its growth and vitality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

The Republican Party believes that it is important to develop a growing constituency which recognizes its direct relationship to the health and success of free enterprise, and realizes the negative impact of excessive regulation. Education and involvement in the system are the best means to accomplish this. To this end, we will actively pursue new and expanding opportunities for all Americans to become more directly involved in our free enterprise system.

Government reorganization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

The Republican Party reaffirms its belief in the decentralization of the federal government and in the traditional American principle that the best government is the one closest to the people. There, it is less costly, more accountable, and more responsive to people's needs. Against the prevailing trend toward increased Centralization of government under the Democrats, Republicans succeeded in the 1970s in initiating large scale revenue sharing and block grant programs to disperse the power of the federal government and share it with the states and localities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.22

Our states and localities have the talent, wisdom, and determination to respond to the [p.23] variety of demands made upon them. Block grants and revenue sharing provide local government with the means and the flexibility to solve their own problems in ways most appropriate for each locale. Unlike categorical grants, they do not lock states and localities into priorities and needs perceived by Washington. They are also more efficient because block grants and revenue sharing relieve both local government and the federal government from the costly and complicated process of program application, implementation, and review associated with the categorical grant system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

We pledge to continue and redouble our efforts to return power to the state and local governments. The regionalization of government encouraged by federal policies diminishes the responsiveness of state and local governments and impairs the power of the people to control their destiny.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

While Republican efforts have been focused on sharing revenue and the power that goes with it, the Carter Administration has been preoccupied with the reorganization and consolidation of central authority. As a result, we have the Departments of Energy and Education, for example, but no more oil and gas, or learning, to show for it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

When we mistakenly rely on government to solve all our problems we ignore the abilities of people to solve their own problems. We pledge to renew the dispersion of power from the federal government to the states and localities. But this will not be enough. We pledge to extend the process so that power can be transferred as well to non-governmental institutions.

Government reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

We favor the establishment or a commission of distinguished citizens to recommend ways of reorganizing and reducing the size and scope of the Executive Branch. Federal departments, agencies, and bureaus should be consolidated where possible to end waste and improve the delivery of essential services. Republicans pledge to eliminate bureaucratic red tape and reduce government paperwork. Agencies should be made to justify every official form and filing requirement. Where possible, we favor deregulation, especially in the energy, transportation, and communications industries. We believe that the marketplace, rather than the bureaucrats, should regulate management decisions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

The unremitting delegation of authority to the rule-makers by successive Democratic Congresses and the abuse of that authority have led to our current crisis of overregulation. For that reason, we support use of the Congressional veto, sunset laws, and strict budgetary control of the bureaucracies as a means of eliminating unnecessary spending and regulations. Agencies should be required to review existing regulations and eliminate those that are outmoded, duplicative, or contradictory. They must conduct cost-benefit analyses of major proposed regulations to determine their impact on the economy, on public health and safety, on state and local government, and on competition. We recommend legislation which would eliminate the present presumption of validity in favor of federal regulations. We also support legislation to require the federal government to provide restitution to those who have been wrongfully injured by agency actions. We oppose the use of tax monies by any federal agency to pay the expenses of intervenors in the rule-making process.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

We recognize that there are dangers inherent in the rapid growth of the federal bureaucracy, especially the arbitrary nature of its discretionary power and the abuses of procedural safeguards. Accordingly, we pledge to work for fundamental changes in the federal Administrative Procedures Act in order to give citizens the same constitutional protections before a government agency that they have in a courtroom. Among these reforms are requirements that agencies publish in the Federal Register all rules and statements of policy before they are adopted, that a person be guaranteed written notice and the opportunity to submit facts and arguments in any adjudicatory proceeding, that an agency decision be consistent with prior decisions unless otherwise provided by law, and that a person may seek judicial review without first exhausting his or her administrative remedies. At the same time we urge the Congress to strengthen its oversight to ensure that the agencies comply with the deadlines, report filing, and other requirements mandated by law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

We propose to repeal federal restrictions and rewrite federal standards which hinder minorities from finding employment, starting their own businesses, gaining valuable work experience, or enjoying the fruits of their own labors.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

Because there are too many federal employees in comparison to private sector employees, there should be no further increase in the number of civilian federal employees if that would increase the ratio of federal employees to private sector employees over the present ratio.

Election reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

The Republican Party has consistently encouraged full participation in our electoral processes and is disturbed by the steady decline in voter participation in the United States in recent years. We believe that the increased voter turnout during the past year in Republican campaigns is due to dissatisfaction with Democratic officials and their failure to heed popular demands to cut taxes, restrain spending, curb inflation, and drastically reduce regulation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.23

Republicans support public policies that will promote electoral participation without compromising ballot-box security. We strongly oppose national postcard voter registration schemes because they are an open invitation to fraud.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

Republicans support public policies that [p.24] encourage political activity by individual citizens. We support the repeal of those restrictive campaign spending limitations that tend to create obstacles to local grass roots participation in federal elections. We also oppose the proposed financing of Congressional campaigns with taxpayers' dollars as an effort by the Democratic Party to protect its incumbent Members of Congress with a tax subsidy. We prefer the present system of having the states and party rules determine the presidential nominating process to the concept of a uniform national primary which would only add to the already high costs of, and excessive federal intrusion into, presidential campaigns.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

We support the critical roles of competitive political parties in the recruitment of candidates, the conduct of campaigns, and the development of broad-based public policy responsive to the people. We urge Congress and state legislatures to frame their regulations of campaign finance, their nominating systems, and other election laws to strengthen rather than weaken parties.

Arts and Humanities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

Recent Republican Administrations led the way in bringing together private support and governmental encouragement to effect a tremendous expansion of artistic and scholarly endeavor. The Carter Administration has crudely politicized these programs, lowering their standards of excellence and increasing federal control over them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

The Republican Party will restore the sound economy which is absolutely necessary for the arts and humanities to flourish. We will restore, as well, the integrity of federal programs in this area. Most important, to ensure the continued primacy of private funding for the arts, we reiterate our support of broader tax incentives for contributions to charitable and cultural organizations.

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

America's transportation system must be designed to meet the requirements of the people, not to dictate what those requirements should be. Essential to any industrialized country is a transportation system which provides efficient and reliable service for both the movement of people and freight, urban and rural, domestic and foreign. Our nation has one of the finest transportation systems in the world but there is a danger that it will be unable to meet the future needs of a growing America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

Present levels of public and private investment will not preserve the existing system. For example, highways are deteriorating twice as fast as they are being rebuilt and inadequate rehabilitation will soon cost users more in reduced service levels than the cost of adequate rehabilitation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

The demand for transportation will grow dramatically in the next two decades with people-miles travelled increasing by over 50 percent and freight ton-miles more than doubling.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

Government overregulation is inhibiting the return on investment necessary to attract capital for future growth and jobs creation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

A maze of federal agencies, Congressional committees, and conflicting policies is driving up costs and retarding innovation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

A lackluster energy policy, impeding production of oil, coal, and other forms of energy is endangering transportation's ability to keep up with demand.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

Consequently, the role of government in transportation must he redefined. The forces of the free market must he brought to bear to promote competition, reduce costs, and improve the return on investment to stimulate capital formation in the private sector. The role of government must change from one of overbearing regulation to one of providing incentives for technological and innovative developments, while assuring through anti-trust enforcement that neither predatory competitive pricing nor price gouging of captive customers will occur.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

Increased emphasis must he placed on the importance of having a well-balanced national transportation system where highways, passenger vehicles, buses, trucks, pipe-lines, and rail, water, and air transportation each provide those services which it does best, while offering the widest range of reasonable choices for both passenger and freight movement. A sound transportation system is a prerequisite for the vision of America that Republicans embrace—a prosperous, growing nation where dreams can still come true.

Energy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

Energy is the lifeblood of our economy. Without adequate energy supplies now and in the future, the jobs of American men and women, the security of their lives, and their ability to provide for their families will be threatened and their standard of living will he lowered. Every American is painfully aware that our national energy situation has deteriorated badly over the past four years of Democratic control. Gasoline prices have more than doubled. Our oil import bill has risen 96 percent. Our energy supplies have become increasingly vulnerable because U.S. oil production outside of Alaska is now 28 percent below 1973 levels. The threat of sudden shortages, curtailments, and gas lines has become a recurring reality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

This steady deterioration has not only compounded our economic problems of inflation, recession, and dollar weakness, but even more importantly, it has infected our confidence as a nation. Energy shortages, spiralling costs, and increasing insecurity are beginning to darken our basic hopes and expectations for the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.24

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has very accurately focused on the effects that a no-growth energy policy will have on the opportunities of America's black people and other minorities. The NAACP said that "a pessimistic attitude toward energy supplies for the future…[p.25] cannot satisfy the fundamental requirement of a society of expanding economic opportunity."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

In commenting on the Carter energy proposals, the Association said, "We cannot accept the notion that our people are best served by a policy based upon the inevitability of energy shortage and the need for government to allocate an ever diminishing supply among competing interests.… (The plan) reflects the absence of a black perspective in its development."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

Three and one-half years ago, President Carter declared energy the "moral equivalent of war" and sent Congress 109 recommendations for action, including the creation of a new Department of Energy. Since then, the federal budget for government's energy bureaucracy has grown to about $10 billion per year and more then 20,000 pages of new energy regulations and guidelines have been issued. But these have not fostered the production of a single extra unit of energy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

The Democratic Congress has joined in the stampede, taking action on 304 energy bills since 1977. As a result, the federal bureaucracy is busy from coast to coast allocating gasoline, setting building temperatures, printing rationing coupons, and readying standby plans to ban weekend boating, close factories, and pass out "no drive day" stickers to American motorists—all the time saying, "We must make do with less." Never before in the history of American government has so much been done at such great expense with such dismal results.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

Republicans believe this disappointing cycle of shrinking energy prospects and expanding government regulation and meddling is wholly unnecessary. We believe that the proven American values of individual enterprise can solve our energy problems. This optimism stands in stark contrast to the grim predictions of the Democrats who have controlled Congress for the last 25 years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

They seem to believe not only that we are a nation without resources, but also that we have lost our resourcefulness. Republicans believe in the common sense of the American people rather than a complex web of government controls and interventions that threaten America's ability to grow. We are committed to an alternative strategy of aggressively boosting the nation's energy supplies; stimulating new energy technology and more efficient energy use; restoring maximum feasible choice and freedom in the marketplace for energy consumers and producers alike; and eliminating energy shortages and disruptions, which are a roadblock to renewed national economic growth, rising living standards, and a reawakening of the hopes and dreams of the American people for a better and more abundant future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

We believe the United States must proceed on a steady and orderly path toward energy self-sufficiency. But in the interim, our pressing need for insurance against supply disruption should not be made hostage to the whims of foreign governments, as is presently the case under the Carter Administration. We believe it is necessary to resume rapid filling of strategic oil reserves to planned levels of 500 million barrels in the short-term and ultimately to the one billion barrel level and to ensure that non-contiguous ares of the United States have their fair share of emergency oil reserves stored within their respective boundaries, as authorized by the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

In order to increase domestic production of energy, Republicans advocate the decontrol of the price at the well head of oil and gas. We believe that the so-called windfall profits tax (which is unrelated to profit) should be repealed as it applies to small volume royalty owners, new oil, stripper wells, tertiary-recovery, and heavy crude oil, and that the phase-out of the tax on old oil should be accelerated. This tax legislation should be amended to include a plowback provision. We will seek decontrol of prices on all oil products and an end to government authority to allocate petroleum supplies except in national emergency. We also believe that market restrictions on the use of natural gas should be eliminated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

Coal, our most abundant energy resource, can bridge the gap between our other present energy sources and the renewable energy sources of the future. The coal industry has been virtually ignored by the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress. In 1977, President Carter promised to double coal production by 1985. Instead, because of obstructionist actions of the Administration, coal production has increased by only 11 percent to date and future prospects are dim. Today, thousands of coal miners are out of work and without hope for the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

Republicans support a comprehensive program of regulatory reform, improved incentives, and revision of cumbersome and overly stringent Clean Air Act regulations. This program will speed conversion of utility, industrial, and large commercial oil-burning boilers to coal to the greatest extent feasible, thus substantially cutting our dependence on foreign oil. This program must begin immediately on a priority basis and be completed at the earliest date possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.25

To effectively utilize this vast resource, our coal transportation systems must be up-graded and the government controls on them relaxed. Government regulation regarding the mining and use of coal must be simplified. We will propose a policy which will assure that governmental restraints, other then necessary and reasonable environmental controls, do not prevent the use of coal. We also reaffirm that mined lands must be returned to beneficial use and that states, in accordance with past Congressional mandate, have the primary responsibility to implement rules concerning the mining of coal which are adapted to the states' unique characteristics.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

[p.26] Coal, gas, and nuclear fission offer the best intermediate solutions to America's energy needs. We support accelerated use of nuclear energy through technologies that have been proven efficient and safe. The safe operation, as well as design, of nuclear generating plants will have our highest priority to assure the continued availability of this important energy source. The design and operation of these plants can be guaranteed in less than the 10 to 12 year lead time now required to license and build them. We believe that the licensing process can and should be streamlined through consolidation of the present process and the use of standardized reactor designs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

The Three Mile Island incident suggests the need for certain reforms, such as in the area of operator training, but illustrates that properly designed and operated nuclear plants do not endanger public health or safety. We further encourage the research, development, and demonstration of the breeder reactor, with its potential for safely contributing to our nation's future energy supplies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Nuclear power development requires sound plans for nuclear waste disposal and storage and reprocessing of spent fuel. Technical solutions to these problems exist, and decisive federal action to choose and implement solutions is essential. The Democratic-controlled Congress and Administration have failed to address the spent fuel problem. A Republican Congress and Administration will immediately begin to implement plans for regional away-from-reactor storage of spent fuel with the goal of implementation of a program no later than 1984.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Republicans are committed to the rapid development of permanent storage facilities for nuclear wastes. Since waste disposal is a national responsibility, no state should bear an unacceptable share of this responsibility.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Republicans will also move toward reprocessing of spent fuel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Republicans will continue to support the development of new technologies to develop liquid, gaseous, and solid hydrocarbons which can be derived from coal, oil shale, and tar sands. The decontrol of oil and gas prices will eliminate any necessity for government support for a synthetic fuel industry except possibly for limited demonstration projects. Clean air, water, waste disposal, mine reclamation, and leasing rules must be made rational and final to accelerate private investment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Gasohol is an important, immediately available source of energy that is helping to extend our petroleum reserves. We encourage development of a domestic gasohol industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

We also believe the government must continue supporting productive research to speed the development of renewable energy technologies, including solar energy, geothermal, wind, nuclear fusion, alcohol synthesis, and biomass, to provide the next generation of energy sources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Conservation clearly plays a vital role in the consideration and formulation of national energy policy. Republicans reject, however, the position of the Democrats which is to conserve through government fiat, Republicans understand that free markets based on the collective priorities and judgments of individual consumers will efficiently allocate the energy supplies to their most highly valued uses. We also believe that the role of government is best performed by structuring creative cost-effective incentives to achieve energy efficiency and conservation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

We reject unequivocally punitive gasoline and other energy taxes designed to artificially suppress energy consumption.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Much inefficient energy use results from government subsidization of imported oil and holding the price of natural gas substantially below its market value. When the price of energy is held artificially low, there is no incentive for conservation. This kind of energy consumption stems not from the excesses of the public, but the foolish policy distortions of government. Every BTU of genuine energy "waste" in our economy would rapidly disappear if we immediately and completely dismantle all remaining energy price controls and subsidies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

A Republican policy of decontrol, development of our domestic energy resources, and incentives for new supply and conservation technologies will substantially reduce our dependence on imported oil. We reject the Carter Administration's incessant excuse that the high price of imported oil and OPEC are the primary cause of inflation and recession at home and a weak dollar and declining balance of payments abroad. The fastest way to bring international oil prices under control is to stop printing so recklessly the dollars in which those prices are denominated. Fully 60 percent of the world oil price increase since 1973 represents the depreciation of our dollars rather than an increase in the real price of oil.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Virtually all major environmental legislation in the past decade reflected a bipartisan concern over the need to maintain a clean and healthful environment. While the new environmental policies have resulted in improving air quality, cleaner waters, and more careful analysis of toxic chemicals, the price paid has far exceeded the direct and necessary cost of designing and installing new control technology. In the energy area, the increased complexity of regulations, together with continual changes in the standards imposed, have brought about tremendous delays in the planning and construction of new facilities ranging from electric power plants to oil refineries, pipelines, and synthetic fuel plants.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.26

Republicans believe that an effective balance between energy and environmental goals can be achieved. We can ensure that government requirements are firmly grounded on the best scientific evidence available, that they are enforced evenhandedly and [p.27] predictably, and that the process of their development and enforcement has finality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

Republicans condemn the Democrats' withdrawal of a massive amount of the most promising federal lands from prospective energy development, including the rich potential of our Outer Continental shelf. It has been estimated that by the end of the 1980s resources from government-controlled acreage could yield over two million barrels of oil per day and four trillion cubic feet of gas per year, the equivalent of nearly all of our imports from OPEC countries. It is clear that restrictive leasing policies have driven us further to depend on OPEC by severely impairing the exploration for, and development of, domestic oil, gas, and coal resources, thereby aggravating our balance of trade deficit and making our country less secure. Republicans will move toward making available all suitable federal lands for multiple use purposes including exploration and production of energy resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

Republicans believe that in order to address our energy problem we must maximize our domestic energy production capability. In the short term, therefore, the nation must move forward on all fronts simultaneously, including oil and gas, coal, and nuclear. In the longer term, renewable resources must be brought significantly on line to replace conventional sources. Finally, in conjunction with this all-out production initiative, we must strive to maximize conservation and the efficient use of energy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

The return to the traditions that gave vitality and strength to this nation is urgent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

The free world—indeed western civilization—needs a strong United States. That strength requires a prospering economy. That economy will be secure with a vigorous domestic energy industry. That vigor can only be achieved in an atmosphere of freedom—one that encourages individual initiatives and personal resourcefulness.

Environment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

The Republican Party reaffirms its long-standing commitment to the conservation and wise management of America's renewable natural resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

We believe that a healthy environment is essential to the present and future well-being of our people, and to sustainable national growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

The nature of environmental pollution is such that a government role is necessary to ensure its control and the proper protection of public health. Much progress has been made in achieving the goals of clean air, clean water, and control of toxic wastes. At the same time, we believe that it is imperative that environmental laws and regulations be reviewed and, where necessary, reformed to ensure that the benefits achieved justify the costs imposed. Too often, current regulations are so rigid and narrow that even individual innovations that improve the environment cannot be implemented. We believe, in particular, that regulatory procedures must be reformed to expedite decisionmaking. Endless delay harms both the environment and the economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

We strongly affirm that environmental protection must not become a cover for a "no-growth" policy and a shrinking economy. Our economy can continue to grow in an acceptable environment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

We believe that agricultural policy should give emphasis to the stewardship of the nation's soil and water resources. The permanent loss of productive farm land is a growing problem and we encourage states and local communities to adopt policies that help maintain and protect productive agricultural land as a national asset.

Immigration and refugee policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

Residence in the United States is one of the most precious and valued of conditions. The traditional hospitality of the American people has been severely tested by recent events, but it remains the strongest in the world. Republicans are proud that our people have opened their arms and hearts to strangers from abroad and we favor an immigration and refugee policy which is consistent with this tradition. We believe that to the fullest extent possible those immigrants should be admitted who will make a positive contribution to America and who are willing to accept the fundamental American values and way of life. At the same time, United States immigration and refugee policy must reflect the interests of our national security and economic well-being. Immigration into this country must not be determined solely by foreign governments or even by the millions of people around the world who wish to come to America. The federal government has a duty to adopt immigration laws and follow enforcement procedures which will fairly and effectively implement the immigration policy desired by the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

The immediate adoption of this policy is essential to an orderly approach to the great problem of oppressed people seeking entry, so that the deserving can be accepted in America without adding to their hardships.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

The refugee problem is an international problem and every effort should be made to coordinate plans for absorbing refugee populations with regional bodies, such as the Organization of American States and the Association of South East Asian Nations, on a global basis.

The judiciary

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.27

Under Mr. Carter, many, appointments to federal judgeships have been particularly disappointing. By his partisan nominations, he has violated his explicit campaign promise of 1976 and has blatantly disregarded the public interest. We pledge to reverse that deplorable trend, through the appointment of women and men who respect and reflect the values of the American people, and whose judicial philosophy is characterized by the highest regard for protecting the rights of law-abiding citizens, and is consistent with [p.28] the belief in the decentralization of the federal government and efforts to return decisionmaking power to state and local elected officials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

We will work for the appointment of judges at all levels of the judiciary who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life.

Taxes and government spending

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

Elsewhere in this platform, we have pledged for the sale of individual freedom and economic growth to cut personal income tax rates for all. Republicans believe that these tax rate reductions should be complemented by firm limitations on the growth of federal spending as provided by the Roth-Kemp Bill. The Republican Party, therefore, pledges to place limits on federal spending as a percent of the Gross National Product. It is now over 21 percent. We pledge to reduce it. If federal spending is reduced as tax cuts are phased in, there will be sufficient budget surpluses to fund the tax cuts, and allow for reasonable growth in necessary program spending.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

By increasing economic growth, tax rate reduction will reduce the need for government spending on unemployment, welfare, and public jobs programs. However, the Republican Party will also halt excessive government spending by eliminating waste, fraud, and duplication.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

We believe that the Congressional budget process has failed to control federal spending. Indeed, because of its big spending bias, the budget process has actually contributed to higher levels of social spending, has prevented necessary growth in defense spending, and has been used to frustrate every Republican attempt to lower tax rates to promote economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

The immediate burden of reducing federal spending rests on the shoulders of the President and the Congress. We believe a Republican President and a Republican Congress can balance the budget and reduce spending through legislative actions, eliminating the necessity for a Constitutional amendment to compel it. However, if necessary, the Republican Party will seek to adopt a Constitutional amendment to limit federal spending and balance the budget, except in time of national emergency as determined by a two-thirds vote of Congress.

Government lending

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

Not only has the Democratic Congress failed to control spending, but in the last 10 years federal credit assistance programs have soared out of control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

Many federal loan guarantees and related credit programs are off-budget. As a result, no one knows the nature and extent of our obligations or the effect such practices have on our economy. The best estimate is that outstanding federal credit is now close to $600 billion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

Runaway government lending can be just as dangerous as runaway federal spending.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

The Republican Party will establish a workable federal credit policy that will bring order to the reckless lending practices of the past.

Inflation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

We consider inflation and its impact on jobs to be the greatest domestic threat facing our nation today. Mr. Carter must go! For what he has done to the dollar; for what he has done to the life savings of millions of Americans; for what he has done to retirees seeking a secure old age; for what he has done to young families aspiring to a home, an education for their children, and a rising living standard, Mr. Carter must not have another four years in office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

In his three and one-half years in office, Mr. Carter has presented and supported policies which carried inflation from 4.8 percent in 1976 to a peak of 18 percent during 1980.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

He has fostered a 50 percent increase in federal spending, an increase of more than $200 billion, boosting spending in an era of scarce resources, and driving up prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

He has through both inaction and deliberate policy permitted or forced tax increases of more than 70 percent, more than $250 billion, directly increasing the cost of living and the costs of hiring and producing. This has crippled living standards, productivity, and our ability to compete in the world. It has led to reduced output, scarcity, and higher prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

He has imposed burdensome regulations and controls on production which have reduced the availability of domestic goods and energy resources, increased our dependence on imports, particularly in the energy area, driven down the value of the dollar, and driven up prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

He has permitted continuing federal budget deficits and increased federal borrowing, forcing higher interest rates and inflationary money creation, increasing prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

The inflation policies of the Carter Administration have been inconsistent, counterproductive, and tragically inept. Mr. Carter has blamed everyone from OPEC to the American people themselves for this crisis of inflation—everyone, that is, but his own Administration and its policies which have been the true cause of inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

Inflation is too much money chasing too few goods. Much can be done to increase the growth of real output. But ultimately price stability requires a non-inflationary rate of growth of the money supply in line with the real growth of the economy. If the supply of dollars rapidly outstrips the quantity of goods, year in, year out, inflation is inevitable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.28

Ultimately, inflation is a decline in the value of the dollar, the monetary standard, in terms of the goods it can buy. Until the decade of the 1970s, monetary policy was automatically linked to the overriding objective of maintaining a stable dollar value. The [p.29] severing of the dollar's link with real commodities in the 1960s and 1970s, in order to pursue economic goals other than dollar stability, has unleashed hyper-inflationary forces at home and monetary disorder abroad, without bringing any of the desired economic benefits. One of the most urgent tasks in the period ahead will be the restoration of a dependable monetary standard—that is, an end to inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

Lower tax rates, less spending, and a balanced budget are the keys to maintaining real growth and full employment as we end inflation by putting our monetary policy back on track. Monetary and fiscal policy must each play its part if we are to achieve our joint goals of full employment and price stability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

Unfortunately, Mr. Carter and the Democratic Congress seek to derail our nation's money creation policies by taking away the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. The same people who have so massively expanded government spending should not be allowed politically to dominate our monetary policy. The independence of the Federal Reserve System must be preserved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

The Republican Party believes inflation can be controlled only by fiscal and monetary restraint, combined with sharp reductions in the tax and regulatory disincentives for savings, investment, and productivity. Therefore, the Republican Party opposes the imposition of wage and price controls and credit controls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

Controls will not stop inflation, as past experience has shown. Wage and price controls will only result in shortages, inequities, black markets, and ultimately higher prices. We reject this short-sighted and misguided approach.

Peace and Freedom

Prologue

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

At the start of the 1980s, the United States faces the most serious challenge to its survival in the two centuries of its existence. Our ability to meet this challenge demands a foreign policy firmly rooted in principle. Our economic and social welfare in the 1980s may depend as much on our foreign and defense policy as it does on domestic policy. The Republican Party reasserts that it is the solemn purpose of our foreign policy to secure the people and free institutions of our nation against every peril; to hearten and fortify the love of freedom everywhere in the world; and to achieve a secure environment in the world in which freedom, democracy, and justice may flourish.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

For three and one-half years, the Carter Administration has been without a coherent strategic concept to guide foreign policy, oblivious to the scope and magnitude of the threat posed to our security, and devoid of competence to provide leadership and direction to the free world. The Administration's conduct of foreign policy has undermined our friends abroad, and led our meet dangerous adversaries to miscalculate the willingness of the American people to resist aggression. Republicans support a policy of peace through strength; weakness provokes aggression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

For three and one-half years the Carter Administration has given us a foreign policy not of constancy and credibility, but of chaos, confusion, and failure. It has produced an image of our country as a vacillating and reactive nation, unable to define its place in the world, the goals it seeks, or the means to pursue them. Despite the Administration's rhetoric, the most flagrant offenders of human rights including the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Cuba have been the beneficiaries of Administration good will, while nations friendly to the United States have suffered the loss of U.S. commercial access and economic and military assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

The threat to the United States and its allies is not only a military one. We face a threat from international terrorism. Our access to energy and raw material resources is challenged by civil unrest, Soviet-sponsored subversion, and economic combinations in restraint of free trade. Our first line of defense, our network of friendly nations and alliances, has been undermined by the inept conduct of foreign affairs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

American policy since World War II has rested upon the pillars of collective security, military and technological superiority, and economic strength, and upon the perception by our adversaries that the United States possesses the will to use its power where necessary to protect its freedom. These tenets have enabled a commonwealth of free and independent nations to enjoy the benefits and confidence that come from expanding economic interchange in peace and bilateral and multilateral support in time of war. The entire structure of peace was guaranteed by American and allied military power sufficient to deter conflict, or to prevail in conflict if deterrence should fail.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

The Administration's neglect of America's defense posture in the face of overwhelming evidence of a threatening military buildup is without parallel since the 1930s. The scope and magnitude of the growth of Soviet military power threatens American interest at every level, from the nuclear threat to our survival, to our ability to protect the lives and property of American citizens abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

Despite clear danger signals indicating that Soviet nuclear power would overtake that of the United States by the early 1980s, threatening the survival of the United States and making possible, for the first time in post-war history, political coercion and defeat, the Administration reduced the size and capability of our nuclear forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.29

Despite clear danger signals indicating that the Soviet Union was using Cuban, East German, and now Nicaraguan, as well as its own, military forces to extend its power to Africa, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere, the Administration often undermined the [p.30] very governments under attack. As a result, a clear and present danger threatens the energy and raw material lifelines of the Western world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

Despite clear danger signals indicating that the Soviet Union was augmenting its military threat to the nations of Western Europe, American defense programs such as the enhanced radiation warhead and cruise missiles, which could have offset that buildup, were cancelled or delayed—to the dismay of allies who depend upon American military power for their security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

The evidence of the Soviet threat to American security has never been more stark and unambiguous, nor has any President ever been more oblivious to this threat and its potential consequences.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

The entire Western world faces complex and multi-dimensional threats to its access to energy and raw material resources. The growth of Soviet military power poses a direct threat to the petroleum resources of the Persian Gulf now that its military forces deployed in Afghanistan are less than 300 miles from the Straits of Hormuz, through which half the free world's energy supplies flow.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

Soviet efforts to gain bases in areas astride the major sea lanes of the world have been successful due to their use of military power, either directly or indirectly or through Cuban and other Soviet bloc forces. Since the Carter Administration took office in 1977, the Soviets or their clients have taken over Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and South Yemen, and have solidified their grasp on a host of other nations in the developing world. The Soviet noose is now being drawn around southern Africa, the West's more abundant single source of critical raw materials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

The failure of the United States to respond to direct threats to its security has left American citizens vulnerable to terrorist assaults as well. American diplomatic personnel have been subject to seizure and assault by terrorists throughout the world without drawing a meaningful Administration response.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

No failure of the Administration has been so catastrophic as its failure of leadership. Mired in incompetence, bereft of strategic vision and purpose, the President's failure to shoulder the burden of leadership in the Western alliance has placed America in danger without parallel since December 7, 1941. The United States cannot abdicate that role without inducing a diplomatic and eventually a military catastrophe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

Republicans realize that if the challenges of the 1980s are not met, we will continue to lose the respect of the world, our honor, and in the end, our freedom. Republicans pledge to meet these challenges with confidence and strength. We pledge to restore to the United States and its people a government with conviction in our cause, a government that will restore to our great nation its self-respect, its self-confidence, and its national pride.

National Security

Defense budget trends

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

In the late 1960s, the Republicans returned to the White House, inheriting a war in Southeast Asia. Because of this war, they also inherited a Fiscal Year (FY) 1968 defense budget which, if calculated in constant 1981 dollars to account for inflation, had risen to over $194 billion from $148 billion in FY 1961, the last Eisenhower year. By the beginning of the second Nixon Administration, U.S. forces were totally disengaged from Southeast Asia. The FY 1974 defense budget had dropped back to $139 billion, and the country had reaped its desired "peace dividend" of an over $50 billion reduction in annual defense spending. During this period, between 1969 and 1973, the Democrats who controlled Congress, led by Senators Mondale and Muskie, cut almost $45 billion from Nixon defense requests. Until 1975, Congress continued to ignore long-range defense needs, and made severe cuts in Republican defense proposals. The Ford Administration, however, succeeded in reversing this trend. From a low point of $134 billion in FY 1975, the FY 1976 defense budget rose, in response to President Ford's request, to $139 billion; and in FY 1977 it rose again to $147 billion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

Despite the growing sentiment for a stronger defense, candidate Carter ran on a promise of massive cuts in U.S. defense spending, one promise he has kept. In his first three years in the White House, Mr. Carter reduced defense spending by over $38 billion from President Ford's last Five Year Defense Plan. Now, in his last year in office, faced with the total collapse of his foreign policy, and with his policy advisers and their assumptions disgraced, he has finally proposed an increase beyond the rate of inflation in defense spending. But this growth for 1981 will be less than one percent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

We deplore Mr. Carter's personal attempts to rewrite history on defense budgets. His tough speeches before military audiences cannot hide his continuing opposition to Congressional defense increases. The four chiefs of the armed services have each characterized the Carter defense program as "inadequate" to meet the military threat posed to the United States. We associate ourselves with the characterization by Democratic Congressional leaders of the President's behavior on defense as "hypocritical." We would go further; it is disgraceful.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

Mr. Carter cut back, cancelled, or delayed every strategic initiative proposed by President Ford. He cancelled production of the Minuteman missile and the B-1 bomber. He delayed all cruise missiles, the MX missile, the Trident submarine and the Trident II missile. He did this while the Soviet Union deployed the Backfire bomber and designed two additional bombers equal in capability to the B-1, and while it deployed four new large ICBMs and developed four others.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.30

Mr. Carter postponed production and deployment of enhanced radiation (neutron) [p.31] warheads while the Soviet Union deployed the SS–20 mobile missile and the Backfire bomber against Western Europe. He cut President Ford's proposed shipbuilding plan in half. He vetoed a nuclear aircraft carrier. He did this while the Soviet Union pursued an aggressive shipbuilding program capable of giving them worldwide naval supremacy in the 1980s unless current trends are reversed immediately. Mr. Carter opposed efforts to correct the terribly inadequate pay rates for our military personnel and stood by as the alarming exodus of trained and skilled personnel from the services quickened. At the same time, the Soviet Union increased its military manpower to a level of 4.8 million, more than double that of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

Recovery from the Carter Administration's neglect will require effort, but Americans know that effort is the unavoidable precondition to peace and economic prosperity. The Soviet Union is now devoting over $50 billion more to defense annually than the United States, achieving military superiority as a result. We have depleted our capital and must now devote the resources essential to catching up. The Secretary of Defense has stated that even if we were to maintain a constant increase in our spending of five percent in real terms, it would require 40 years for us to catch up.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

Republicans commit themselves to an immediate increase in defense spending to be applied judiciously to critically needed programs. We will build toward a sustained defense expenditure sufficient to close the gap with the Soviets, and ultimately reach the position of military superiority that the American people demand.

Defense strategy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

More is required than reversing our military decline alone. We have seen in recent years how an Administration, possessed of dwindling but still substantial strength, has stood paralyzed in the face of an inexorable march of Soviet or Soviet-sponsored aggression. To be effective in preserving our interests, we must pursue a comprehensive military strategy which guides both the design and employment of our forces. Such a strategy must proceed from a sober analysis of the diverse threats before us.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

Republicans approve and endorse a national strategy of peace through strength as set forth in House Concurrent Resolution 306. We urge speedy approval of this legislation by both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate as a means of making clear to the world that the United States has not forgotten that the price of peace is eternal vigilance against tyranny. Therefore we commend to all Americans the text of House Concurrent Resolution 306 which reads as follows:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

The foreign policy of the United States should reflect a national strategy of peace through strength. The general principles and goals of this strategy would be:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

To inspire, focus, and unite the national will and determination to achieve peace and freedom;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

To achieve overall military and technological superiority over the Soviet Union;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

To create a strategic and civil defense which would protect the American people against nuclear war at least as well as the Soviet population is protected;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

To accept no arms control agreement which in any way jeopardizes the security of the United States or its allies, or which locks the United States into a position of military inferiority;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

To reestablish effective security and intelligence capabilities;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

To pursue positive non-military means to roll back the growth of communism;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

To help our allies and other non-Communist countries defend themselves against Communist aggression; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

To maintain a strong economy and protect our overseas sources of energy and other vital raw materials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

Our strategy must encompass the levels of force required to deter each level of foresee-able attack and to prevail in conflict in the event deterrence fails. The detailed analysis that must form the intellectual basis for elaboration of such a strategy will be the first priority of a Republican Administration. It must be based upon the following principles.

Nuclear forces

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

Nuclear weapons are the ultimate military guarantor of American security and that of our allies. Yet since 1977, the United States has moved from essential equivalence to inferiority in strategic nuclear forces with the Soviet Union. This decline has resulted from Mr. Carter's cancellation or delay of strategic initiatives like the B–1 bomber, the MX missile, and the Trident II submarine missile programs and from his decisions to close the Minuteman production line and forego production of enhanced radiation weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

As the disparity between American and Soviet strategic nuclear forces grows over the next three years, most U.S. land-based missiles, heavy bombers, and submarines in port will become vulnerable to a Soviet first-strike. Such a situation invites diplomatic blackmail and coercion of the United States by the Soviet Union during the coming decade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.31

An administration that can defend its interest only by threatening the mass extermination of civilians, as Mr. Carter implied in 1979, dooms itself to strategic, and eventually geo-political, paralysis. Such a strategy is simply not credible and, therefore is ineffectual. Yet the declining survivability of the U.S. ICBM force in the early 1980s will make this condition unavoidable unless prompt measures are taken. Our objective must be to assure the survivability of U.S. forces possessing an unquestioned, prompt, hard-target counterforce capability sufficient to disarm Soviet military targets in a second [p.32] strike. We reject the mutual-assured-destruction (MAD) strategy of the Carter Administration which limits the President during crises to a Hobson's choice between mass mutual suicide and surrender. We propose, instead, a credible strategy which will deter a Soviet attack by the clear capability of our forces to survive and ultimately to destroy Soviet military targets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

In order to counter the problem of ICBM vulnerability, we will propose a number of initiatives to provide the necessary survivability of the ICBM force in as timely and effective a manner as possible. In addition, we will proceed with:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

The earliest possible deployment of the MX missile in a prudent survivable configuration;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

Accelerated development and deployment of a new manned strategic penetrating bomber that will exploit the $5.5 billion already invested in the B–1, while employing the most advanced technology available;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

Deployment of an air defense system comprised of dedicated modern interceptor aircraft and early warning support systems;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

Acceleration of development and deployment of strategic cruise missiles deployed on aircraft, on land, and on ships and submarines

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

Modernization of the military command and control system to assure the responsiveness of U.S. strategic nuclear forces to presidential command in peace or war; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

Vigorous research and development of an effective anti-ballistic missile system, such as is already at hand in the Soviet Union, as well as more modern ABM technologies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

For more than 20 years, commencing in the mid-1950s, the United States has maintained tactical nuclear weapons in Europe for the purpose of assuring against deep penetrations into the West by the Soviet forces. Since 1977, however, the Administration has allowed our former superiority to erode to the point where we now face a more than three-to-one disadvantage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

A Republican Administration will strive for early modernization of our theater nuclear forces so that a seamless web of deterrence can be maintained against all levels of attack, and our credibility with our European allies is restored. In consultation with them we will proceed with deployments in Europe of medium-range cruise missiles, ballistic missiles, enhanced radiation war-heads, and the modernization of nuclear artillery.

Conventional forces

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

The greatest single result of our loss of nuclear parity has been the manifest increase in the willingness of the Soviet Union to take risks at the conventional level. Emboldened by the Carter Administration's failure to challenge their use of surrogate Cuban forces in Africa and the later Soviet presence in Angola, Ethiopia, and South Yemen, the Soviets, for the first time in postwar history, employed their own army units outside of the Soviet bloc in a brutal invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion presents chilling evidence of the mounting threat and raises fundamental questions with respect to United States strategy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

We believe it is not feasible at this time, and in the long term would be unworkable, to deploy massive U.S. ground forces to such areas as the Persian Gulf on a permanent basis as we do in Europe and elsewhere. A more effective strategy must be built on the dual pillars of maintaining a limited full-time presence in the area as a credible interdiction force, combined with the clear capability to reinforce this presence rapidly with the forces necessary to prevail in battle. In addition, the strategy must envision military action elsewhere at points of Soviet vulnerability—an expression of the classic doctrine of global maneuver.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

The forces essential to the support of such a strategy must include a much-improved Navy, the force most suitable for maintaining U.S. presence in threatened areas and protecting sea lines of communication. In addition, we will require a substantial improvement in the air and sea mobility forces and improved access to regional installations. A Republican Administration will propose their substantial improvement, to include the establishment of a permanent fleet in the Indian Ocean. We will also improve contingency planning for the use and expansion of our commercial maritime fleet and a new rational approach to emergency use of our civil aircraft fleet.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

The budget cuts imposed by Mr. Carter on the Army and his restoration of the supremacy of systems analysis in the Pentagon have resulted in slowdowns, deferrals, and cost increases in nine vitally needed Army procurement programs in armor, firepower, air defense, and helicopters. These critical and long-delayed modernization programs must be restored to economical production rates and must be speeded into the field. Of equal importance is the need to bring our stocks of ammunition, spare parts, and supplies—now at woefully inadequate levels—to a standard that will enable us to sustain our forces in conflict.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

In addition to the strategic programs needed for our Air Force, we pledge to restore tactical aircraft development and procurement to economical levels and to speed the achievement of 26 modernized wings of aircraft able to conduct missions at night, in all weather conditions, and against the most sophisticated adversary.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.32

We pledge to increase substantially our intra- and inter-theater airlift capability and to increase our aerial tanker fleet through procurement and speedy modernization. Of all of the services, the Navy and Marines have suffered most from Mr. Carter's cuts. Their share of the defense budget has shrunk from 40 to 33 percent during the Carter Administration. Mr. Carter slashed President Ford's 157 ship, five-year construction [p.33] program to 83. He has slowed the Trident submarine and requested only one attack submarine each year in spite of a Soviet three-to-one advantage. He vetoed the Fiscal Year 1979 Defense Authorization Bill because it included an aircraft carrier which a year later Congress forced him to accept. For the fourth straight year he has requested fewer than half of the 325 aircraft needed annually to stay even with peacetime attrition and modernization requirements. He has requested fewer than one-third of the amphibious ships needed just to keep the current level of capability for the Marines, and he has opposed Marine tactical aircraft and helicopter modernization.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

The current Chief of Naval Operations has testified that, "We are trying to meet a three ocean requirement with a one-and-a-half ocean Navy." Republicans pledge to reverse Mr. Carter's dismantling of U.S. naval and Marine forces. We will restore our fleet to 600 ships at a rate equal to or exceeding that planned by President Ford. We will build more aircraft carriers, submarines, and amphibious ships. We will restore naval and Marine aircraft procurement to economical rates enabling rapid modernization of the current forces, and expansion to meet the requirements of additional aircraft carriers.

Defense manpower and the draft

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

The Republican Party is not prepared to accept a peacetime draft at this time. Under Mr. Carter, the all-volunteer force has not been given a fair chance to succeed. The unconscionable mismanagement and neglect of personnel policy by the Carter Administration has made a shambles of the all-volunteer force concept.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Perhaps the most compelling vulnerability of our forces results from the dramatic exodus of the core of highly skilled men and women who form the backbone of our military strength. This loss is the direct result of neglect by the Commander-in-Chief.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

The sustained malign neglect of our military manpower is nothing short of a national scandal. This Administration's active assault on military benefits and military retirement has been accompanied by an enforced pay-cap set at half the inflation rate. The average military family has lost between 14 percent and 25 percent in purchasing power over the past seven years. Officers and skilled enlisted personnel are leaving in droves, and 250,000 of our servicemen qualify for public assistance. Many of our career people earn less than the minimum wage. The services are currently short 70,000 senior enlisted personnel. This scandal is the direct result of Mr. Carter's willful downgrading of the military and inept mismanagement of personnel policy. As a top priority, the Republican Party pledges to end this national disgrace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

We pledge to restore a national attitude of pride and gratitude for the service of our men and women in the armed forces. We will act immediately to correct the great inequities in pay and benefits of career military personnel. Specifically, we support immediate action to:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Provide for an increase in military pay targeted in particular toward the career grades now experiencing the greatest attrition;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Increase enlistment and reenlistment bonuses;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Improve continuation bonuses for aviators;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Increase per diem travel allowances;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Increase the allowance for moving mobile homes;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Provide family separation allowances for Junior personnel; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Expand benefit entitlement under the CHAMPUS program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

A Republican Administration will index military pay and allowances to protect military personnel from absorbing the burden of inflation. We pledge that the profession of arms will be restored to its rightful place as a prominent expression of patriotism in America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

In order to attract recruits of high ability, a Republican Administration will act to re-introduce G.I. Bill benefits for those completing two years active service. We will press for enactment of legislation denying federal funds to any educational institution that impedes access of military recruiters to their students. We regard as a serious loss the decision of many of our finest institutions of higher learning to discontinue their military officer training programs. The leadership of our armed forces must include the best trained minds in our nation. Republicans call upon our colleges and universities to shoulder their responsibilities in the defense of freedom. We will investigate legislative inducements toward this end. We will not consider a peacetime draft unless a well-managed, Congressionally-funded, full-scale effort to improve the all-volunteer force does not meet expectations.

Reserve forces

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

The armed forces of the U.S. are today critically dependent upon our nation's Reserve components for both combat arms and combat support. The Army Reserve and National Guard provide one-third of the Army's combat divisions, 80 percent of its independent combat brigades, one-half of its artillery battalions, and one-third of its special forces groups. The Navy Reserve provides 90 percent of the Navy's ocean mine sweeping and two-thirds of its mobile construction battalions. The Air Force Reserve and Air National Guard provide all of our strategic interceptors, 60 percent of our tactical airlift, and one-third of our tactical fighters. Reserve and National Guard units may be mobilized for even the smallest of conflicts and many such units today are expected to deploy immediately with the active duty units they support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.33

Today, however, the reserves are ill-equipped, underpaid, and undermanned by several hundred thousand personnel. Proper [p.34] equipment, realistic, challenging training, and greater full-time support must be made available. We must ensure that all Americans take note of the proud and vital role played by the Reserve and National Guard components of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Readiness and industrial preparedness

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

History records that readiness for war is the surest means of preventing it. Lack of preparedness is the most dangerously provocative course we can take. Yet funding requests for sufficient fuel, spare parts, ammunition, and supplies for U.S. war reserves have been cut each year for the past four years from the minimum quantities the armed services have stated they need. This has left the U.S. Armed Forces at their lowest state of preparedness since 1950, seriously compromising their ability to sustain a military conflict.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

Crippling shortages of spare parts, fuel, and ammunition compromise the ability of the armed forces to sustain a major military conflict. Some critical types of ammunition could not support combat operations for more than a week although we are committed to holding a 90-day inventory of major ammunition types. In addition, critical facilities such as airfields, ammunition depots, maintenance installations, and living quarters for our troops are in serious disrepair. The backlog of deferred maintenance and the underfunded purchase of vital combat consumables is so vast that years of effort will be required to rebuild U.S. forces to the required level of readiness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

The problem of maintaining the day-to-day combat readiness of the U.S. Armed Forces is compounded by the reduced ability of American industry to respond to wartime contingencies. Reduced acquisition of equipment for the modernization of the armed forces and the Carter Administration's failure to maintain combat readiness have eroded the incentive of American industry to maintain capacity adequate to potential defense requirements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

Republicans pledge to make the combat readiness of U.S. Armed Forces and the preparedness of the industrial base to a top priority.

Research and development

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

Research and Development (R & D) provides a critical means by which our nation can cope with threats to our security. In the past, the United States' qualitative and technological superiority provided a foundation for our military superiority. Yet we are now on the verge of losing this advantage to the Soviet Union because of Mr. Carter's opposition to real increases in the R & D effort. Delays imposed on the R & D process now allow seven to 10 years or more to elapse between the time when a new weapon system is proposed and when it becomes available.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

The Soviet Union now invests nearly twice as much in military research and development as does the United States. This disparity in effort threatens American technological superiority in the mid-1980s and could result in Soviet breakthroughs in advanced weapon systems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

Republicans pledge to revitalize America's military research and development efforts, from basic research through the deployment of weapons and support systems, to assure that our vital security needs will be met for the balance of the century. We will seek increased funding to guarantee American superiority in this critical area and to enable us to deal with possible breakthroughs in anti-missile defense, anti-satellite killers, directed energy systems, and the military and civilian exploitation of space.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

America's technological advantage has always depended upon its interaction with our civilian science and technology sector. The economic policy of the Carter Administration has severely encumbered private research and development efforts, thereby depriving both our civil and military sectors of the fruits of scientific innovation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

Underfunding of beneficial government-sponsored research efforts in basic and applied scientific research has disrupted the benefits of years of effective effort. In particular, America's preeminence in the exploration of space is threatened by the failure of the Carter Administration to fund fully the Space Shuttle program (with its acknowledged benefits for both the civil and military applications) as well as advanced exploration programs. Republicans pledge to support a vigorous space research program.

Management and organization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

The Republican Party pledges to reform the defense programming and budgeting management system established by the Carter Administration. The ill-informed, capricious intrusions of the Office of Management and Budget and the Department of Defense Office of Program Analysis and Evaluation have brought defense planning full circle to the worst faults of the McNamara years. Orderly planning by the military services has become impossible. Waste, inefficiency, and paralysis have been the hallmarks of Carter Administration defense planning and budgeting. This has resulted in huge cost overruns and in protracted delays in placing advanced systems in the field.

National intelligence

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.34

At a time of increasing danger, the U.S. intelligence community has lost much of its ability to supply the President, senior U.S. officials, and the Congress with accurate and timely analyses concerning fundamental threats to our nation's security. Morale and public confidence have been eroded and American citizens and friendly foreign intelligence services have become increasingly reluctant to cooperate with U.S. agencies. As a result of such problems, the U.S. Intelligence community has incorrectly assessed [p.35] critical foreign developments, as in Iran, and has, above all, underestimated the size and purpose of the Soviet Union's military efforts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

We believe that a strong national consensus has emerged on the need to make our intelligence community a reliable and productive instrument of national policy once again. In pursuing its objectives, the Soviet Union and its surrogates operate by a far different set of rules than does the United States. We do not favor countering their efforts by mirroring their tactics. However, the United States requires a realistic assessment of the threats it faces, and it must have the best intelligence capability in the world. Republicans pledge this for the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

A Republican Administration will seek to improve U.S. Intelligence capabilities for technical and clandestine collection, cogent analysis, coordinated counterintelligence, and covert action.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

We will reestablish the President's Foreign intelligence Advisory Board, abolished by the Carter Administration, as a permanent nonpartisan body of distinguished Americans to perform a constant audit of national intelligence research and performance. We will propose methods of providing alternative intelligence estimates in order to improve the quality of the estimates by constructive competition.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

Republicans will undertake an urgent effort to rebuild the intelligence agencies, and to give full support to their knowledgeable and dedicated staffs. We will propose legislation to enable intelligence officers and their agents to operate safely and efficiently abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

We will support legislation to invoke criminal sanctions against anyone who discloses the identities of U.S. intelligence officers abroad or who makes unauthorized disclosures of U.S. intelligence sources and methods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

We will support amendments to the Freedom of information Act and the Privacy Act to permit meaningful background checks on individuals being considered for sensitive positions and to reduce costly and capricious requests to the intelligence agencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

We will provide our government with the capability to help influence international events vital to our national security interests, a capability which only the United States among the major powers has denied itself.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

A Republican Administration will seek adequate safeguards to ensure that past abuses will not recur, but we will seek the repeal of ill-considered restrictions sponsored by Democrats, which have debilitated U.S. intelligence capabilities while easing the intelligence collection and subversion efforts of our adversaries.

Terrorism

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

In the decade of the seventies, all civilized nations were shaken by a wave of widespread, international terrorist attacks. Time and again, nations and individuals have been subjected to extortion and murder at the hands of extremists who reject the rule of law, civil order, and the sanctity of individual human rights. Terrorism has been elevated to the level of overt national policy as authorities in Iran, encouraged by the Soviet Union, have held 53 Americans captive for more than eight months. Comprehensive support of international terrorist organizations has been a central, though generally covert, element of Soviet foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

Republicans believe that this tragic history contains lessons that must serve as the basis for a determined international effort to end this era of terrorism. We believe that certain principles have emerged from incidents in which states have defeated terrorist attacks, and we believe the United States should take the lead in a multilateral drive to eliminate the terrorist threat. A first requirement is the establishment of a military capability to deal promptly and effectively with any terrorist acts. We cannot afford, as in the abortive Iranian rescue mission, to allow months to pass while we prepare responses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

The United States must provide the leadership to forge an international consensus that firmness and refusal to concede are ultimately the only effective deterrents to terrorism. The United States should take the lead in combating international terrorism. We must recognize and be prepared to deal with the reality of expanded Soviet sponsorship of international terrorist movements. Development of an effective antiterrorist military capability and establishment of a Congressional and Executive capability to oversee our internal security efforts will no longer be neglected.

The role of arms control in defense policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

The Republican approach to arms control has been markedly different from that of the Democratic Party. It has been based on three fundamental premises:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

First, before arms control negotiations may be undertaken, the security of the United States must be assured by the funding and deployment of strong military forces sufficient to deter conflict at any level or to prevail in battle should aggression occur;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

Second, negotiations must be conducted on the basis of strict reciprocity of benefits—unilateral restraint by the U.S. has failed to bring reductions by the Soviet Union; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

Third, arms control negotiations, once entered, represent an important political and military undertaking that cannot be divorced from the broader political and military behavior of the parties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

A Republican Administration will pursue arms control solely on the principles outlined above.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.35

During the past three and one-half years, the Carter Administration's policy has been [p.36] diametrically opposed to these principles. First, by its willful cancellation or delay of essential strategic military programs such as the B-1, the MX missile, and the Trident submarine, it has seriously damaged the credibility and effectiveness of the U.S. deterrent force. Second, by not insisting upon corresponding concessions from the Soviet Union it has, in effect, practiced unilateral disarmament and removed any incentives for the Soviets to negotiate for what they could obviously achieve by waiting. The Republican Party rejects the fundamentally flawed SALT II treaty negotiated by the Carter Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

The Republican Party deplores the attempts of the Carter Administration to cover up Soviet non-compliance with arms control agreements including the now overwhelming evidence of blatant Soviet violation of the Biological Warfare Convention by secret production of biological agents at Sverdlovsk.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

In our platform four years ago, we stated that, "The growth of civilian nuclear technology and the rising demand for nuclear power as an alternative to increasingly costly fossil fuel resources, combine to require our recognition of the potential dangers associated with such development." We called for the formation of new multilateral arrangements to control the export of sensitive nuclear technologies. Unfortunately, the Carter Administration has failed to provide the leadership and creative diplomacy essential to forging effective international safeguards and cooperation in this vital area. In particular we oppose and deplore the pending delivery to India of nuclear material which can be directed to the manufacture of weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

The Republican Party reaffirms its commitment to the early establishment of effective multilateral arrangements for the safe management and monitoring of all transfers and uses of nuclear materials in the international market.

Foreign Policy

U.S.—Soviet relations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

The premier challenge facing the United States, its allies, and the entire globe is to check the Soviet Union's global ambitions. This challenge must be met, for the present danger is greater than ever before in the 200-year history of the United States. The Soviet Union is still accelerating its drive for military superiority and is intensifying its military pressure and its ideological combat against the industrial democracies and the vulnerable developing nations of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

Republicans believe that the United States can only negotiate with the Soviet Union from a position of unquestioned principle and unquestioned strength. Unlike Mr. Carter, we see nothing "inordinate" in our nation's historic judgment about the goals, tactics, and dangers of Soviet communism. Unlike the Carter Administration, we are not surprised by the brutal Soviet invasion of Afghanistan or by other Soviet violations of major international agreements regulating international behavior, human rights, and the use of military force. And, unlike the Carter Administration, we will not base our policies toward the Soviet Union on naive expectations, unilateral concessions, futile rhetoric, and insignificant maneuvers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

As the Soviet Union continues in its expansionist course, the potential for dangerous confrontations has increased. Republicans will strive to resolve critical issues through peaceful negotiations, but we recognize that negotiations conducted from a position of military weakness can result only in further damage to American interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

A Republican Administration will continue to seek to negotiate arms reductions in Soviet strategic weapons, in Soviet bloc force levels in Central Europe, and in other areas that may be amenable to reductions or limitations. We will pursue hard bargaining for equitable, verifiable, and enforceable agreements. We will accept no agreement for the sake of having an agreement, and will accept no agreements that do not fundamentally enhance our national security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

Republicans oppose the transfer of high technology to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites, such as has been done in the past, permitting development of sophisticated military hardware which threatens the United States and our allies. The Carter Administration has encouraged the most extensive raid on American technology by the Soviet bloc since World War II. The Soviet Union has gained invaluable scientific expertise in electronics, computer sciences, manufacturing techniques, mining, transportation, aviation, agriculture, and a host of other disciplines. This has contributed to the ability of the Soviet Union to divert investment and manpower from their civilian economy to their armed forces. The fruits of Soviet access to American technology will improve the performance of the Soviet military establishment for years to come. The matter is compounded by the practice of subsidized financing of much of the Soviet bloc's acquisition of American technology through U.S. financial institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

Republicans pledge to stop the flow of technology to the Soviet Union that could contribute, directly or indirectly, to the growth of their military power. This objective will be pursued by a Republican Administration with our allies and other friendly nations as well. We will ensure that the Soviet Union fully understands that it will be expected to fulfill all of the commercial and diplomatic obligations it has undertaken in its international agreements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.36

We oppose Mr. Carter's singling out the American farmer to bear the brunt of his failed foreign policy by imposition of a partial and incompetently managed grain embargo. Because of his failure to obtain cooperation from other grain exporting countries, the [p.37] embargo has been a travesty and a substitute for policy. We call for the immediate lifting of this embargo.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

We reaffirm our commitment to press the Soviet Union to implement the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Agreements which guarantee rights such as the free interchange of information and the right to emigrate. A Republican Administration will press the Soviet Union to end its harassment and imprisonment of those who speak in opposition to official policy, who seek to worship according to their religious beliefs, or who represent diverse ethnic minorities and nationalities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

Republicans deplore growing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and the mistreatment of "refuseniks" by Soviet authorities. The decline in exit visas to Soviet Jews and others seeking religious freedom and the promulgation of ever more rigorous conditions inhibiting their emigration are a fundamental affront to human rights and the U.N. Charter. Republicans will make the subject of emigration from the Soviet Union a central issue in Soviet-American relations. Human rights in the Soviet Union will not be ignored as it has been during the Carter Administration. As a party to the Helsinki Conference Final Act, a Republican Administration will insist on full Soviet compliance with the humanitarian provisions of the agreement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

Republicans pledge our continued support for the people of Cuba and the captive nations of Central and Eastern Europe in their hope to achieve self-determination. We stand firmly for the independence of Yugoslavia. We support self-determination and genuine independence for new captive nations of Africa and Latin America threatened by the growing domination of Soviet power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

A Republican Administration will end the sustained Carter policy of misleading the American people about Soviet policies and behavior. We will spare no efforts to publicize to the world the fundamental differences in the two systems and will strengthen such means as the international Communications Agency, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty actively to articulate U.S. values and policies, and to highlight the weaknesses of totalitarianism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

We pledge to end the Carter cover-up of Soviet violations of SALT I and II, to end the cover-up of Soviet violation of the Biological Warfare Convention, and to end the cover-up of Soviet use of gas and chemical weapons in Afghanistan and elsewhere.

NATO and Western Europe

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

Since its inception three decades ago, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has expressed the collective will of free nations to resist totalitarian aggression. As a cornerstone of the Western Alliance, NATO has stood on the firm foundations of American strategic strength, joint Allied defense efforts, and cooperative diplomacy based on shared interest and close consultations. The Republican Party recognizes that NATO serves the vital interest of the entire Western world and over the years we have continued to give the Alliance our undiminished and bipartisan support.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

Republicans deplore the current drifts toward neutralism in Western Europe. We recognize that NATO and our Western Allies today face the greatest array of threats in their history, both from within and from without. Through its inept policies, the Carter Administration has substantially contributed to the evident erosion of Alliance security and confidence in the U.S. A Republican Administration, as one of its highest priorities and in close concert with our NATO partners, will therefore ensure that the United States leads a concerted effort to rebuild a strong, confident Alliance fully prepared to meet the threats and the challenges of the 1980s.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

The chief external threat to NATO is that of developing Soviet military superiority. In a period of supposed "detente," the NATO nations have too often cut back or delayed essential defense programs and too often placed excessive hopes in arms control negotiations, while the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact has been transformed into the world's most powerful offensive military force.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

Three-and-a-half years of Carter Administration policies have resulted in an increased threat to vital Alliance security interests. Mr. Carter's unilateral cancellations, reductions, and long delays in the B-1, Trident, MX, cruise-missile, and ship-building programs have increased the vulnerability of the U.S. strategic triad and have contributed to a developing strategic imbalance which undermines the foundation of Western deterrent and defense capabilities. His fundamentally flawed SALT II treaty would have codified Western inferiority. His reversals on the development and deployment of the "enhanced radiation" or neutron weapon, his treatment of future theater nuclear force modernization negotiations, and his manner of dealing with terrorist actions directed against Americans abroad, further undermined Alliance solidarity and security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.37

These Carter Administration inconsistencies have caused disunity in the Alliance. We have seen confusion in the fields of trade, fiscal, and energy policies. The lack of close coordination regarding Iran, the Middle East, Afghanistan, the Olympic boycott, nuclear proliferation, East-West trade, human rights, North-South issues, and a host of other international issues affecting Alliance interests, has reinforced Allied concerns. Republicans are concerned that these Carter Administration actions have increased Allied temptation to conduct independent diplomacy and to seek accommodation in the face of pressure from the Soviet Union. In this regard, we categorically reject unilateral moratoria on [p.38] the deployment by the U.S. and NATO of theater nuclear weapons. Further, Republicans will oppose arms control agreements that interfere with the transfer of military technology to our allies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

In pledging renewed United States leadership, cooperation, and consultation, Republicans assert their expectation that each of the allies will bear a fair share of the common defense effort and that they will work closely together in support of common Alliance goals. Defense budgets, weapons acquisition, force readiness, and diplomatic coordination need to be substantially increased and improved. Within Europe as well as in areas beyond Europe which affect the shared vital interests of the Alliance, we will seek to increase our cooperative efforts, including increased planning for joint actions to meet common threats.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

The Republican Party recognizes the vital importance of countries defending the regions of NATO. We will search for an early resolution of problems that currently inhibit the effective participation of all the nations of NATO's southern region and we call for the integration of Spain into the North Atlantic Alliance.

Middle East, Persian Gulf

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

In the past three years, the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf have suffered an unprecedented level of political, economic, and military turmoil. The Soviet Union has been prompt in turning these sources of instability to its advantage and is now in an excellent position to exploit the chaos in Iran and to foment similar upheavals in other countries in the region. Today, the countries of the Middle East and Persian Gulf are encircled as never before by Soviet advisers and troops based in the Horn of Africa, South Yemen, and Afghanistan. Moreover, the Soviets have close political and military ties with other states in the region.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

The Soviet goal is clear—to use subversion and the threat of military intervention to establish a controlling influence over the region's resource-rich states, and thereby to gain decisive political and economic leverage over Western and Third World nations vulnerable to economic coercion. The first signs of Soviet success in this undertaking are already evidenced in the recent proposal by European countries to associate the Palestinian Liberation Organization in the West Bank autonomy talks.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

Republicans believe that the restoration of order and stability to the region must be premised upon an understanding of the interrelationship between Soviet and radical Palestinian goals, the fundamental requirements of stable economic development and marketing of the area's resources, and the growing ferment among Islamic radical groups. Republicans believe that a wise and credible United States policy must make clear that our foremost concern is for the long-term peaceful development of all states in the region, not purely a self-serving exploitation of its resources. Our goal is to bring a just and lasting peace to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

With respect to an ultimate peace settlement, Republicans reject any call for involvement of the PLO as not in keeping with the long-term interests of either Israel or the Palestinian Arabs. The imputation of legitimacy to organizations not yet willing to acknowledge the fundamental right to existence of the State of Israel is wrong. Repeated indications, even when subsequently denied, of the Carter Administration's involvement with the PLO has done serious harm to the credibility of U.S. policy in the Middle East and has encouraged the PLO's position of intransigence. We believe the establishment of a Palestinian State on the West Bank would be destabilizing and harmful to the peace process.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

Our long- and short-term policies for the area must be developed in consultation with our NATO allies, Israel, Egypt, and other friends in the area, and we will spare no effort in seeking their consultation throughout the policy process, not merely demand their acquiescence to our plans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

The sovereignty, security, and integrity of the State of Israel is a moral imperative and serves the strategic interests of the United States. Republicans reaffirm our fundamental and enduring commitment to this principle. We will continue to honor our nation's commitment through political, economic, diplomatic, and military aid. We fully recognize the strategic importance of Israel and the deterrent role of its armed forces in the Middle East and East-West military equations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

Republicans recognize that a just and durable peace for all nations of the region is the best guarantee of continued stability and is vital to deterring further Soviet inroads. Peace between Israel and its neighbors requires direct negotiations among the states involved. Accordingly, a Republican Administration will encourage the peace process now in progress between Egypt and Israel, will seek to broaden it, and will welcome those Arab nations willing to live in peace with Israel. We are encouraged by the support given to the Middle East peace process by Sudan and Groan and the progress brought about by the strong and effective leadership of their governments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

We applaud the vision and courage of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and we pledge to build our relationship with Egypt in cultural affairs, economic development, and military cooperation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.38

Republicans recognize that the Carter Administration's vacillations have left friend and foe alike unsure as to United States' policies. While reemphasizing our commitment to Israel, a Republican Administration will pursue close ties and friendship with moderate Arab states. We will initiate the economic and military framework for assuring long-term stability in the internal [p.39] development of regional states and an orderly marketplace for the area's resources. We will make clear that any reimposition of an oil embargo would be viewed as a hostile act. We will oppose discriminatory practices, including boycotts, and we will discourage arms sales which contribute to regional instability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

Republicans believe that Jerusalem should remain an undivided city with continued free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths.

The Americas

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

Latin America is an area of primary interest for the United States. Yet, the Carter Administration's policies have encouraged a precipitous decline in United States relations with virtually every country in the region. The nations of South and Central America have been battered by the Carter Administration's economic and diplomatic sanctions linked to its undifferentiated charges of human rights violations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

In the Caribbean and Central America, the Carter Administration stands by while Castro's totalitarian Cuba, financed, directed, and supplied by the Soviet Union, aggressively trains, arms, and supports forces of warfare and revolution throughout the Western hemisphere. Yet the Carter Administration has steadily denied these threats and in many cases has actively worked to undermine governments and parties opposed to the expansion of Soviet power. This must end.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

We deplore the Marxist Sandinista take-over of Nicaragua and the Marxist attempts to destabilize El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. We do not support United States assistance to any Marxist government in this hemisphere and we oppose the Carter Administration aid program for the government of Nicaragua. However, we will support the efforts of the Nicaraguan people to establish a free and independent government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

Republicans deplore the dangerous and incomprehensible Carter Administration policies toward Cuba. The Administration has done nothing about the Soviet combat brigade stationed there, or about the transfer of new Soviet offensive weapons to Cuba in the form of modern MIG aircraft and submarines. It has done nothing about the Soviet pilots flying air defense missions in Cuba or about the extensive improvements to Soviet military bases, particularly the submarine facilities in Cienfuegos, and the expanded Soviet intelligence facilities near Havana.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

Republicans recognize the importance of our relations within this hemisphere and pledge a strong new United States policy in the Americas. We will stand firm with countries seeking to develop their societies while combating the subversion and violence exported by Cuba and Moscow. We will return to the fundamental principle of treating a friend as a friend and self-proclaimed enemies as enemies, without apology. We will make it clear to the Soviet Union and Cuba that their subversion and their build-up of offensive military forces is unacceptable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

Republicans recognize the special importance of Puerto Rico and the United States Virgin Islands in the defense of freedom in the Caribbean. We believe that Puerto Rico's admission to the Union would demonstrate our common purpose in the face of growing Soviet and Cuban pressure in that area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

Republicans recognize the fundamental importance of Mexico and restoration of good working relations with that country will be of highest priority. A new Republican Administration will immediately begin high-level, comprehensive negotiations, seeking solutions to common problems on the basis of mutual interest and recognizing that each country has unique contributions to make in resolving practical problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

Republicans pledge to reestablish close and cooperative relations with the nations of Central and South America and repair the diplomatic damage done by the Carter Administration. We pledge understanding and assistance in the efforts of these nations, and their neighbors, to deal seriously with serious domestic problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

We pledge to ensure that the Panama Canal remains open, secure, and free of hostile control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

The reservations and understandings to the Panama Canal treaties, including those assuring the United States of primary responsibility of protecting and defending the Canal, are an integral part of those treaties and we will hold Panama to strict interpretation of the language of the treaties, clearly established by the legislative history of Senate adoption of amendments, reservations, and understandings at the time of Senate approval of the treaties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

We would remind the American taxpayers that President Carter gave repeated assurances that the Panama Canal treaties would not cost the American taxpayers "one thin dime," and we emphasize the fact that implementing the Panama Canal treaties will cost them $4.2 billion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

We will work closely with Canada as our most important trading partner in the hemisphere. We will foster the deep affinity that exists between our two nations and our policies will be based on mutual understanding and complete equality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

We will seek a North America Accord designed to foster close cooperation and mutual benefit between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

A new Republican Administration will, in close cooperation with its neighbors, seek to work together to build prosperity and to strengthen common efforts to combat externally produced revolution and violence.

Asia and the Pacific

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.39

The United States is and must remain a Pacific power. It is our vital interest to maintain U.S. guaranteed stability in the [p.40] area. Republicans recognize the dangerous shifts in power that have accelerated under the current Democratic Administration. The balance on the Korean peninsula has shifted dangerously toward the North. Soviet naval forces in Asia and the Pacific have steadily increased and are now at least equal to U.S. naval forces there. Unilateral cancellation by the United States of the mutual defense pact with Taiwan and the abrupt announcement of withdrawal of U.S. ground forces from Korea, have led countries throughout the region to question the value of alliance with the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

A new Republican Administration will restore a strong American role in Asia and the Pacific. We will make it clear that any military action which threatens the independence of America's allies and friends will bring a response sufficient to make its cost prohibitive to potential adversaries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

Japan will continue to be a pillar of American policy in Asia. Republicans recognize the mutual interests and special relationships that exist between the two countries in their commitment to democracy and in trade, defense, and cultural matters. A new Republican Administration will work closely with the Japans government to resolve outstanding trade and energy problems on an equitable basis. We strongly support a substantially increased Japanese national defense effort and reaffirm that our long-range objectives of military security and a balancing of the expanded Soviet military presence in the region are of mutual interest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

Republicans recognize the unique danger presented to our ally, South Korea. We will encourage continued efforts to expand political participation and individual liberties within the country, but will recognize the special problems brought on by subversion and potential aggression from the North. We will maintain American ground and air forces in South Korea, and will not reduce our presence further. Our treaty commitments to South Korea will be restated in unequivocal terms and we will reestablish the process of close consultations between our governments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

We reaffirm our special and historic relationships with the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, New Zealand, and Australia. Republicans will recognize the long friendship with these countries and will cultivate and strengthen our diplomatic and trade relationships.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

We deplore the brutal acts of Communist Vietnam against the people of Cambodia and Laos. We recognize that the suffering of refugees from these ravaged countries represents a major moral challenge to the world and one of the great human tragedies of modern times. A Republican Administration will work actively to bring relief to these suffering people, especially those who have sought refuge in Thailand. We value the special contribution the people of Thailand have made to the refugees by opening their borders and saving hundreds of thousands of them from death, and we pledge to provide full economic aid and military material to assist Thailand in repelling Vietnamese aggression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

We believe that no expanded relations with Communist Vietnam should be pursued while it continues its course of brutal expansionism and genocide. We pledge that a Republican Administration will press for full accounting of Americans still listed as missing in action.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

Recognizing the growing importance of the People's Republic of China in world affairs, Republicans—who took the historic initiative in opening the lines of communication with that nation—will continue the process of building a working relationship with the PRC. Growing contacts between the United States and the People's Republic of China reflect the interests of both nations, as well as some common perceptions of recent changes in the global military balance. We will not ignore the profound differences in our respective philosophies, governmental institutions, policies, and concepts of individual liberty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

We will strive for the creation of conditions that will foster the peaceful elaboration of our relationship with the People's Republic of China. We will exercise due caution and prudence with respect to our own vital interests, especially in the field of expanding trade, including the transfer of sophisticated technology with potential offensive military applications. The relationship between the two countries must be based on mutual respect and reciprocity, with due regard for the need to maintain peace and stability in Asia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

At the same time, we deplore the Carter Administration's treatment of Taiwan, our long-time ally and friend. We pledge that our concern for the safety and security of the 17 million people of Taiwan will be constant. We would regard any attempt to alter Taiwan's status by force as a threat to peace in the region. We declare that the Republican Administration, in strengthening relations with Taiwan, will create conditions leading to the expansion of trade, and will give priority consideration to Taiwan's defense requirements.

Africa

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

The Republican Party supports the principle and process of self-determination in Africa. We reaffirm our commitment to this principle and pledge our strong opposition to the effort of the Soviet Union and its militant allies to subvert this process. Soviet bases, tens of thousands of Cuban troops, and Soviet-bloc subversion are unacceptable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.40

We recognize that much is at stake in Africa and that the United States and the industrial West have vital interests there—economically, strategically, and politically. Working closely with our allies, a Republican Administration will seek to assist the countries of Africa with our presence, our markets, our know-how, and our investment. We will work to create a climate of economic and political development and confidence. [p.41] We will encourage and assist business to play a major role in support of regional industrial development programs, mineral complexes, and agricultural self-sufficiency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

Republicans believe that African nations, if given a choice, will reject the Marxist, totalitarian model being forcibly imposed by the Soviet Union and its surrogates including Cuban and Nicaraguan troops as well as East German secret police. We believe that they know the Communist powers have relatively little to offer them and that, for the most part, the African peoples are convinced that the West is central to world stability and economic growth on which their own fortunes ultimately depend.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

A Republican Administration will adhere to policies that reflect the complex origins of African conflicts, demonstrate that we know what U.S. interests are, and back those interests in meaningful ways. We will recognize the important role of economic and military assistance programs and will devote major resources to assisting African development and stability when such aid is given on a bilateral basis and contributes directly to American interests on the continent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

In Southern Africa, American policies must be guided by commonsense and by our own humanitarian principles. Republicans believe that our history has meaning for Africa in demonstrating that a multiracial society with guarantees of individual rights is possible and can work. We must remain open and helpful to all parties, whether in the new Zimbabwe, in Namibia, or in the Republic of South Africa. A Republican Administration will not endorse situations or constitutions, in whatever society, which are racist in purpose or in effect. It will not expect miracles, but will press for genuine progress in achieving goals consistent with American ideals.

Foreign assistance and regional security

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

The United States has included foreign assistance and regional security as a major element of its foreign policy for four decades. Properly administered and focused, foreign assistance can be an effective means of promoting United States foreign policy objectives, and serve to enhance American security by assisting friendly nations to become stronger and more capable of defending themselves and their regions against foreign subversion and attack.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

The threat posed to individual Third World nations is beyond the means of any one of them to counter alone. A Republican Administration will seek to strengthen and assist regional security arrangements among nations prepared to assume the burden of their defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

No longer should American foreign assistance programs seek to force acceptance of American governmental forms. The principal consideration should be whether or not extending assistance to a nation or group of nations will advance America's interests and objectives. The single-minded attempt to force acceptance of U.S. values and standards of democracy has undermined several friendly nations, and has made possible the advance of Soviet interests in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and in the Western Hemisphere in the past four years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

American foreign economic assistance is not a charitable venture; charity is most effectively carried out by private entities. Only by private economic development by the people of the nations involved has poverty ever been overcome. U.S. foreign economic assistance should have a catalytic effect on indigenous economic development, and should only be extended when it is consistent with America's foreign policy interest. America's foreign assistance programs should be a vehicle for exporting the American idea.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

A Republican Administration will emphasize bilateral assistance programs whenever possible. Bilateral programs provide the best assurance that aid programs will be fully accountable to the American taxpayer, and wholly consistent with our foreign policy interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

The effort of the Carter Administration to diminish the role of American military assistance and foreign military sales in our foreign policy has had several negative effects:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

It has resulted in the export of many thousands of American jobs as the Soviet Union, Britain, and France have taken sales prohibited to American manufacturers;

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

It has reduced the ability of friendly nations to defend their independence against Soviet-sponsored subversion, resulting in several cases in abject takeovers by overtly pro-Soviet regimes; and

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

It has weakened the fabric of the U.S. alliance structure by making the U.S. appear to be an unreliable ally, a trend which can only lead to the undesirable attempt by nations fearful of their security to seek to acquire their own nuclear weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

Decisions to provide military assistance should be made on the basis of U.S. foreign policy objectives. Such assistance to any nation need not imply complete approval of a regime's domestic policy. Republicans pledge to strengthen America's presence abroad by well-constructed programs of military assistance to promote national and regional security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.41

The manipulation of foreign arms sales has been one of the most seriously abused policy initiatives of the Carter Administration. The establishment of arbitrary ceilings on foreign sales, and the complex procedural and policy guidelines governing such sales have impeded the support of U.S. foreign policy objectives abroad. Friendly and allied nations alike have had to turn elsewhere for arms. This has stimulated the growth of a new arms industry in developing nations. Republicans pledge to reform and rebuild U.S. military assistance and foreign arms sales policies so that they will serve American interests in [p.42] promoting regional security arrangements and the individual defense needs of friendly nations.

International Economic Policy

International trade and economic policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

The American economy has an abundance of human and material resources, but nevertheless, it is part of a larger global economy. Our domestic prosperity and international competitiveness depend upon our participation in the international economy. Moreover, our security interests are in part determined by international economic factors. Yet the Carter Administration has largely ignored the role of international economics in relations between the United States and friendly nations throughout the world. The Administration has conducted its international economic policy at cross-purposes with other dimensions of its foreign policy, resulting in strains within the Western alliance and a general decline in the domestic prosperity. Under a Republican Administration, our international economic policy will be harmonized with our foreign and defense policies to leave no doubt as to the strategy and purpose of American policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

The economic policy of the Carter Administration has led to the most serious decline in the value of the dollar in history. The ability of Americans to purchase goods and services or to invest abroad has been diminished by Carter Administration policies devaluing the dollar. Republicans will conduct international economic policy in a manner that will stabilize the value of the dollar at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

The Republican Party believes the United States must adopt an aggressive export policy. For too long, our trade policy has been geared toward helping our foreign trading partners. Now, we have to put the United States back on the world export map. We helped pull other countries out of the post-World War II economic chaos: it is time to remedy our own crisis. Trade, especially exporting, must be high on our list of national priorities. The Republicans will put it there and will promote trade to ensure the long-term health of the U.S. economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

Exports can play a key role in strengthening the U.S. economy, creating jobs and improving our standard of living. A $15 billion increase in exports can increase employment by 1,000,000, the Gross National Product by $37 billion per year, and private investment by $4 billion per year. Nevertheless, the Carter Administration has placed exporting at the bottom of its priority list. The present Administration's trade policies lack coordination, cohesiveness, and true commitment to improving our export performance. Rather than helping to create strong exporters in the United States and thereby create more Jobs for Americans, the Carter Administration's trade policies have discouraged traders. At best, the Administration has adopted a passive approach to trade, merely reacting to changing world economies, rather than actively seeking to promote a global structure that best addresses America's needs. As a result, we lag seriously behind our foreign competitors in trade performance and economic strength. Export promotion will be a central objective of international economic policy in a Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

A Republican Administration will emphasize a policy of free trade, but will expect our trading partners to do so as well. The failure of the Carter Administration energetically to pursue negotiations designed to improve the access of American exports to foreign markets has contributed, in part, to protectionist sentiment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

Domestic problems—over-burdensome government regulations, excessive taxation, inflationary monetary policy, and an unstable economy—have contributed to the protectionist sentiments as well. We realize that protectionist legislation has engendered retaliation by America's trading partners in the past resulting in "beggar thy neighbor" policies that had such disastrous consequences in the 1930s.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

Republicans are committed to protect American Jobs and American workers first and foremost. The Republican Party believes in free trade, and we will insist that our trade policy be based on the principles of reciprocity and equity. We oppose subsidies, tariff and non-tariff barriers that unfairly restrict access of American products to foreign markets. We will not stand idly by as the jobs of millions of Americans in domestic industries, such as automobiles, textiles, steel, and electronics are jeopardized and lost. We pledge to strengthen trade agreements and to change the Carter economic policies that have undermined the capability of American agriculture and industry to compete abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

Republicans believe that this nation's international trade balance can be improved through the elimination of disincentives for exporters. Statutory and regulatory requirements that inhibit exports should be reviewed and, where practical, eliminated. We further recognize that government can play a role in promoting international trade by establishing incentives for exports, especially those for small and medium size business. We pledge also to work with our trading partners to eliminate subsidies to exports and dumping.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.42

The ability of the United States to compete in foreign markets is hampered by the excessive taxation of Americans working abroad who contribute to our domestic well-being by promoting international trade. Increased exports to our trading partners result in jobs and a rising standard of living at home. Carter Administration policy has the effect of discouraging the presence of American businessmen abroad due to the unfairly high level of taxation levied against them. A Republican Administration will support legislation designed to eliminate this [p.43] inequity so that American citizens can fully participate in international commerce without fear of discriminatory taxation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.43

Our nation must have a strong, competitive, and efficient merchant marine to meet the needs of our international commerce and our national security. We must arrest the significant decline of recent years in the ability of American-flag shipping to compete effectively for the carriage of world commerce. A Republican Administration will revitalize our merchant marine through a responsive and sustained policy. We will encourage the development and maintenance of an American-flag ocean transportation system, staffed with trained American personnel and capable of carrying a substantial portion of our international trade in a competitive and efficient manner. We will promote the development and support of a domestic shipbuilding and ship-repair mobilization base adequate to both the commercial and the national security requirements of the United States.

The security of energy and raw materials access

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.43

The security of America's foreign sources of energy and raw material supply can no longer be ignored. The United States imports 50 percent of it domestic petroleum requirements, and depends upon foreign sources for 22 of the 74 non-fuel raw materials essential to a modern industrial economy, Nine of the most critical raw materials are almost entirely (i.e., more than 90 percent) located abroad. In contrast, the Soviet Union imports only two critical minerals at a level in excess of 50 percent of domestic consumption.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.43

Reducing reliance on uncertain foreign sources and assuring access to foreign energy and raw materials require the harmonization of economic policy with our defense and foreign policy. Domestic economic and regulatory policy must be adjusted to remove impediments to greater development of our own energy and raw materials resources. Democratic policies for federal land management, taxation, monetary policy, and economic regulation have served to increase America's dependence on foreign sources of energy and raw materials. Republicans pledge to work to eliminate domestic disincentives to the exploitation of these resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.43

Multilateral negotiations have thus far insufficiently focused attention on U.S. long-term security requirements. A pertinent example of this phenomenon is the Law of the Sea Conference, where negotiations have served to inhibit U.S. exploration of the sea-bed for its abundant mineral resources. Too much concern has been lavished on nations unable to carry out sea-bed mining, with insufficient attention paid to gaining early American access to it. A Republican Administration will conduct multilateral negotiations in a manner that reflects America's abilities and long-term interest in access to raw material and energy resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1980, p.43

Resource access will assume an important place in defense and economic planning under a Republican Administration. Since America's allies are, in most cases, more dependent than the U.S. on foreign sources of energy and raw materials, they too have a vital interest in the defense of their access to these critical resources. Republicans pledge to promote allied defense cooperation to assure protection from military threats to overseas resources.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1984

Democratic Platform of 1984

Charles T. Manatt

Chairman Democratic National Committee

Preamble

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

A fundamental choice awaits America—, a choice between two futures.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

It is a choice between solving our problems, and pretending they don't exist, between the spirit of community, and the corrosion of selfishness: between justice for all, and advantage for some; between social opportunity and contracting horizons: between diplomacy and conflict: between arms control and an arms race: between leadership and alibis.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

America stands at a crossroads.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

Move in one direction, and the President who appointed James Watt will appoint the Supreme Court majority for the rest of the century. The President who proposed deep cuts in Social Security will be charged with rescuing Medicare. The President who destroyed the Environmental Protection Agency will decide whether toxic dumps get cleaned up. The President who fought the Equal Rights Amendment will decide whether women get fair pay for their work. The President who launched a covert war in Central America will determine our human rights policy. The President who abandoned the Camp David process will oversee Middle East policy, The President who opposed every nuclear arms control agreement since the bomb went off will be entrusted with the fate of the earth.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

We offer a different direction.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

For the economy, the Democratic Party is committed to economic growth, prosperity, and jobs. For the individual, we are committed to justice, decency, and opportunity. For the nation, we are committed to peace, strength, and freedom.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

In the future we propose, young families will be able to buy and keep new homes—instead of fearing the explosion of their adjustable-rate mortgages. Workers will feel secure in their jobs—instead of fearing layoffs and lower wages. Seniors will look forward to retirement—instead of fearing it. Farmers will get a decent return on their investment—instead of fearing bankruptcy and foreclosure.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

Small businesses will have the capital they need—instead of credit they can't afford, People will master technology—instead of being mastered or displaced by it. Industries will be revitalized—not abandoned. Students will attend the best colleges and vocational schools for which they qualify,—instead of trimming their expectations. Minorities will rise in the mainstream economic life—instead of waiting on the sidelines, Children will dream of better days ahead—and not or nuclear holocaust.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

Our Party is built on a profound belief in America and Americans.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

We believe in the inspiration of American dreams, and the power of progressive ideals. We believe in the dignity of the individual and the enormous potential of collective action. We believe in building, not wrecking. We believe in bridging our differences, not deepening them. We believe in a fair society for working Americans of average income: an opportunity society for enterprising Americans; a caring society for Americans in need through no fault of their own—the sick, the disabled, the hungry, the elderly, the unemployed: and a safe, decent and prosperous society for all Americans.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

We are the Party of American values—the worth of every human being; the striving toward excellence; the freedom to innovate; the inviolability of law; the sharing of sacrifice; the struggle toward justice; the pursuit of happiness.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

We are the Party of American progress—the calling to explore; the challenge to invent; the imperative to improve; the importance of courage; the perennial need for fresh thinking, sharp minds, and ambitious goals.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

We are the Party of American strength—the security of our defences; the power of our moral values; the necessity of diplomacy; the pursuit of peace; the imperative of survival.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

We are the Party of American vision—the trustees of a better future. This platform is our road map toward that future.

Chapter I: Economic Growth, Prosperity, and Jobs

Introduction

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

Building a prosperous America in a changing world: that is the Democratic agenda for the future. To build that America, we must meet the challenge of long-term, sustainable, noninflationary economic growth. Our future depends on it.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.2

To a child, economic growth means the promise of quality education. To a new graduate, it means landing a good first job. To a young family, growth means the opportunity to own a home or a car. To an unemployed worker, it means the chance to live in dignity again. To a farmer, growth means expanding markets, fair prices, and new customer. To an entrepreneur, it means a shot at a new business. To our nation, it means the ability to compete in a dramatically changing world economy. And to all in our society, growth—and the prosperity it [p.3] brings—means security, opportunity, and hope. Democrats want an economy that works for everyone—not just the favored few.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

For our party and our country, it is vital that 1984 be a year of new departures.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

We have a proud legacy to build upon: the Democratic tradition of caring, and the Democratic commitment to an activist government that understands and accepts its responsibilities.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

Our history has been proudest when we have taken up the challenges of our times, the challenges we accept once again in 1984 to find new ways in times of accelerating change, to fulfill our historic commitments. We will continue to be the party of justice. And we will foster the productivity and growth on which justice depends.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

For the 1980's, the Democratic Party will emphasize two fundamental economic goals. We will restore rising living standards in our country. And we will offer every American the opportunity for secure and productive employment.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

Our program will be bold and comprehensive. It will ask restraint and cooperation from all sectors of the economy. It will rely heavily on the private sector as the prime source of expanding employment. And it will treat every individual with decency and respect.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

A Democratic Administration will take four key steps to secure a bright future of long-term economic growth and opportunity for every American:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

\* Instead of runaway deficits, a Democratic Administration will pursue overall economic policies that sharply reduce deficits, down interest rates, free savings for private investment, prevent another explosion of inflation and put the dollar on a competitive footing.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

\* Instead of government by neglect, a Democratic Administration will establish a framework that will support growth and productivity and assure opportunity.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

\* In place of conflict, a Democratic Administration will pursue cooperation, backed by trade, tax and financial regulations that will serve the long-term growth of the American economy and the broad national interest.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

\* Instead of ignoring America's future, a Democratic Administration will make a series of long-term investments in research, infrastructure, and above all in people. Education, training and retraining will become a central focus in an economy built on change.

The Future if Reagan Is Reelected

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

" Since the Reagan Administration took office, my wife and have last half our net worth. Took us 20 years to build that up, and about three to lose it. That is hard to deal with…"

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

David Sprague, Farmer. Colorado (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing, Springfield, Illinois, April 27, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

"There's got to be something wrong with our government's policy when it's cheaper to shut a plant down than it is to operate it…The Houston Works plant sits right in the middle of the energy capital of the world and 83 percent of our steel went directly into the energy-related market, yet Japan could sit their products on our docks cheaper than we can make it and roll in there."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

Early Clowers. President, Steel Workers Local 2708 (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing. Houston, Texas. May 29. 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

A Democratic future of growth and opportunity of mastering change rather than hiding from it, of promoting fairness instead of winning inequality, stands in stark contrast to another four years of Ronald Reagan. Staying the course with Ronald Reagan raises a series of hard questions about a bleak future.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

What would be the impact of the Republican deficit if Mr. Reagan is reelected?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

A second Reagan term would bring federal budget deficits larger than any in American history—indeed, any in world history. Under the Republican's policies, the deficit will continue to mount. Interest rates, already rising sharply, will start to soar. Investments in the future will be solved, then stopped. The Reagan deficits mortgage the future and threaten the present.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

Mr. Reagan has already conceded that these problems exist. But as he said in his 1984 Economic Report to the Congress, he prefers to wait until after the election to deal with them. And then, he plans "to enact spending reductions coupled with tax simplification that will eventually eliminate our budget deficit."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

What will Mr. Reagan's plan for "tax-simplification" mean to average Americans if he is reelected?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.3

Ronald Reagan's tax "reforms" were a bonanza for the very wealthy, and a disaster for poor and middle-class Americans. If reelected, Mr. Reagan will have more of the same in store. For him, tax simplification will mean a further freeing of the wealthy from their obligation to pay their fair share of taxes and an increasing burden on the average American.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

[p.4] How will Mr. Reagan's "spending reductions" affect average Americans if he is reelected?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

If he gets a second term, Mr. Reagan will use the deficit to justify his policy of government by subtraction. The deficits he created will become his excuse for destroying programs he never supported. Medicare, Social Security, federal pensions, farm price supports and dozens of other people-oriented programs will be in danger.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

If Mr. Reagan is reelected, will our students have the skills to work in a changing economy?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

If we are to compete and grow, the next generation of Americans must be the best-trained, best-educated in history. While our competitors invest in educating their children, Mr. Reagan cuts the national commitment to our schools. While our competitors spend greater and greater percentages of their GNP on civilian research and development, this President has diverted increasing portions of ours into military weaponry. These policies are short-sighted and destructive.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

If Mr. Reagan is reelected, will basic industries and the workers they employ be brought into the future?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

The Republican Administration has turned its back on basic industries and their communities. Instead of putting forward policies to help revitalize and adjust, Mr. Reagan tells blameless, anxious, displaced workers to abandon their neighborhoods and homes and "vote with their feet."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

America's economic strength was built on basic industries. Today, in a changing economy, they are no less important. Strong basic industries are vital to our economic health and essential to our national security. And as major consumers of high technology, they are catalysts for growth in newly emerging fields. We need new approaches to ensure strong American basic industries for the remainder of this century and beyond.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

Can the road to the future be paved with potholes?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

Adequate roads and bridges, mass transit, water supply and sewage treatment facilities, and ports and harbors are essential to economic growth. For four years, the Reagan Administration has refused to confront adequately the growing problems in our infrastructure. Another term will bring four more years of negligence and neglect.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

If Mr. Reagan is reelected, how many children will join the millions already growing up at risk?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

Between 1980 and 1982, more than two million younger Americans joined the ranks of the poor: the sharpest increase on record.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

With the Reagan Administration's cutbacks in prenatal care and supplemental food programs have come infant mortality rates in parts of our cities rivaling those of the poorest Latin American nations. Black infants are now twice as likely as white infants to die during the first year of life.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

Cuts in school lunch and child nutrition programs have left far too many children hungry and unable to focus on their lessons.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

Teenage prostitution, alcohol and drug abuse, depression, and suicide have all been linked to child abuse. The Administration has abandoned most avenues to breaking the cycle of abuse. Funding to prevent and treat child physical abuse has been cut in half. And funds to help private groups set up shelters for runaway youth are being diverted elsewhere.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

If Mr. Reagan is reelected, will we ensure that our children are able to enjoy a clean, healthy environment?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

Protecting our natural heritage— its beauty and its richness— is not a partisan issue. For eighty years, every American President has understood the importance of protecting out air, our water, and our health. Today, a growing population puts more demands on our environment. Chemicals which are unsafe or disposed of improperly threaten neighborhoods and families. And as our knowledge expands, we learn again and again how fragile life and health—human and animal—truly are.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

Ensuring the environmental heritage of future generations demands action now. But the Reagan Administration continues to develop, lease, and sell irreplaceable wilderness lands. While thousands of toxic waste sites already exist, and more and more are being created constantly, the Reagan Administration is cleaning them up at a rate of only 1.5 per year. The environmental legacy of Ronald Reagan will be long-lasting damage that can never truly be undone.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

If Mr. Reagan is reelected will we be able to heat our homes and run our factories?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.4

Twice in the past, our country has endured the high costs of dependence on foreign oil. Yet the Reagan Administration is leaving us vulnerable to another embargo or an interruption in oil supply. By failing adequately to fill the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, and trusting blindly to the market to "muddle through" in a crisis this Administration has wagered [p.5] our national security on its economic ideology. One rude shock from abroad or just one "market failure", and our country could find itself plunged into another energy crisis.

The New Economic Reality; Five Reagan Myths

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

Underlying the Reagan approach to the economy are five key myths: myths that determine and distort the Reagan economic policy, and ensure that it is not the basis for long-term growth.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

The world has changed, but Ronald Reagan does not understand.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

First, and most fundamental the Reagan Administration continues to act as if the United States were an economic island unto itself. But we have changed from a relatively isolated economy to an economy of international interdependence. In fact, the importance of international trade to the U.S. economy has roughly doubled in a decade. Exports now account for almost 10 percent of GNP—and roughly 20 percent of U.S. manufactured goods. One in six manufacturing jobs now depends on exports, and one in three acres is now planted for the overseas market. Imports have also doubled in importance.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

Financial markets are also closely linked. U.S. direct investments and commercial loans overseas now amount to hundreds of billions of dollars. A debt crisis in Mexico will affect balance sheets in San Francisco. A recession in Europe will limit the profits of U.S. subsidiaries operating in the European market. Lower overseas profits wilt limit the flow of earnings back to the United State—one important way the U.S. has found to help pay for the rising tide of imports. Hundreds of billions of dollars in foreign short-term capital invested here are sensitive to small shifts in interest rates or the appearance of added risk. It is only partly bad loans that brought Continental Illinois to the brink of bankruptcy. Heavily dependent on short-term foreign deposits, Continental Illinois was particularly vulnerable. Rumors that were false at the time were enough to set off a run on the bank.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

The strength of American steel, the competitiveness of the U.S. machine tool industry, and the long-term potential of U.S. agriculture are no longer matters decided exclusively in Washington or by the American market. America must look to Tokyo, Paris, and the money markets in Singapore and Switzerland. Policy based on the myth that America is independent of the world around us is bound to fail.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

Second, this Administration has ignored the enormous changes sweeping through the American work force.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

The measuring of the baby boom generation, the sharp increase in the percentage of women seeking work, and the aging of the work force all have to be taken into account.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

Decade by decade, more and more women have moved into the work force. This large-scale movement is already changing the nature of professions, altering the patterns of child care and breaking down sex-based distinctions that have existed in many types of employment.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

In Ronald Reagan's vision of America, there are no single parent families, women only stay at home and care for children. Reagan's families do not worry about the effects of unemployment on family stability: they do not worry about decent housing and health care: they do not need child care. But in the real world, most Americans do. Providing adequate child care for the millions of American children who need it, and for their parents, is surely not a responsibility which belongs solely to the federal government. But, like the responsibility for decent housing and health care, it is one where federal leadership and support are essential.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

The work force is also aging. For the first time in this century, the average American is 31 years of age. Coupled with greater longevity and the gradual elimination of mandatory retirement rules, older workers can be expected to increase steadily their share of the total work force.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

Moreover, the kinds of jobs available in our economy are changing rapidly. The combined pressures of new products, new process technology, and foreign competition are changing the face of American industry.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

New technologies, shifting economics and deregulation have opened up dozens of new careers both in traditional industrial concerns and in new businesses. Many of them did not exist at all only a few years ago.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

And the change is far from over. In setting national policy, a government that ignores that change is bound to fail. In setting national policy, a government that ignores the future is short-changing the American people.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.5

Third, the Reagan program has ignored the fundamental changes that are sweeping through the structure of American industry, the diversity of the economy and the challenges various sectors face. New products and new ways of manufacturing are part of the change. High technology is creating new competitive industries, and holding out the promise of making older industries competitive once again.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

[p.6] Foreign competition has also had a major impact. But the tide runs much deeper than that.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

In the past decade, small business and new entrepreneurs have become more and more of a driving force in the American economy. Small businesses are a growing force in innovation, employment, and the long-term strength of the American economy.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

Technology itself appears to be changing the optimal size of American businesses. And unlike the conglomerate mergers of the 1960's, renewed emphasis on quality and efficient production has shifted the focus back to industry-specific experience.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

An Administration that sets tax policy, spending priorities, and an overall growth program without understanding the new dynamics and the diversity of American industry is weakening, rather than strengthening the American economy.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

Reaganomics is based on the theory that blanket-tax cuts for business and the rich would turn directly into higher productivity that private investors and industry would use the money saved to restore our edge in innovation and competitiveness.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

In practice, the theory failed because it did not take into account the diversity within our economy. The economy is composed of a set of complex public and private institutions which are intricately interrelated and increasingly influenced by the pressures of international competition. In the international economy, multinational companies and governments cooperate to win trade advantage, often at American expense.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

We are coming to understand that in an expanding number of markets, industrial strategies, rather than just the energies of individual firms, influence competitive success. Indeed, success in marketing a product may depend more on the quality and productivity of the relationship between government and business than on the quality of the product. While several foreign industrial strategies have failed, foreign governments are becoming more sophisticated in the design and conduct of their industrial strategies. The Reagan Administration is not.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

Fourth, the Reagan Administration has acted as if deficits do not count. The deficits are huge and are expected to get larger—and they are a major negative factor in everything from high interest rates to the third world debt crisis.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

—Because of the huge tax cuts to benefit the wealthy, and an enormous military buildup bought on credit, the federal deficit in 1983 was equivalent to 6% of our GNP. In dollars it amounted to almost 200 billion—more than three times larger than the deficit Ronald Reagan campaigned against in 1980.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

—Under the budget Reagan proposed to Congress earlier this year, the annual deficit would grow to $248 billion by 1989, and unless he makes major changes in current policy, it will exceed $300 billion. Reagan doubled the national debt during his first term. Given eight years, he will have tripled it. According to the proposed budget, at the end of his second term Reagan by himself will have put this country three times deeper into debt than all our other Presidents combined.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

—As the Reagan debt hangs over us, more and more of our tax dollars are going nowhere. By 1989, the percentage of federal revenues to be spent on deficit interest payments alone will have doubled. These unproductive payments will claim a staggering 42¢ on every personal income tax dollar we pay. This huge allocation will do nothing to reduce the principal of the debt: it will only finance the interest payments.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

—The interest payments on Reagan's debt are grossly out of line with historical spending patterns. Since 1981, more money has been squandered on interest payments on the Reagan-created debt alone than has been saved by all of Reagan's cuts in domestic spending. Non-defense discretionary spending, to be productively invested in programs to benefit the poor and middle class, and to build our social capital, is being overwhelmed by the enormous sum of money wasted on interest payments. By 1989, the annual payment will account for twice the percentage of federal revenue that we have ever set aside for such discretionary programs.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

—Interest payments on the debt are rising at an alarming rate. Today the annual payment has already reached $110 billion—twice what it was four years ago. During a second Reagan term, it will double again, reaching $207 billion by 1989.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

—The consequences for the individual taxpayer are enormous. Deficit increases under Reagan so far are equivalent to $2,387 levied from every woman, man and child alive in the United States today.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.6

—The consequences for the nation as a whole are also enormous. The massive government borrowing necessary to service the debt will amount to about three-quarters of the entire nation's net savings between 1983 and 1986.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

[p.7] The pressure of the deficits on interest rates has sucked in a wave of overseas investment. Some of those investments have been made in manufacturing plants or other commercial enterprises. Much of the foreign money, however, is in the term of portfolio holdings or even more liquid short-term bank deposits. It is an uncertain source for savings for a long-term investment program. To a limited degree, it puts the country in the same risky position as Continental Illinois Bank which relied heavily on short-term foreign deposits to make long-term domestic loans

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

High interest rates will eventually take their toll on domestic investment, make their own contribution to inflationary pressure (while eventually slowing growth and inflation), and increase the tensions in the domestic banking system. They will also have a potentially devastating impact on the international economy. Each percentage point rise in U.S. interest rates adds $3-5 billion to the annual debt payments of the developing world. High American interest rates have also put added pressure on interest rates in the industrial democracies, dampening their own prospects for growth, and their ability to buy our goods.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

Fifth, and finally, the Reagan Administration has virtually wished away the role of government. When it comes to the economy, its view is that the government that governs best is one that governs not at all.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

A Democratic Administration must answer this challenge reaffirming the principle that government must both "provide for the common defense" and "promote the general welfare" as coequal responsibilities under the Constitution. If the Democratic Party can succeed in correcting the present imbalance, it will reverse the cycle of pain and despair, and recapture the initiative in the area of social and economic progress.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

The Reagan Administration succeeded in shifting massive resources from human needs functions of the Federal budget to military-related functions and created unprecedented deficits based on the assumption that government should have a diminished responsibility for social progress, and thus, for the welfare of the needy and disadvantaged in society. The resulting Reagan-induced recession caused trememdous suffering, threw millions of people out of work, terminated or reduced benefits, and raised the national misery index.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

Mr. Reagan denies government's critical role in our economy. Government cannot, and should not, dominate our free enterprise economy. But American prosperity has been most pronounced when the government played a supportive or catalytic role in the nation's economic fortunes. There are a wide variety of examples stretching back through our entire history: government investments in roads and research, in education and training: government initiatives in opening up new economic possibilities, initiatives that started with the decision to protect domestic markets shortly after the Revolution to the ongoing commercial development of space.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

Agriculture is a clear example of government cooperation with a highly competitive private sector that has yielded a harvest of economic results that is the envy of the world. The government helps fund the research, helps spread it through the economy, educates the modern farmer, influences production levels, and helps develop new markets overseas. It is America's most conspicuous example of a successful industrial strategy—combining the cooperative efforts of business, government and our universities.

Reagan's Recession and A Recovery Built on Debt

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

The Economic Roller Coaster—Following the first oil shock in 1973, the United States embarked on a ten year economic roller coaster. The up and down performance of the economy was paralleled by erratic macroeconomic policy. There were wide swings from stimulative fiscal and monetary policies causing raging inflation, to government-engineered recessions.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

The frequency of the cycles created a climate of uncertainty that was tailor-made to discourage and distort investment. Each cycle left the economy weaker than the one before. At the end of each recession the level of inflation was higher, and at the end of each recovery the level of unemployment had risen.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

Even more disturbing was the decline in the rate of growth or productivity. By the end of the 1970's, productivity growth first stopped and then fell. Productivity growth has finally resumed—but the rate of growth remains disappointing compared both to our own economic past and the performance of other industrial economies.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

Reaganomics and an Election Year Recovery—Ronald Reagan swept into office on the promise of a smaller government and a bigger private sector, of higher GNP and lower inflation, and of the elimination of federal deficits.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

First, he proposed huge tax cuts. Mr. Reagan went so far as to suggest that the growth caused by his tax cuts would be so rapid that total tax revenues would actually rise even while tax rates were cut.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.7

Second, he promised a huge defense build-up.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

[p.8] Third, he promised stable prices. How was he going to contain prices while stimulating rapid growth? His answer was tight money.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

Fourth, the supply-siders promised growth and stable prices without the intervening pain of a recession. In effect, Reagan promised tight money without tears.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

Cut taxes but raise more revenues. Arm to the teeth. Growth with stable prices. Tight money and no hard times. It just did not work out that way. Worse, there was never any reason to expect that it would. Reagan's kind of tax cuts were based neither on rational economic theory nor on any empirical evidence. And wishing simply did not make it so. George Bush was right when he called Reaganomics "voodoo economics".

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

Instead of growth, the country had plunging production and record unemployment. Instead of increased savings and investment, the country had bankruptcy and economic decline. The Reagan policies, which were supposed to break the cycle of inflation and recession, only made it worse.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

Reagan cut domestic programs, but more than offset those cuts with vastly increased defense spending. The Government significantly reduced the growth of the money supply and kept real interest rates high. For a recession, real interest rates reached record highs. These interest rates brought an added problem. They attracted foreign funds and helped drive up the international value of the dollar. American business was faced with a double whammy—empty order books and high interest rates. For the increasingly large part of American business that either sells overseas or competes with imports at home, the over-valued dollar abroad meant their products cost far more compared to the foreign competition.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

Reagan effectively created a tax on exports and a subsidy for imports. It was a climate that forced record bankruptcies, enormous unemployment, plant closings, and major corporate reorganizaions. It was the largest and most severe economic collapse since the Great Depression.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

The Reagan Administration then prepared for the election year by "staying the course" in fiscal policy (pumping up demand with huge deficits) and sharply reversing the course in monetary policy.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

The Federal Reserve Board rapidly expanded the supply of money and the economy ceased to decline and began to recover.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

The Millions Left Behind—But millions of Americans were left behind. Over the last two years, 1.8 million men and women have became discouraged workers and more than 5.4 million have fallen into poverty. Nearly half of all minority youth are unemployed, and Black males have effectively lost 13 percent of their labor force participation in the last two decades. Unemployment on Indian reservations continues to be among the highest in the nation. The U.S.-Mexico border has been devastated by the currency devaluations and economic crisis in Mexico. Small businesses have closed: American families are suffering hunger and poor health, as unemployment exceeds depression rates. Women continue to receive less than 60 percent of the wages that men receive, with minority women receiving far less. Millions of other Americans, including the growing number of women heading poor households or those who have been hard-hit by plant closings or obsolescent skills, avidly seek training or retraining in occupations that hold real promise for sustained employment opportunities in the future.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

Millions of Americans, including those in the industrial and agricultural heartland, have been severely affected by the recent recession and the transformation in American industry that accompanied it. Furthermore, the changes seem to have come very quickly, and they do not seem to be over. Many Americans worked in auto, steel, machine tool, textile, agriculture and small business and related industries. Today for many of them, the recovery is a fiction, or seems very fragile. Plant closings have hit hard and job security and loss of health and pension benefits evoke memories from the past.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

Investment in jobs for all Americans constitutes the key investment for the future of the nation. For every one million workers who go back to work, our country produces an additional $60-70 billion in goods and adds $25 billion to the Federal treasury. The Democratic Party will work aggressively to stimulate employment, rebuild trade and encourage labor-intensive industrialization.

Seven Threats to the Recovery

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

The current election year recovery is in serious jeopardy, threatened by a series of major economic problems:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

\* Unless corrective action is taken soon, the current $180 billion deficit will balloon even larger by the end of the decade.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.8

\* Interest rates are high and rising. The prime rate has jumped one and one haft percentage points. A credit crunch is rapidly approaching in which federal borrowing for the deficit will overwhelm private demand for funds to fuel the recovery. Mortgage rates have risen to a point where home sales and housing [p.9] starts are beginning to fall. The variable rate mortgage that buffers the thrift industry against high interest rates may, in the near future, put the entire industry under pressure as steadily rising rates put mortgage payments beyond the reach of the average homeowner.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

\* The Federal Reserve Board faced a deficit dilemma. By expanding the money supply to help finance the deceit, the Federal Reserve runs the risk of runaway inflation. But if it limits growth by restricting the money supply, high interest rates will distort growth or tip the economy back into recession.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

\* The Reagan Administration has done nothing to solve America's repeated problem of reconciling steady growth with stable prices, except by causing a deep recession. Continuing high levels of unemployment still exist in various communities across the country. Many jobs have disappeared. The Reagan Administration is not interested in new forms of fighting inflation—its anti-inflation program amounts to little more than unemployment, tight money and union busting. It is a highly cynical economic selective service that drafts only the poor and the middle class to fight the war against inflation, Unrestrained by the demands of another election, a second Reagan Administration will be even less concerned about the impact of deep recession on the average working American.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

\* Our trade deficit is a looming disaster for the national economy. An overvalued dollar, itself the product of high interest rates, helped create a nearly $70 billion trade deficit in 1983. It will be almost twice as large in 1984. Borrowing to support the deficits and buying abroad to maintain a recovery tilted toward consumption are eroding America's position as a creditor nation.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

\* America is very much a part of the international economy. And the recovery overseas has been slow to catch hold. European economies are strained by the impact of high American interest rates on their own economies. For many developing countries, growth has been slowed or even reversed by the overhang of an enormous burden of commercial and official debt. If they cannot buy our products, our economy must slow.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

\* The sheer size of the international debt burden is itself a threat to the recovery. It is not only a question of falling exports Latin America. The America and international financial system has been put in peril by the weakening of debtor nations' ability to repay their debt to U.S. banks as interest rates rise.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

Howard Baker called Mr. Reagan's policies a "riverboat gamble". We now know the outcome. The very wealthiest in out society have been big winners—but future generations of Americans will be the losers.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

The Americans coming of age today face a future less secure and less prosperous than their parents did—unless we change course. We have an obligation to our children and to their children. We Democrats have a different vision of our future.

The Democratic Alternative: A Prosperous America In A Changing World

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

"There's a lot of people out there only making $3.35 an hour, and that's been since '81. That's a long time to be making $3.35 an hour…Costs of living have gone up considerably. The insurance has gone up, gas, lights, water. It's a whole lot different now, it's not the same as '81. I know times have changed, but why can't the $3.35 change with them? I would like to know that if anybody can answer. I urge the Democratic Party to develop policies and protect working people."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

Doris Smith, Steward, SEIU Local 706.(Democratic Platform Committee Hearing. Houston, Texas, May 29, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

"We do not have a surplus as long as one member of my family is hungry. He may live next door or on the other side of the world. However, it should not be the producer's responsibility to provide cheap food at the expense of his own children."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

Roberta Archer, Farmer, Springfield, Illinois (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing. Springfield, Illinois, April 27, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

"In the four years prior to Mr. Reagan taking over, I was fortunate to have four years of employment, and I was able to put money aside in savings accounts which since have been exhausted. My unemployment benefits are exhausted too…I may not qualify for any type of public assistance and the standard of living I was accustomed to for my wife and myself and my family has drastically changed… But we as Democrats can join together in harmony and unison and we decide what is the future or the fate of our people and what is good for all of us. So I am very proud to be a Democrat."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

James Price, unemployed mine worker (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing, Birmingham. Alabama, April 24, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.9

Democratic growth is not just a matter of good numbers, but of opportunities for people. Jobs and employment are at the center of Democratic thinking. It is not only a question of legislation or appropriations. Rather, it is a philosophy that views employment as the [p.10] ongoing concern of the country. Work in America is not an idle concept—but a definition of self, a door to future opportunity, and the key step in securing the economic necessities of the present.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

An America at work is a moral obligation as well as the most effective way to return our economy to a high growth path. Employed people stimulate the economy, their taxes pay for the expenses of government and their production adds to our national wealth. Moreover, the social and economic fabric of the nation will be strengthened as millions of Americans who presently are frozen out of productive and dignified employment become contributing citizens.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

The potential for America is unlimited. It is within our means to put America back on a long-term path that will assure both growth and broad-based economic opportunity. That is what the next Democratic Administration will do. First, we will adopt overall economic policies that will bring interest rates down, free savings for private investment, prevent another explosion of inflation, and put the dollar on a competitive basis. Second, we wild invest for our future—in our people, and in our infrastructure. Third, we will promote new partnerships and participation by all levels of government, by business and labor, to support growth and productivity. Finally, government will work with the private sector to assure that American businesses and American workers can compete fully and fairly in a changing world economy.

Overall Economic Policies:A Firm Ground For Growth

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

A Democratic Administration will pursue economic policies which provide the basis for long-term economic growth and will allow us to fulfill our commitment to jobs for all Americans who want to work. A key part of the effort will be reducing and eventually eliminating the deficits that currently form a dark cloud over the nation's future. In addition, monetary policy must be set with an eye to stability and to the strengths or weaknesses of the economy. Finally, we will pursue policies that will promote price stability and prevent inflation from breaking out again.

Reducing the Reagan Budget Deficits

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

After plunging the nation into a deficit crisis, President Reagan refuses to take part in efforts to solve it. He postpones hard decisions until after the Presidential election, refusing to compromise, refusing to address revenues and defense spending seriously, refusing all but a "down payment" on the deficit. The President continues to stand apart from serious, comprehensive efforts to cut the deficit. There must be statesmanship and compromise here, not ideological rigidity or election year politics.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

The Democratic Party is pledged to reducing these intolerable deficits. We will reassess defense expenditures: create a tax system that is both adequate and fair: control skyrocketing health costs without sacrificing quality of care: and eliminate other unnecessary expenditures. Through efficiency and toughness, we will restore sanity to our fiscal house.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

We oppose the artificial and rigid Constitutional restraint of a balanced budget amendment. Further we oppose efforts to call a federal Constitutional convention for this purpose.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

Rational Defense Spending—In the last three years, the Defense Department was told by this Administration that it could have anything it wanted, and at any price. As Democrats, we believe in devoting the needed resources to ensure our national security. But military might cannot be measured solely by dollars spent. American military strength must be secured at an affordable cost. We will reduce the rate of increase in defense spending. Through careful reevaluation of proposed and existing weapons, we will stop throwing away money on unworkable or unnecessary systems; through military reform we will focus defense expenditure on the most cost-effective military policies. We will insist that our allies contribute fairly to our collective security, and that the Department of Defense reduces its scandalous procurement waste.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

And above all else, we will seek sensible arms control agreements as a means of assuring that there will be a future for our children and that we as a nation will have the resources we need to invest for the future.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

Tax Reform—America needs a tax system that encourages growth and produces adequate revenues in a fair, progressive fashion. The Democratic Party is committed to a tax policy that embodies these basic values.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

The present system is unfair, complex, and encourages people to use a wide range of loopholes to avoid paying their fair share of taxes. The combination of loopholes for the few and high rates for the many is both unfair and anti-growth. It distorts investment, diverting creative energies into tax avoidance. And it makes the tax code even less comprehensible to the average American.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.10

Our tax code must produce sufficient revenue to finance our defense and allow for investment in our future, and we will ask every America to pay his or her fair share. But by broadening the tax base, [p.11] simplifying the tax code, lowering rates, and eliminating unnecessary, unfair and unproductive deductions and tax expenditure, we can raise the revenues we need and promote growth without increasing the burden on average taxpayers.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.11

Ronald Reagan's tax program gave huge breaks to wealthy individuals and to large corporations while shifting the burden to low and moderate income families. The Democratic Party is pledged to reverse these unsound policies. We will cap the effect of the Reagan tax cuts for wealthy Americans and enhance the progressivity of our personal income tax code, limiting the benefits of the third year of the Reagan tax cuts to the level of those with incomes of less than $60,000. We will partially defer indexation while protecting average Americans. We will close loopholes, eliminate the preferences and write-offs, exceptions, and deductions which skew the code toward the rich and toward unproductive tax shelters. Given the fact that there has been a veritable hemorrhage of capital out of the federal budget, reflected in part by the huge budget deficit, there must be a return to a fair tax on corporate income. Under the Reagan Administration, the rate of taxation on corporations has been so substantially reduced that they are not contributing their fair share to federal revenues. We believe there should be a 15% minimum corporate tax. In addition, our tax code has facilitated the transfer of capital from the United States to investments abroad, contributing to plant closing without notice in many communities and loss of millions of jobs. We will toughen compliance procures to reduce the $100 billion annual tax evasion.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.11

Our country must move to a simpler, more equitable, and more progressive tax system. Our tax code can let the market put our country's savings to the best use. There must be a fair balance between corporate and personal tax increases. Wealthier taxpayers will have to shoulder a greater share of the new tax burdens. Economic distortions must be eliminated.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.11

Controlling Domestic Spending—A balanced program for reducing Republican mega-deficits must also deal with the growing costs of domestic programs. But this must be done in a way that is fair to average Americans.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.11

Social Security is one of the most important and successful initiatives in the history of our country, and it is an essential element of the social compact that binds us together as a community. There is no excuse—as the Reagan Administration has repeatedly suggested—for slashing Social Security to pay for excesses in other areas of the budget. We will steadfastly oppose such efforts, now and in the future.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.11

It is rather in the area of health care costs that reform is urgently needed. By 1988, Medicare costs will rise to $106 billion: by the turn of the century, the debt of the trust fund may be as great as $1 trillion. In the Republican view, the problem is the level of benefits which senior citizens and the needy receive. As Democrats, we will protect the interests of health care beneficiaries. The real problem is the growing cost of health care services.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.11

We propose to control these costs, and to demand that the health care industry become more efficient in providing care to all Americans, both young and old. We will limit what health care providers can receive as reimbursement, and spur innovation and competition in health care delivery. The growth of alternative health care delivery systems such as HMO's, PPO's and alternatives to long-term care such as home care and social HMO's should be fostered so that high quality care will be available at a lower cost. We must learn the difference between health care and sick care. Unlike the Republicans, we recognize that investing in preventive health care saves dollars as well as lives, and we will make the needed investment. The states must be the cornerstone of our health care policies, but a Democratic Administration will provide the leadership at the federal level to assure that health care is available to all who need help at a cost we can afford. In addition, we pledge to scour the budget for other areas of wasteful unnecessary spending.

Monetary Policy for Growth

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.11

Reducing the deficit is the fine step toward lowering interest rates and establishing the basis for fair tax and budget policies. But even with a Democratic fiscal policy reining in the deficit, the task of the Federal Reserve Board will be critical. Monetary policy must work to achieve stable real interest rates, the availability of capital for long-term investments, predictable long-term policy and stable prices. We reject the rigid adherence to monetary targets that has frequently characterized the Reagan monetary policy. Whatever targeting approach the Federal Reserve Board adopts, it must be leavened with a pragmatic appraisal of what is happening in the harsh world of the real economy, particularly the impact on unemployment, interest rates, and the international value of the dollar.

An Anti-Inflation Program

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.11

We have learned that sustained economic growth is impossible in a climate of high inflation or of [p.12] inflationary expectations. The .Reagan Administration's only prescription for inflation is recession—deliberate high unemployment—coupled with a relentless assault on the collective bargaining power and rights of working men and women. The Democratic Party believes that these tactics are both unacceptable and ineffective.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

We will develop the following five-step program to stabilize prices:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

—Growth investments in new plants and equipment and research and development. The productivity growth that comes in tandem with new investments will help offset—point for point—any increase in cost.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

—Increased flexibility in the marketplace—will also help keep inflationary pressures under control. There is no single policy that will make the U.S. economy more adaptable. Rather, there is a series of smaller steps which will help keep prices stable. In general, competitive markets are more likely to restrain sudden surges of prices than markets dominated by a few large firms. No Democratic Administration will forget the use of old fashioned antitrust policy to keep markets competitive—and prices down.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

—Trade policy—is also an important component of any effective anti-inflation program. Expanding world markets for American goods increase the gains from large scale production and stimulate research and development on new products and processes.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

—The price-wage spiral—as part of any effective anti-inflation program, serious policies to address the price-wage spirals and other inflationary pressures we have experienced in the past must be developed.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

—We believe that an attack on sectorial sources of inflation—in food, fuel, utilities, health care, and elsewhere—is essential if price stability is to be sustained without economic distortions. Our agriculture, energy, and health programs will all promote sectorial price stability while assuring fair treatment for average Americans, including working men and women and family farmers. For example, the Strategic Petroleum Reserve is one clear response to reducing the chance of another oil shock. The very presence of reserves in the U.S., Japan, and elsewhere reduces the likelihood of panic buying to replace suddenly threatened oil supplies. In this context, a far-reaching energy policy that emphasizes conservation and the development of alternative energy supplies will also help stabilize energy prices. And lower interest rates from reduced budget deficits will reduce upward pressure on housing costs and bring housing back within the reach of millions of Americans now excluded from the market.

Investing in People

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

America's greatest resource is our people. As Democrats we affirm the need for both public and private investment —in our children; in out educational institutions and out students; in jobs, training, and transitional assistance for our workers—to build America's future. If we choose wisely, these investments will be returned to our country many times over. They are essential if we are to create an America with high-quality jobs and rising opportunities for all. And they are vital if we are to safeguard our competitive position in the world economy.

Investing in Children

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

Simple decency demands that we make children one of our highest national priorities. But the argument for so acting goes well beyond that. Programs for children represent the most critical investment we can make in out ability to compete in future world markets and maintain a strong national defense in the decades ahead.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

Above all else, the Democratic Party stands for making the proper investment in coming generations of Americans.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

Preventive efforts must be at the heart of the broad range of health, child care, and support programs for children. Helping these children makes good moral sense—and sound economic sense. Measles vaccine alone has saved $1.3 billion in medical costs in just ten years. Supplemental food programs for low-income pregnant women and infants save $3 for every dollar spent.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

By improving access to medical care before and after birth, we can promote a generation of healthy mothers and healthy babies. Seeing that supplemental food programs for low-income pregnant women and infants reach all those eligible will do more than save the $40,000 now spent to treat one low birth weight infant in a neo-natal ward. It will also reduce the risk of birth defects for such infants.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.12

We recognize that a hungry child is a child who cannot learn. Restoring school breakfast and school lunches for millions of children will improve their alertness and concentration in school.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

[p.13] Child care must also be a top priority. Helping communities establish after-school care programs will remove millions of American children from the serious risks they now face of injury, abuse and alienation by staying at home alone. Encouraging employers, churches, public centers, and private groups to provide quality, affordable child care will give millions of children whose parents must work the kind of adult supervision necessary to thrive. And setting up centers for child care information and referral will assist parents wherever they reside to locate quality care for their children.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

Preventing child abuse must be at the forefront of Democratic Party concern. Local, community-based child abuse prevention programs must be strengthened and expanded. A Child who learns first about the risks of sexual abuse in school will be less likely to become the target of repeated victimization. Federal challenge grants could encourage states to make local prevention efforts a real priority.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

Prompt intervention efforts must also be provided for children in crisis. If we are to make any headway in breaking the cycle of child abuse, both victims and offenders must have access to treatment programs.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

Juvenile offenders must not be left in adult jails where the only skills they acquire are those of the career criminal. Safe shelter and assistance must be available for the hundreds of thousands of runaway children at risk of exploitation in our cities. Local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies must refine ways to locate children who have been abducted. And children in foster care must not be allowed to graduate to the streets at age 18 without ever having known a permanent home.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

We must ensure that essential surveys on children's health and welfare status are reinstated. We know more about the number of matches sold than about the number of children across the country who die in fires while alone at home. Likewise, we know less about hunger and malnutrition among children than we do about the health of the nation's poultry stock.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

The Democratic Party affirms its commitment to protecting the health and safety of children in the United States. Existing laws mandating the use of automobile child restraints must be enforced, and child safety seat loaner or rental programs and public education programs must be encouraged, in order to reduce significantly the leading cause of death and serious injury among children between the ages of six months and five years—motor vehicle crashes.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

The crises devastating many of our nation's youth is nowhere more dramatically evidenced than in the alarming rate of increase in teenage suicide. Over 6,000 young people took their lives in 1983, and for each actual suicide 50 to 100 other youths attempted suicide. The underlying causes of teenage suicide, as well as its full scope, are not adequately researched or understood. We must commit ourselves to seek out the causes, formulate a national policy of prevention, and provide guidance to our state and local governments in developing means to stem this devastating tide of self-destruction. We support the creation of a national panel on teenage suicide to respond to this challenge.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

A Democratic Administration which establishes these priorities can reduce the risks for our young people and improve the odds. By so doing it will serve their future…and ours.

Investing in Education

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

No public investment is more important than the one we make in the minds, skills and discipline of our people. Whether we are talking about a strong economy, a strong defense or a strong system of justice, we cannot achieve it without a strong educational system. Our very future in international economic competition depends on skilled workers and on first-rate scientists, engineers, and managers.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

We Democrats are committed to equity in education. We will insist on excellence, discipline, and high standards. Quality education depends on students, teachers and parents performing at the highest levels of achievement.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

Today, education in America needs help. But, the Reagan Administration offers misleading homilies about the importance of education while aggressively slashing education programs.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

This is intolerable. We know that every dollar we invest in education is ultimately returned to us six-fold. We know that the education of our citizens is critical to our democracy.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

There are four key goals that a Democratic program for educational excellence must address: strengthening local capacity to innovate and progress in public education and encourage parental involvement; renewing our efforts to ensure that all children, whatever their race, income, or sex have a fair and equal chance to learn; attracting the most talented young people into teaching and enabling them to remain and develop in their profession; and ensuring that all American families can send their children on to college or advanced training.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.13

Primary and Secondary Education—While education is the responsibility of local government, local governments already strapped for funds by this [p.14] Administration cannot be expected to bear alone the burden of undertaking the efforts we need for quality education—from teacher training to the salaries needed to attract and retain able teachers, to new labs, to new programs to motivate talented and gifted students, to new ties between businesses and schools—without leadership at the federal level.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

Democrats will provide that leadership. We call for the immediate restoration of the cuts in funding of education programs by the Reagan Administration, and for a major new commitment to education. We will create a partnership for excellence among federal, state and local governments. We will provide incentives to local school districts to concentrate on science, math, communications and computer literacy; to provide access to advanced technology. In all of these fields, but particularly in computers, there is a growing danger of a two-tier education system. The more affluent districts have adequate hardware and teachers prepared to use it. Many districts are left completely behind or saddled with a modern machine but no provision for faculty training. Every American child should have the basic education that makes computer literacy possible and useful. Major attention must be given to recruiting the finest young people into teaching careers, and to providing adequate staff development programs that enable educators to increase their effectiveness in meeting the needs or all students.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

Vocational education should be overhauled to bring instructional materials, equipment, and staff up to date with the technology and practices of the workplace and target assistance to areas with large numbers of disadvantaged youth. We will insist that every child be afforded an equal opportunity to fulfill his or her potential. We will pay special attention to the needs of the handicapped.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

Education is an important key to the upward mobility of all citizens and especially the disadvantaged, despite the fact that racial discrimination and other prejudices have set limits to such achievement.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

The Reagan Administration has singled out for extinction the proven most successful education program—compensatory education for disadvantaged children. The Democratic Party will reverse this malicious onslaught and dramatically strengthen support in order to provide educational equity for all children.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

Bilingual education enables children to achieve full competence in the English language and the academic success necessary to their full participation in the life of our nation. We reject the Reagan double-talk on bilingual education and commit ourselves to expanding and increasing its effectiveness.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

We will emphasize the importance of preventing one-third of our student body nationwide from dropping out of school in the first place. And, we will supplement community-based programs encouraging students who have left school due to teenage parenthood, alcohol and drug abuse, or economic difficulties at home, to complete their education.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

Recognizing that young people who are never given an opportunity for a job will be less likely to hold one in adulthood, we will also emphasize training and employment opportunities for youth. In so doing, we need to establish a genuine working partnership with the private sector.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

Private schools, particularly parochial schools, are also an important part of our diverse educational system. Consistent with our tradition, the Democratic Party accepts its commitment to constitutionally acceptable methods of supporting the education of all pupils in schools which do not racially discriminate and excluding so-called segregation academies. The Party will continue to support federal education legislation which provides for the equitable participation in federal programs of all low and moderate income pupils.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

For its part, when added to the traditional educational institutions of family, school and church, television has enormous promise as a teacher. When children spend more time in front of the television set than they do in the classroom, we must ask how television can help children, and why commercial broadcasters do so little programming for children today despite their legal responsibility as "public trustees" of the airwaves granted to them. The National Science Board, for instance, has recommended that commercial television stations be required to air a certain amount of information/educational programming for children each week. Properly developed, television can be an enormously efficient and effective supplemental teaching tool.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

Higher Education—We will make certain that higher education does not become a luxury affordable only by the children of the rich. That is Ronald Reagan's America. In our America, no qualified student should be deprived of the ability to go on to college because of financial circumstance.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.14

The Democratic Party reaffirms the importance of historically Black colleges. Today the survival of many of these colleges is threatened. The programs that assist them, which have been severely weakened in [p.15] recent years, must be greatly strengthened with funding targeted toward Black and Hispanic institutions.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

An explosion in demand for certain types of engineers, scientists and other technical specialists is creating a shortage of faculty and PhD candidates. We must encourage colleges and universities to train more scientists and engineers. More than one hundred years ago the Morrill Land Grant Act provided for agricultural colleges and programs that today still help keep American agriculture the world leader. We need a similar program today to encourage the training of scientists and engineers. At the same time, we must not neglect the arts and humanities, which enrich our spirit. The private sector must also recognize its responsibility to join partnerships which strengthen our diverse public and private higher education system.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

Finally, all our educational institutions must adapt to growing numbers of adults returning to school to upgrade their skills, acquire new skills, prepare themselves for entirely new occupations, and enrich their lives.

Investing In the Arts

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

America is truly growing and prosperous when its spirit flourishes. The arts and humanities are at the cor of our national experience. Creativity and the life of the mind have defined us at our best throughout our history. As scholars or artists, the museum-goers or students, craftsmen and craftswomen or the millions who use our libraries, countless Americans have a stake in a nation that honors and rejoices in intelligence and imagination.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

The Democratic Party will set a new national tone of respect for learning and artistic achievement. Not only will the federal agencies that support them be strengthened and freed from political intimidation, but the White House itself will once again be a place where American cultural and intellectual life—in all its rich diversity—is honored. Excellence must start at the top.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

Finally, the Democratic Party is also committed to the survival of public television and radio stations which allow all Amerces, regardless of ability to pay, to appreciate high quality, alternative programming. We oppose the efforts of the Reagan Administration to enact draconian cuts which would totally undermine the viability of this nation's excellent public broadcasting system, a broadcasting system which has given the country Sesame Street, 3-2-1 Contact, and other superb children's as well as cultural and public affairs programming.

Jobs, Training, and Transitional Assistance

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

We must have a growing economy if we are to have jobs for all Americans who seek work. But even in a growing economy, the pressures of competition and the pace of change ensure that while jobs are being created, others are being destroyed. Prosperity will not be evenly distributed among regions and communities. We must make special efforts to help families in economic transition who are faced with loss or homes, health benefits, and pensions. And far too many of our young people, especially minorities, do not have the training and skills they need to get their first job. Democrats believe that it is a national responsibility to ensure that the burdens of change are fairly shared and that every young American can take the first step up the ladder of economic opportunity.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

Of the 8.5 million Americans still out of work, 40 percent are under 25. Unemployment among teenagers stands at almost 20 percent. Less than three percent of the jobs created in the last three and a half years have gone to young people. Black and Hispanic youth have a double burden. Unemployment for black teenagers stands at 44 percent—a 20 percent increase in the last three years. Hispanic teens face a 26 percent unemployment rate.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

As disturbing as these figures are, they do not tell the whole story. The unemployment rate measures only those teenagers who were actively looking for work, not those who have given up, completely discouraged by the lack opportunity. Again the burden falls disproportionately on minority youth.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

The Reagan Administration has dismantled virtually all of the successful programs to train and employ young people. Today we are spending less to put young people to work than we were even under the last Republican Administration—70 percent less, when inflation is taken into account. Youth unemployment has skyrocketed, while government efforts to combat it have dwindled to a trickle.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

Unless we address this problem now, half of an entire generation may never know what it means to work. America cannot successfully compete in the world economy if a significant portion of our future work force is illiterate, unskilled, and unemployable.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.15

The Democratic Party must give our young people new skills and new hope; we must work hand in hand with the private sector if job training is to lead to jobs. Specifically, targeted efforts are needed to address the urgent problem of unemployment among minority teenagers. We must provide job training for those who have dropped out of school, and take every step to expand educational opportunity for those still in school. [p.16] We must recognize the special needs of the over-age 50 worker and the displaced homemaker. Through education, training and retraining we must reduce these dangerously high levels of unemployment.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

We must provide an opportunity for worker, including those dislocated by changing technologies to adapt to new opportunities: we must provide workers with choices as to which skills they wish to acquire. We know that Americans want to work. We are committed to ensuring that meaningful job training is available—for our students, for housewives returning to the workplace, and for those displaced by changing patterns of technology or trade.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

—The federal government will develop a major comprehensive national job skills development policy that is targeted on the chronically unemployed and underemployed. We must train and place these Americans in high-demand labor shortage occupations, working with the private sector so that maximum employment and job creation can be achieved.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

—We will overhaul the currently antiquated unemployment compensation system, and adequately fund job search listings of local employment services.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

—We will also launch meaningful training programs that lead to job placement for women who receive public assistance, in order to break the cycle of dependence and to raise their standard of living. Instead of punitive reductions in AFDC and other benefits for women who seek training and employment while receiving such assistance, beneficiaries should be given a transition period during which they are permitted to earn income in a formal training program while receiving full benefits.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

—We will seriously examine new approaches to training and retraining programs that could be financed directly by government, by labor and management, or by tax free contributions.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

—If cancellations of specific weapons systems result in significant economic dislocations and job loss, it is a national responsibility to address the human consequences of national policy.

Investing In Infrastructure

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

Economic growth requires that America invest in our infrastructure as well as in our people. Investing in infrastructure means rebuilding our bridges and roads and sewers, and we are committed to doing that. But it also means investing in our cities, in decent housing and public transportation, and in regulatory systems for finance and telecommunication that will provide a sound basis for future economic growth

Investing in our Cities

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

The Democratic Party recognizes the value of prosperous local government, and within that context we recognize that a healthy city is essential to the well-being of the nation, state, county and surrounding local governments.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

Our nation's economic life depends on the economic growth of our cities. Our cities are not only the treasures from which the nation draws its wealth: they are the centers of industry, the centers of art and culture, the breeding ground for economic innovation, and home to the majority of the America people. Our cities are among this country's greatest achievements, and they can be our country's greatest engine of economic growth.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

Cities can be active partners with the federal government and private enterprises for creating new growth. They can be a dynamic entrepreneurial force—by encouraging education and research, by incubating promising new industries, by steering resources toward those most in need, and by fostering new cooperative arrangements among public agencies and private business. Cities can be a leading force for rebuilding the nation's economy.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

But to do this, cities need state and national leadership which values the role of city and county government. Cities need a President willing to work and consult with mayors and county executives. They need an Administration which puts the needs of urban America on the top of the national agenda—because no plan for economic strength will survive when our cities are left behind.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

Today, the Reagan Administration has turned its back on the cities. By sapping our cities strength, this Administration is sapping out country's strength. Only the intervention of the Congress has prevented further and more devastating cuts in city-oriented programs. The Democratic Party believes in making our cities' needs a federal priority once again: We want to see again cities where people have jobs and adequate housing, cities whose bridges and mass transit are being maintained, and whose neighborhoods are safe to live in. And that will take a commitment by our federal government to help our cities again.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

Toward that end, the Democratic Party pledges:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.16

—a commitment to full employment. We believe the federal government must develop a major, comprehensive national job skills development policy targeted on the chronically unemployed [p.17] and underemployed. We must launch special training programs for women who receive public assistance. We need to increase government procurement opportunities for small and minority firms and to encourage deposits of federal funds in minority-owned financial institutions. And to build for the future, the Democratic Patty calls Party calls for a new national commitment to education, which must include raising standards, insisting on excellence, and giving all children a chance to learn, regardless of race, income or sex.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.17

—a commitment to rebuilding the infrastructure of America. We need to inventory facility needs, set priorities and establish policies for the repair, maintenance, and replacement of public works by all levels of government. We need to create a federal capital budget to separate operating and capital outlays. We will consult local governments in decisions affecting the design and performance standards of facilities constructed under federal programs. And we need to create a national reconstruction fund to provide affordable loans to states and localities for infrastructure projects. This will not only rebuild the infrastructure of our cities but provide badly needed employment for people who live there.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.17

—a commitment to housing. We must restore government's positive role in helping all Americans find adequate and affordable housing. We reaffirm our commitment to public housing for the most disadvantaged members of our society. We must strengthen our commitment to the operation and rehabilitation of current government-assisted housing. We must maintain and expand the flow of mortgage capital, and bring interest rates down with sensible economic policies. We must pull together the patchwork of housing programs and cut through the red tape to make it easier for cities to receive the assistance to meet their own unique needs. We must upgrade and replenish housing in minority communities and create more units for poor and low-income people. And we must enforce fair housing standards to prohibit discrimination in the housing market.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.17

Our Party must be a vehicle for realizing the hopes, the aspirations, and the dreams of the people of this country. And that includes the people who live in cities.

Physical Infrastructure

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.17

This nation's physical infrastructure—our bridges and roads, our ports, our railroads, our sewers, our public transit and water supply systems—is deteriorating faster than we can repair it. The gap between the necessary improvements and available resources grows every year. State and local governments, strapped by Reaganomics, have been forced repeatedly to defer maintenance, and to abandon plans for construction.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.17

As Democrats, we recognize that infrastructure is the basis for efficient commerce and industry. If our older industrial cities are to grow, if our expanding regions are to continue to expand, then we must work with state and local government to target our investment to out most important infrastructure. There is work to be done in rebuilding and maintaining our infrastructure, and there are millions of American men and women in need of work. The federal government must take the lead in putting them back to work, and in doing so, providing the basis for private sector investment and economic growth. We need to inventory facility needs, set priorities, and establish policies for the repair, maintenance and replacement of the public works by all of government. We need a capital budget to separate paying for these long-term investments from regular expenditures. Furthermore, we need a national reconstruction fund to provide affordable loans to state and localities for infrastructure projects.

Finance Infrastructure

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.17

At the heart of our economy is the financial infrastructure: a set of diverse interdependent institutions and markets which are the envy of the world. We must preserve that strengths. Until very recently, the United States operated with a domestic financial system that was built in response to the stock market crash Of 1929, the massive series of bank failures that accompanied the Great Depression, and the speculative excesses of the stock market. There was an emphasis on placing different types of financial activities in different institutions. Commercial banks were not to float stock market issues. Investment bankers could. Neither took equity positions in individual companies. savings and credit institutions were established to support housing and consumer durable. Soundness of the system, liquidity, investor and depositor proration, neutrality of credit and capital decisions, and a wide variety of financial institutions to serve the varying needs of business and consumers have been the fundamental goals.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

[p.18] Bit by bit, the American financial system began to change. The domestic financial market became closely tied to the international market, which in turn had become larger, more competitive, and more volatile. Inflation, technology, the growth of foreign competition, and institutional innovation all combined to create strong pressures for change. The 1980's brought a deregulation of interest rates and a wave of deregulatory decisions by financial regulators.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

These changes raise serious threats to our traditional financial goals. Before leaping into a highly uncertain financial future, the country should take a careful look at the direction deregulation is taking, and what it means to our financial system and the economy.

Telecommunications

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

Telecommunications is the infrastructure of the information age. The last decade has seen an explosion in new technologies expanded competition, and growing dependence on high quality telecommunications.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

Nationwide access to those networks is becoming crucial to full participation in a society and economy that are increasingly dependent upon the rapid exchange of information. Electronically-delivered messages, and not the written word, are becoming the dominant form of communication. A citizen without access to telecommunications is in danger of fading into isolation. Therefore, the proper regulation of telecommunications is critical. We must encourage competition while preventing regulatory decisions which substantially increase basic telephone rates and which threaten to throw large numbers of low-income, elderly, or rural people off the telecommunications networks. We must also insure that workers in the telecommunications industry do not find their retirement or other earned benefits jeopardized by the consequences of divestiture.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

This electronic marketplace is so fundamental to our future as a democracy (as well as to our economy) that social and cultural principles must be as much a part of communications policy as a commitment to efficiency, innovation, and competition. Those principles are diversity, the availability of a wide choice of information services and sources; access, the ability of all Americans, not just a privileged few, to take advantage of this growing array of information services and sources; and opportunity, a commitment to education and diverse ownership, particularly by minorities and women, that will give every American the ability to take advantage of the computer and the telecommunications revolution. We support the Fairness Doctrine and Equal Time requirements, along with other laws and regulations on the electronic media which encourage or require responsiveness to community needs and a diversity or viewpoints.

Housing

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

Decent, affordable housing has been a goal of national public policy for almost half a century, since the United States Housing Act of 1937. The Democratic Party has remotely reaffirmed the belief that American citizens should be able to find adequate shelter at reasonable cost. And we have been unwavering in our support of the premise that government has a positive role to play in ensuring housing opportunities for less fortunate Americans, including the elderly and the handicapped, not served by the private market.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

In the last four years this long-standing commitment to decent shelter has been crippled by the underfunding, insensitivity, high interest rates, and distorted priorities of the Reagan Administration.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

The Democratic Party has always accorded housing the high priority it deserves. One essential quality will characterize this commitment in the future It must and will be comprehensive.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

By advocating a comprehensive policy which addresses the totality of our housing needs, we do not mean to suggest that all concerns have an equal claim on resources or require the same level of governmental intervention. The bulk of our resources will be concentrated on those most in need, and government must take a leadership role where others cannot or will not participate.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.18

Within a comprehensive framework for policy development and constituency building, we will establish priorities according to principles of compassion and equity. We would like to see a special effort in two areas in the first years of a new Democratic Administration.

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First, we must intensify our commitment to the adequate operation, management, and rehabilitation of the current inventory of government-assisted housing. This housing stock is not one, but the only option for the least fortunate among our lower income families and senior citizens. It is the right thing to do and it 'makes economic sense to preserve our own economic investment.

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Second, we must maintain and expand the flow of mortgage capital. The America dream of home ownership will fall beyond the reach of this generation and future ones if government fails to help attract new sources of capital for housing.

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[p.19] We will draw on our historic commitment to housing, and the best insights and energies of today's Democratic Party, to address the future housing needs of all the American people. The Democratic Party will develop short-range emergency responses to the problem of homelessness as well as long-range solutions to its causes. The Democratic Party will support upgrading and replenishment of the housing stock in minority communities, with more affordable units available so that poor and low income people can buy units with low interest loans. Also, fair housing standards need to be vigorously enforced by the federal, state and local governments in order to deal with persistent discrimination in the housing market for buyers and renters. Finally, the expansion of public housing and other publicly-assisted housing programs is a necessity due to the growth in the homeless population and in the high cost of commercially available units.

Transportation

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Democrats vigorously support the concept of promoting competition in transportation and the elimination of unnecessary and inefficient regulation of the railroad industry. Democrats also insist on insuring a fair rate for captive shippers. It was the Democratic Party which was primarily responsible for the passage of the Staggers Rail Act of 1980, which was designed to accomplish these objectives.

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The Democratic Party is committed to a policy of administering the transportation laws in a manner which will encourage competition and provide protection for captive shippers.

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A comprehensive maritime policy that is tailored to the realities of today's international shipping world and to the economic, political, and military needs of the United States is a necessity. Such a policy should address all facets of out maritime industry—from shipping to shipbuilding and related activities—in an integrated manner.

Postal Service

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.19

The private express statutes guarantee the protection and security of the mail for all Americans. They are essential to the maintenance of the national postal system along with retaining rural post offices to assure the delivery of mail to all Americans.

A Framework for Growth

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The American economy is a complex mix, incorporating any number of different actors and entities—private businesses, professional societies, charitable institutions, lair unions, regional development councils, and local school boards. The economy is driven by millions of individual decisions on spending and saving, on investing and wages. Government is only one force among many woven into the fabric of American economic life. Just as the wrong overall economic policy can disrupt the best private decisions, the best government economic policies will not put us on a path to long-term growth unless business, labor, and other private institutions meet their responsibilities and rise to the competitive challenge of a new era.

Private Sector Responsibilities

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In many cases, the private sector is already playing a major role in laying the basis for future growth and meeting broad community responsibilities. In other cases, however, short-term considerations have been allowed to predominate at the expense of the long-term needs of the national economy.

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A recent wave of mergers has been particularly troubling. Any number of large corporations have focuses their energies arranging the next merger or defending against the latest takeover bid.

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Many of our major competitors have targeted their efforts on investments in new methods of producing cheaper, high-quality products. To respond to the growing pressure of foreign competition. America's private sector must meet several challenges:

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—Investing strategically—the more U.S. companies focus on long-term strategies to improve their competitive positions, the better off the entire economy will be.

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—Managing cost and quality—U.S. companies will have to place similar emphasis on controlling costs and quality to effectively meet the best of the foreign competition.

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—Competing internationally—U.S. business like other institutions in the country need to pay greater attention to the international market place.

Partnership, Cooperation and Participation

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Partnership, cooperation and participation are central to economic growth. We need new cooperative institutions, and a steady redefinition of how labor and management, universities, the private sector, and state and local governments can work together.

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—National cooperation—In developing a long-term growth strategy, there are several particularly important functions that today are poorly performed or poorly coordinated by the government: coordination and policy coherence;

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[p.20] developing and disseminating useful economic information; anticipating economic problems; and developing long-term consensus between public and private sectors. To better accomplish these tasks, it is time that a national Economic Cooperation Council was created, Its charter would be simple and basic: (1) to collect, analyze, and disseminate economic data; (2) to create a forum where the gap between business, labor, and government is bridged, where all three develop the trust, understanding, and cooperation necessary to improve productivity; and, (3) to identify national priorities, make recommendations on how best to reach those goals, and help build consensus for action.

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—State involvement—Under the guise of increasing the power of state government, the Reagan Administration has actually given the states only the power to decide what programs to cut or eliminate, because of the substantially decreased funding it has made available to the states. Should it be baby clinics, child immunization against disease, day care, maternal health, or youth services? The Democratic Party believes a strong partnership of federal, state and local governments is basic to effective and efficient decision-making, problem-solving, and provision of adequate services. We must also encourage cooperation between states and the private sector. State development agencies are already seeking closer ties to both business and universities. And universities are increasingly looking to the private sector in setting their research agendas.

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—Local and community involvement—Citizen involvement in governance should be as great as possible. The responsibility for general governance, the delivery of programs and services, and the resolution of problems should be with the level of government that is closest to the citizenry and that can still discharge those responsibilities effectively and efficiently. These levels of government must assure basic civil liberties and justice for all citizens. They must not be abrogated by any local jurisdiction. The federal government should focus on the importance of local initiatives. For example, vocational education is an area where local schools and local business will increasingly be brought together. Financial stability and adequate authority are essential prerequisites to developing successful public-private partnerships and maximizing citizen involvement in governance.

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Government financial and technical assistance programs should give preference to viable worker and/or community—owned or -run businesses, especially as a response to plant shutdowns.

Broadening Labor-Management Cooperation

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We support greater employee participation in the workplaces. Employees should have an opportunity to make a greater contribution to workplace productivity and qualify through actual ownership of the company, employee representation on corporate boards, quality work circles, and greater worker participation in management decisions. The government should encourage employee participation and ownership, particularly as an alternative to plant shutdowns. It is destructive of labor-management relations when concessions extracted from labor to preserve jobs are converted after the restoration of profitability, into management bonuses, rather than restoring the concessions that the workers made. Such practices offend our sense of fairness, as does the Reagan Administration-inspired union-busting. Essential to fairness in the workplace is the basic right of workers to organize collectively.

Consumer Protection

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The Democratic Party strongly reaffirms its commitment to federal programs which are designed to enhance and protect the health and safety of all Americans. Under the Reagan Administration, the critical missions of agencies such as the Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC), the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA), and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) have been ignored and subverted.

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The Reagan Administration proposed abolishing the CPSC, which has recalled over 300 million dangerous and defective products in its 10 year history. When it failed to accomplish this, the Administration attempted to submerge CPSC in the Department of Commerce. Also failing in this attempt, the Reagan Administration inflicted massive budget and personnel cuts on the Commission. The impact has been far reaching: recalls declined 66%, inspections were cut in half and over half of CPSC's regional offices have been closed. The result has been a paralysis of mission and an America more susceptible to dangerous product.

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The record at the NHTSA, the agency mandated to reduce the appalling annual highway deaths of more than 50,000 Americans, is just as shameful. The [p.21] President has appointed administrators with no safety background and even less commitment to the public health mission of the agency. Critical lifesaving safety standards, such as one requiring automatic crash protection in cars, have been revoked. The enforcement of defect and recall programs, designed to remove dangerous vehicles from our roads, has been cut back. Recalls are at an all-time low and only one safety standard has been proposed in four years.

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At OSHA and MSHA, we have witnessed a retreat from agency mandates to provide safe and healthful working conditions for this nation's working men and women. Existing standards have been weakened or revoked and not one single new standard has been implemented. Similarly, at the FDA there has been an important shift away from removing dangerous and ineffective drugs in favor of weakening standards for products. The FTC has run roughshod over the nation's antitrust laws, allowing 9 of the 10 largest mergers in history to occur.

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The dangerous trends in all these areas must be immediately reversed to allow these vital health and safety agencies to pursue their missions aggressively, to protect and enhance the health and safety of all Americans.

Individual Empowerment

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.21

The Democratic Party's commitment to full equality is as much a part of prodding individual opportunity as it is part of a program of social justice. At the heart of our values as a nation is our belief in independence. Anyone who has brought home a paycheck, bought a car, or paid off a mortgage knows the pride that economic self-sufficiency brings. And anyone who has lost a job, watched one's children go hungry, or been denied a chance at success knows the terrible indignity that comes with dependence.

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As Democrats, we share that belief in independence. Our goal is to allow the greatest number of people the greatest opportunity for self-sufficiency.

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As a Party, we are committed to preparing people to stand on their own: that is why we insist on adequate nutrition for our children and good education for our young people. We are committed to permitting independence; that's why wee believe discrimination on any basis must come to an end. We believe that independence should be prolonged for as long as possible; to ensure it continues even after retirement, we support Social Security and Medicare. And we believe we must preserve the self-respect of those who are unable to be completely self-sufficient—the very young, the unskilled, the disabled, the very old—and to help them toward as much independence as possible. As much as it is a strategy for long run economic growth, individual empowerment must itself be an operating philosophy. in the welfare system, in education, and in the laws affecting everyone from shareholders to the average voter, the Democratic Party will ask if the individual is being made stronger and more independent.

America in a World Economy

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The reality of international competition in the 1980's requires government policies which will assure the competitiveness of American industry and American workers. Democrats will support and encourage innovation and research and development in both the private and public sector. We will seek to strengthen America's small businesses. And we will pursue trade policies and industrial strategies to ensure that out workers and our businesses can compete fully and fairly in the international arena.

Innovation

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Innovation—in process and product technology—is at the heart of our ability to compete in a world economy and produce sustained economic growth at home. And research and development, critical as it is for our growing high technology industries, is no less important for our basic industries. In the past generation, our world leadership in innovation has been increasingly jeopardized. We have not invested enough—or wisely enough—to match our major competitors.

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Research and Development—Since the mid-1960's, all the other major industrial nations have increased their expenditures for research and development more rapidly than we have. Over the past decade, manufacturing productivity rose more than four times faster in Japan, more than three times faster in France, and more than twice as fast in both West Germany and the United Kingdom than in the United States. And the number of patents granted to Americans each year has plunged by 40 percent.

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The United States should revise its downward trend and increase the percentage of GNP devoted to commercially-related R&D as a long-term spending goal. We must be at the cutting edge, and we will not get there without cooperation between the government and the private sector. As Democrats, our goal is to increase civilian research and development in this country, to expand its commercial application, and to provide more industries with the opportunity to take advantage of it.

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[p.22] At the national level, this means enhanced support for undergraduate and graduate training in science, mathematics, and engineering; increased support to refurbish a modernize university research laboratories; increased support for the National Science Foundation and similar efforts; and a commitment to civilian research and development.

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Centers of Excellence—In the past generation, scientists and engineers, together with educators and business leaders throughout the United States, have begun countless new, high technology businesses such as those in Boston, Massachusetts, California's Silicon Valley, North Carolina's Research Triangle, greater Denver, Colorado, and Austin, Texas to establish this country as a leader in the next generation of high technology industries—biotechnology, polymer sciences, robotics, photovoltaics, marine sciences, microelectronics. The Democratic Party will encourage and support centers that provide for cooperation of academic and entrepreneurial excellence, thereby strengthening our scientific and technological resources and creating tomorrow's jobs.

Small and Minority Business

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The Democratic Party recognizes that small businesses create many, if not most of the new jobs in our country, and are responsible for much of the innovation. They are thus our greatest hope for the future. Our capacity as a nation to create an environment that encourages and nurtures innovative new businesses will determine our success in providing jobs for our people. In the private sector, spurring innovation means paying special attention to the needs of small, including minority and women-owned, and rapidly growing businesses on the cutting edge of our economy.

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This will require incentives for research and development and for employee education and training, including relaxing certain restrictions on pension fund investment; targeted reform that stimulates the flow of capital into new and smaller businesses: a tax code that is no longer biased against small and rapidly growing firms: vigorous enforcement of our antitrust laws, coupled with antitrust policies that permit clearly legitimate joint research and development ventures; expanded small business access to the Export-Import Bank and other agencies involved in export promotion; and targeted reform that provides for the delivery of community-based, community-supported management assistance, and innovative means of making seed capital available for companies in our large cities, as well as our rural communities.

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Rules and regulations should not weigh more heavily on new firms or small businesses than they do on the large well-established enterprise, Risk taking is a key to economic growth in a modern industrial society. If anything, rules and regulations should encourage it.

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The Small Business Administration must once again be responsive to the needs of entrepreneurs, including minorities and women. In addition, the heads of the Small Business Administration, the Minority Business Development Administration and other government agencies must ensure that the needs of smaller minority businesses are met at the regional and local levels. To further meet the needs of smaller minority businesses, we favor increasing government procurement, opportunities for smaller minority firms, encouraging deposits of federal funds in minority-owned financial institutions, and vigorously implementing all set-aside provisions for minority businesses.

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The Democratic Party pledges to bring about these reforms and create a new era of opportunity for the entrepreneurs who have always led the way in our economy.

Meeting the Challenge of Economic Competition

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Thirty years ago, half of all goods produced in the world were made in the United States. While we have greatly expanded our output of services, our share of manufactured products is now just one-fifth of the world's total. Once dominant U.S. industries are now hard-pressed. In April, our trade deficit reached a stunning $12.2 billion for one month. At that rate, we would lose two million or more jobs this year alone. We will not allow our workers and our industries to be displaced by either unfair import competition, or irrational fiscal and monetary policies.

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Some of these difficulties we have brought on ourselves, with shortsighted strategies, inadequate investment in plant, equipment, and innovation, and fiscal and monetary policies that have impaired our international competitiveness by distorting the value of the dollar against foreign currencies. But other difficulties have been thrust upon us by foreign nations.

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The reality of the 1980's is that the international economy is the arena in which we must compete, The world economy is an integrated economy: the challenge for our political leadership is to assure that the new arena is in fact a fair playing field for American businesses and consumers. We are committed to pursuing industrial strategies that effectively and imaginatively blend the genius of the free market with vital government partnership and leadership. As [p.23] Democrats, we will be guided by the following principles and policies.

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—We need a vigorous, open and fair trade policy 'that builds America's competitive strength, and that allows our nation to remain an advanced, diversified economy while promoting full employment and raising living standards in the United States and other countries of the world; opens overseas markets for American products; strengthens the international economic system; assists adjustment to foreign competition; and recognizes the legitimate interests of American workers, farmers and businesses.

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—We will pursue international negotiations to open markets and eliminate trade restrictions, recognizing that the growth and stability of the Third World depends on its ability to sell its products in international markets. High technology, agriculture and other industries should be brought under the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. Moreover, the developing world is a major market for U.S. exports, particularly capital goods. As a result, the U.S. has major stake in international economic institutions that support growth in the developing world.

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—We recognize that the growth and development of the Third World is vital both to global stability and to the continuing expansion of world trade. The U.S. presently sells more to the Third World than to the European Community and Japan combined. If we do not buy their goods, they cannot buy ours, not can they service their debt. Consequently, it is important to be responsive to the issues of the North/South dialogue such as volatile commodity prices, inequities in the functioning or the international financial and monetary markets, and removal of barriers to the expert or Third World goods.

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—If trade has become big business for the country, exports have become critical to the economic health of a growing list of American industries. In the future, national economic policy will have to be set with an eye to its impact on U.S. exports. The strength of the dollar, the nature of the U.S. tax system, and the adequacy of export finance all play a role in making U.S. exports internationally competitive.

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—The United States continues to struggle with trade barriers that affect its areas of international strength. Subsidized export financing on the part of Europe and Japan has also created problems for the United States, as has the use of industrial policies in Europe and Japan. In some cases, foreign governments target areas of America's competitive strength. In other cases, industrial targeting has been used to maintain industries that cannot meet international competition—often diverting exports to the American market and increasing the burden or adjustment for America's import-competing industries. We will ensure that timely and effective financing can be obtained by American businesses through the Export-Import Bank, so that they can compete effectively against subsidized competitors from abroad.

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—A healthy U.S. auto industry is essential to a strong trade balance and economy. That industry generates a large number of American jobs and both develops and consumes new technology needed for economic vitality. We believe it is a sound principle of international trade for foreign automakers which enjoy substantial sales in the United States to invest here and create jobs where their markets are. This can promote improved trade relations and a stronger American and world economy. We also believe U.S. auto makers need to maintain high volume small car production in the U.S. With the U.S. auto companies' return to profitability (despite continued unemployment in the auto sector), we urge expanded domestic investment to supply consumers with a full range of competitive vehicle. We support efforts by management and labor to improve auto quality and productivity, and to restrain prices.

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—Where foreign competition is fair, American industry should compete without government assistance. Where competition is unfair, we must respond powerfully. We will use trade law and international negotiations to aid U.S. workers, farmers, and businesses injured by unfair trade practices.

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—We need industrial strategies to create a cooperative partnership of labor, capital, and management to increase productivity and to make America competitive once more. Our keystone industries must be modernized and rebuilt, through industry-wide agreements. Where necessary, through Presidential leadership, we must negotiate industrial modernization and growth agreements that commit management to new domestic investment, higher levels of employment and [p.24] worker training, as well as commit labor to ease the introduction of new technologies.

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—There must be a broad consensus and commitment among labor, business and financial institutions that industry should and can be assisted, and in a particular way. We believe that all parties to modernization agreements must contribute to their success and that the government must be prepared to use a range of tools—including tax, import, and regulatory relief, and appropriate financing mechanisms—to assist this revitalization. There should be a primary emphasis on private capital in any such agreements.

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—The problems of individual industries, rather than industry as a whole, is another area in which an Economic Cooperation Council will be effective. In the case of a particular industry, the Council would select sub-councils to solve specific problems. Key members of the interested businesses and unions, financial institutions, academic specialists and other concerned and knowledgeable parties would meet to hammer out proposed strategies and agreements. It is not a question of picking winners and losers. Nor is it even always a question of some industries being more important than others. Rather, it is an opportunity for government and the private sector to forge a consensus to capture new markets, to restore an industry to competitive health, or to smooth the transition of workers and firms to new opportunities.

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—We want industries to modernize so as to restore competitiveness where it is flagging. If temporary trade relief is granted, the quid pro quo for relief will be a realistic, hardheaded modernization plan which will restore competitiveness involving commitments by all affected parties. The public is entitled to receive a fair return on its investment. Where government initiatives are necessary to save an industry like steel, auto or textiles, we must see that those initiatives meet the needs of the whole community—workers as well as executives, taxpayers and consumers as well as stockholders.

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—To facilitate the efforts of workers and communities to keep plants open and operating and in cases which closings are unavoidable, to help workers and communities to adapt, we support a requirement that companies give advance notification of plant closings or large-scale layoffs to their employees, surrounding communities and local governments. Where plants are nonetheless closed, we will help workers and communities to adapt.

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—Finally, we need a vigorous effort to redress the currency distortions that are undermining our international competitiveness. In addition to reducing our budget deficit, we will press for improved economic coordination with the major industrialized nations; work with Japan and other countries to further liberalize currency and investment regulations; :and negotiate toward agreements that will blunt speculative currency swings and restore stability and predictability to the international monetary system.

Agriculture

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Agriculture—America's largest, most fundamental industry—has been plunged into its worst depression since Herbert Hoover presided over the farm economy's collapse half a century ago. During President Reagan's stewardship of our nation's agriculture economy: real prices paid to farmers for their commodities have plummeted by twenty-one percent; real interest rates paid by farmers have increased be as much as 1,200 percent; real farm income has fallen to its lowest level since 1933; debt owed by U.S. farmers and ranchers has swelled to $215 billion; and farm foreclosures and forced sales have tripled.

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Ronald Reagan has hung a "for sale" sign on America's independent, family-based system of agricultural production. While these farmers have raised their production efficiency to record highs, Reagan's policies have forced down their prices, income, and financial worth.

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The Reagan Administration has been unwilling to take sensible, fiscally responsible action needed to halt this accelerating downward cycle in agriculture. Because of this failure of leadership, nearly 200,000 good farmers and ranchers, including minority farmers, have gone out of business since he took office in 1981. This is a rate of more than 1,000 families pushed off their land every week, the equivalent of all the farms and ranches in California and Iowa, our two largest agricultural states. Hundreds of thousands of the remaining enterprises teeter on the brink of bankruptcy and cannot survive another four years of this Administration's agricultural mismanagement.

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This collapse is happening despite the fact that Ronald Reagan has squandered taxpayers' money on his farm policies, spending $31 billion on his programs last year alone. That is six times more than any other

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[p.25] The Democratic Party strongly opposes the Reagan Administration's policy or aggressively promoting and further subsidizing nuclear power. Today, millions of Americans arc concerned about the safety of nuclear power plants and their radioactive waste. We recognize the safety and economic factors which bring into question the viability of this energy source.

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We will insist on the highest possible standards of safety and protection of public health with respect to nuclear power, including siting, design, operation, evacuation plans, and waste disposal procedures. We will require nuclear power to compete fairly in the marketplace. We will reexamine and review all federal subsidies to the nuclear industry, including the Price-Anderson Act's limits on the liability of the industry which will be considered for re-authorization in the next Congress. A Democratic Administration will give the Nuclear Regulatory Commission the integrity, competence, and credibility it needs to carry out its mandate to protect the public health and safety. We will expand the role of the public in NRC procedures.

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The Democratic Party believes high-level radioactive waste and other hazardous materials should be transported only when absolutely necessary. We will guarantee states full participatory rights in all decisions affecting the movement of high-level radioactive waste within their borders. We will require radioactive waste and hazardous materials emergency response plans along transportation routes, similar to those required for nuclear power plants. The Democratic Party will act swiftly to ensure stales' authority to regulate routes and schedules for radioactive and other hazardous shipments.

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We will ensure that no offshore oil and gas exploration will be taken up that is inconsistent with the protection of our fisheries and coastal resources. The leasing of public lands, both onshore and offshore, will be based on present demand and land use planning processes, and will be undertaken in ways that assure fair economic return to the public, protection of the environment and full participation by state and local governments. The Coastal Zone Management Act should be amended to require initial leasing decisions to be consistent with federally approved state and territorial coastal zone management plans. Interior states should be given consultation and concurrence rights with respect to onshore leases comparable to the rights afforded coastal states with respect to offshore leases.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.25

We believe that synthetic fuels research and development support should emphasize environmental protection technologies and standards and hold out reasonable hope of long-term economic viability. The Democratic Party proposes to reevaluate the Synthetic Fuels Corporation.

Energy Conservation

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.25

The high cost of producing and using energy now constitutes a substantial share of U.S. capital spending. Energy conservation has become essential to our economy as well as our national security.

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Strict standards of energy efficiency for home appliances, for example, could save enough money in the next 15 years to avoid the need for 40 new power plants. Better insulated houses and apartments can sharply reduce power and heating bills for families throughout America, and help utilities avoid the high cost of building more expensive power plants.

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Ronald Reagan sees no role for government in conserving energy, and he has gutted promising conservation efforts. The Democratic Party supports extension of the existing tax credits for business and residential energy conservation and renewable energy use, and expansion of the tax credits to include the incorporation of passive solar designs in new housing. The Democratic Party also supports faithful implementation of existing programs for energy efficiency standards for new appliances: upgrading of fuel efficiency standards for new automobile; establishment of comparable fuel efficiency standards for new light trucks and vans; and development of an energy efficiency rating system to be used to advise home-buyers at the time of sale of the likely future energy costs of houses.

Lifeline Utility Rates

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.25

Recognizing that the elderly and the poor suffer most from high energy costs, the Democratic Party supports special, lower electricity and natural gas rates for senior citizens and low-income Americans.

Recycling

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.25

The Democratic Party recognizes that recovering and recycling used materials can conserve energy and natural resources, create additional jobs, reduce the costs of material goods, eliminate solid waste and liter, and avoid pollution. We will increase efforts to recover and recycle useful materials from municipal waste.

Protecting Our Environment

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Americans know that industrial production and economic development do not have to mean ruined land or polluted air and water. Sound resource [p.26] management, careful planning, and strict pollution control enforcement will allow us to have a prosperous economy and a healthy environment. For the last four years the Reagan Administration has assumed a radical position, working to eliminate the environmental protections forged through years of bipartisan cooperation.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.26

Ronald Reagan's first appointees to key environmental positions have already been forced to resign. But the American people are entitled to more than the absence of scandal—they demand real action to protect the health and safety of our families and communities. The Democratic Party supports revitalizing the Environmental Protection Agency by providing it with a budget increase adequate to allow it to carry out its substantially increased responsibility to protect the people and enforce the law.

Hazardous Wastes

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Thousands of dump sites across America contain highly dangerous poisons that can threaten the health and safety of families who live nearby or who depend on water supplies that could be contaminated by the poisons. Although Congress his established the Superfund for emergency cleanup of these dangerous sites, President Reagan refuses to use it vigorously. The Democratic Party is committed to enforcing existing laws, to dramatically increasing Superfund resources to clean up all sites that threaten public health, and to assuring that everyone whose health or property is damaged has a fair opportunity to force the polluters to pay for the damage. This increased support should be financed at least in part through new taxes on the generation of hazardous wastes, so companies have an economic incentive to reduce the volume and toxicity of their dangerous wastes.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.26

The Resource Conservation and Recovery Act should be expanded to include major new requirements for safer management of newly generated toxic waste. High priority must be given to establishing and implementing a program to phase out the land disposal of untreated hazardous waste, requiring instead that it be treated by chemical, biological, or thermal processes that render it harmless and safe for disposal. The Environmental Protection Agency also should adopt standards to ensure that the safest possible methods of managing particular wastes are used, and that available methods are used to reduce the volume and toxicity of waste produced by industry.

Clean Air and Water

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.26

The Democratic Party supports a reauthorized and strengthened Clean Air Act. Statutory requirements for the control of toxic air pollutants should be strengthened, with the environmental agency required to identify and regulate within three years priority air pollutants known or anticipated to cause cancer and other serious diseases. The Democratic Party calls for an immediate program to reduce sulfur dioxide emissions by 50% from 1980 levels within the next decade; this program shall include interim reductions within five years of its enactment. In addition, significant progress will be made to further reductions of nitrogen oxide emissions. Our effort should be designed to reduce environmental and economic damage from acid ram while assuring such efforts do not cause regional economic dislocations. Every effort should be made to mitigate any job losses associated with any national acid rain program.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.26

The Democratic Party is committed to strengthening the Clean Water Act to curb both direct and indirect discharge of toxic pollutants into our nation's waters, and supports a strengthened Environmental Protection Agency to assure help to American cities in providing adequate supplies of drinking water free of toxic chemicals and other contaminants.

Workplace Safety

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.26

The Democratic Party believes all Americans in their workplaces and communities, have the right to know what hazardous materials and chemicals they may have been exposed to and how they may protect their health from such exposure. The Democratic Party supports appropriate funding levels for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, reversing the Reagan budget cuts in that agency; vigorous enforcement of occupational safety and health standards; and worker right-to-know requirements.

Pesticides and Herbicides

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.26

The Democratic Party is committed to establishing standards and deadlines requiring all pesticides and herbicides to be thoroughly tested to ensure they do not cause cancer, birth defects, or other adverse health effects. We support rigorous research and information programs to develop and assist farmers with the use of integrated pest management and non-chemical pest control methods to reduce the health risk of controlling agricultural pests, and the establishment of strict deadlines to ensure that pesticides are fully tested and in compliance with health and safety standards. The Democratic Party is committed to ensuring that our nation's food supply is free of pesticides whose danger to health has been demonstrate, and believes it is irresponsible to allow the export to other nations of [p.27] herbicides and pesticides banned for use in the U.S. and will act swiftly to halt such exports.

EPA Budget

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

The Democratic Party opposes the Reagan Administration's budget cuts, which have severely hampered the effectiveness or our environmental programs. The Environmental Protection Agency should receive a budget that exceeds in real dollars the agency's purchasing power when President Reagan took office, since the agency's workload has almost doubled in recent years.

International Leadership

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The Democratic Party strongly opposes the Reagan Administration's abandonment of the United States' historic leadership role in international efforts to control pollution, contrary to our interests and those of our allies. We will restore immediately our nation's leadership on international environmental issues, making the United States once again the best example of an industrial nation committed to protecting its land, water and air resources, as well as those of its neighbors.

Federal Compliance

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

The Democratic Party will require all federal activities, including those associated with the Departments of Defense and Energy, to comply fully with federal health, safety and environmental laws.

Managing our Public Lands

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

The Democratic Party believes in retaining ownership and control of our public lands, and in managing those lands according to the principles of multiple use and sustained yield, with appropriate environmental standards and mitigation requirements to protect the public interest. The Democratic Party supports the substantial expansion of the National Wilderness Preservation System, with designations of all types of ecosystems, including coastal areas, deserts, and prairies as well as forest and alpine areas. Congressional decisions to designate wilderness should include evaluations of mineral resources and other potential land values. Further, the Democratic Party believes that publicly owned timber resources should be priced at levels that reflect their true market value, taking into consideration their true costs to the government. Grazing on our public lands should not impair our grassland resources.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

The Democratic Party believes the process of designating rivers for inclusion in the national wild and scenic rivers system, halted by the Reagan Administration, should be preserved in their free-flowing condition for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations.

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The Democratic Party supports adequate funding of and restoration of federal programs to protect fully national parks, wildlife refuges, and wilderness areas from external and internal threats. Development activities within national wildlife refuges which are not compatible with the purposes for which the refuges were designated should not be allowed. The letter and the spirit of the Alaska National Interest Lands Consolation Act of 1980 should be followed, with an end to unsound land exchanges and other efforts to circumvent the law.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

A new Democratic Party will provide adequate appropriations for the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

Wetlands—The Democratic Party supports coherent and coordinated federal policies to protect our nation's valuable and disappearing wetlands, which are critical nurseries for commercial fisheries and vital ecological, scenic, and recreational resources. These policies will include more active efforts to acquire threatened wetland areas, consideration of new tax incentives to encourage private efforts to preserve instead of develop wetland, and elimination of current incentives that encourage wetlands destruction.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

Wildlife—Fishing, hunting, and enjoyment of America's wildlife can continue to be an important part of our natural heritage only through active programs to maintain the diversity and abundance of plants, animals, and natural habitats. The Democratic Party supports protection of endangered species, land management to maintain healthy populations of wildlife, and full United States participation to implement international wildlife treaties.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

Water Policy—The Democratic Party recognizes that finite and diminishing quantities of water, and often antiquated, inadequate, or inefficient water supply systems, threaten economic growth and the quality of life in all regions of the country. We recognize that federal leadership is necessary to meet these needs, and to do so in environmentally sound ways.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.27

The Democratic Party supports the creation of a national water resources planning board and a comprehensive review of the nation's water needs. We support major new water policy efforts addressing several national needs:

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—We will help meet our nation's infrastructure needs, including the construction of new projects which are economically and environmentally [p.28] sound. New water project starts, by the Corps of Engineers throughout the country and by the Bureau of Reclamation in the West, are critical. In all cases, we will consider innovative and nonstructural alternatives on an equal basis.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.28

—We will examine the water quantity and water quality issues associated with providing adequate water supply.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.28

—We will help meet navigation, flood control, and municipal water supply system needs, with new assistance to urban areas needing financial help to rebuild deteriorating water systems.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.28

—We will give new priority attention to improving efficiency in the use of water, recognizing that more efficient water use is often the least costly and most environmentally acceptable way to meet our water needs and achieve the fullest possible beneficial use of our water resources.

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—We will carefully coordinate federal water policy efforts with affected state governments, making possible not only cooperative financing of water investments but a commensurate sharing of decision-making authority and responsibility.

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—We will provide assistance to states addressing the growing problems of groundwater depletion and contamination.[p.29]

Chapter II: Justice, Dignity and Opportunity

Introduction

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

Fulfilling America's highest promise, equal justice for all: that is the Democratic agenda for a just future.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

For many of our citizens, it is only in the last two decades that the efforts of a broad, bipartisan coalition have begun to give real meaning to the dream of freedom and equality. During that time Democrats, spurred by the Civil Rights Movement, have enacted landmark legislation in areas including voting, education, housing and employment.

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A nation is only as strong as its commitment to justice and equality. Today, a corrosive unfairness eats at the underpinnings of our society. Civil rights laws and guarantees—only recently achieved after hard-fought battles, personal sacrifice and loss of life—are imperiled by an Administration that consciously seeks to turn the clock back to an era when second-class citizenship for women and minorities, disenfranchisement, and de jure and de facto segregation were very much the facts of life for well over half of America's population. Moreover, justice encompasses more than our nation's laws. The poor, the female, the minority—many of them just like boats stuck on the bottom—have come to experience an implacable and intractable foe in the Reagan Administration.

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A new Democratic Administration will understand that the age-old scourge of discrimination and prejudice against many groups in American society is still rampant and very much a part of the reason for the debilitating circumstances in which disadvantaged peoples are forced to live. Although strides have been made in combatting discrimination and defamation against Americans of various ethic groups, much remains to be done. Therefore, we pledge an end to the Reagan Administration's punitive policy toward women, minorities, and the poor and support the reaffirmation of the principle that the government is still responsible for protecting the civil rights of all citizens. Government has a special responsibility to those whom society has historically prevented from enjoying the benefits of full citizenship for reasons of race, religion, sex, age, national origin and ethnic heritage, sexual orientation, or disability.

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The goal for the coming decades is not only full justice under the law, but economic justice as well. In the recent past, we have put our nation on the road toward achieving equal protection of all our citizens' human rights. The challenge now is to continue to press that cause, while joining a new battle—to assure justice and opportunity in the workplace, and in the economy.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

Justice for all in today's America and the America of tomorrow demands not one, but two broad guarantees. First, we must guarantee that our nation will reinforce and extend its commitment to human rights and equal opportunity. And second, we must guarantee progress on the new frontier for the future: economic and social justice.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

We are determined to enforce the laws guaranteeing equal opportunity, and to complete the civil rights agenda cast aside by the Reagan Administration. No President has the right to do what this Administration has done: to read selectively from the United Sates Code and simply ignore the laws ensuring basic rights and opportunities because they conflict with this Administration's ideology. As Democrats, we pledge to reverse the trend towards lawlessness which has characterized this Administration, and to keep our commitments to all in our community who look to the government for defense of their rights.

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But we recognize that while a first step toward a just society is to guarantee the right of all workers to compete equally for a job, the next step is assuring that enough new jobs are created to give meaningful employment to all our workers for the future.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

If in past decades we won the right for minorities to ride at the front of the bus, in coming years we must assure that minorities have the opportunity to own the bus company.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

It will not be enough to say that our nation must offer equal access to health care—we must put comprehensive health care within the reach of all of our citizens, at a price all can afford.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

It will not do simply to guarantee women a place in the work force—women deserve an equal chance at a career leading to the board of directors.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

As Democrats, we believe that human rights and an economy of opportunity are two sides of the same coin of justice. No economic program can be considered just unless it advances the opportunity of all to live a better, more dignified life. No American is afforded economic justice when he or she is denied an opportunity to reap the rewards of economic growth.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

Economic justice is also economic common sense. Any who doubt that should consider the toll of welfare, crime, prisons, public housing and urban squalor on our national wealth. We will pay a high price for all the disadvantaged or disenfranchised if we fail to include them in the new economic revolution.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.29

As Democrats, therefore, we pledge to pursue a new definition of justice that meets the new demands of [p.30] our time. Under a Democratic Administration, equality and fairness under the law will be matched by justice in the economy and in the workplace.

The Future If Reagan is Reelected

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

"Twenty years after the Equal Pay Act should have eradicated the last vestige of economic discrimination against women, employers have made little progress in integrating their work force. It is the Republican governor of Washington State, and the Republican County Executive of Nassau County, New York, who are committing public resources to mount a legal defense for their jurisdictions blatant sex discrimination practices… The Reagan Administration from the outset has made it abundantly clear that civil rights and economic justice are to be sacrificed on the altar of corporate greed…"

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

Diana Rock, Director of Women's Rights, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing, Cleveland, Ohio, May 21, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

"The Reagan Administration, upon taking office in 1981, set upon a concerted effort to roll back civil rights protections. This attack is underway in agency enforcement, court litigation, legislative initiative, and nominations of federal appointees."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

Virna M. Canson. Regional Director, West Coast Region, NAACP (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing. Los Angeles, California. May 14, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

The neglect of our historic human rights commitment will already be recorded as the first legacy of Ronald Reagan's years in the White House. But suppose Mr. Reagan is reelected.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

What would become of America's commitment to equal justice and opportunity if Mr. Reagan is reelected?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

The hard truth is that if Mr. Reagan is reelected our most vigorous defender of the rule of law—the United States Supreme Court—could be lost to the cause of equal justice for another generation. Today, five of the nine members of that Court are over 75. Our next President will likely have the opportunity to shape that Court, not just for his own term—or even for his own lifetime—but for the rest of ours, and for our children's too.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

There can be little doubt that a Supreme Court chosen by Ronald Reagan would radically restrict constitutional rights and drastically reinterpret existing laws. Today, the fundamental right of a woman to reproductive freedom rests on the votes of six members of the Supreme Court—five of whom are over 75. That right could easily disappear during a second Reagan term. Already, the protections against employment discrimination have been restricted by the Court: a Reagan Court surely would reduce them further. The same is true for the right of workers to have a healthy and safe workplace, and to organize collectively in unions. Although the statute protecting voting rights has been extended through a massive bipartisan effort, opposed by the Reagan Administration, a Reagan Supreme Court could still effectively nullify it simply by erecting impossible standards of proof. Not long ago, the Court decided it should hire independent counsel to argue that tax exemptions for racially discriminatory schools were unlawful because the Justice Department refused to do so. Can anyone imagine a Reagan Court doing that? How much easier it would be for a Reagan Court simply to agree with a Reagan Department of Justice.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

/f, Mr. Reagan is reelected, who would protect women and minorities against discrimination?

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In the first year after the Reagan Administration assumed office, the number of cases involving charges of employment discrimination filed in court by the EEOC dropped by more than 70 percent. During this Administration, the EEOC has refused to process a single comparable worth case filed by a woman. Meanwhile, the Reagan Justice Department has sought to destroy effective affirmative action remedies, and even to undermine private plans to reduce discrimination in employment. The actions of the Reagan Administration serve only to delay the day when fairness is achieved and such remedial measures are, therefore, no longer needed.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

It is now clear that if Mr, Reagan is reelected, women and minorities seeking protection of their rights would be forced to contend not only with their employers, but with a hostile government. Equal employment opportunity and equity would remain elusive dreams.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

If Mr. Reagan is reelected, who would assure access to justice?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

Since the day of its inauguration, the Reagan Administration has conducted a continuous, full-scale war against the federal Legal Services Corporation, whose only job is to ensure that the poor are fairly heard in court, and that they get equal access to our system of justice. Thirty percent of the Corporation's lawyers have been laid off, and the Administration exhausted every means it could find to stack its Board with people hostile to the very concept of equal justice for the poor.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

In the America of Ronald Reagan, you will only get as much justice as you pay for.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

If Mr. Reagan is reelected, who would protect the rights of workers?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.30

The Republican Administration has consistently viewed the dollar costs to businesses of providing a safe workplace as more important than the impact of injury and disease on working men and women. It has appointed officials to the National Labor Relations [p.31] Board who openly oppose the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. The Department of Labor has ignored its mandate to enforce fair labor standards and has sought to reverse hard won gains in protections for worker health and safety.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

What would happen if Mr. Reagan is reelected? Will the right to bargain collectively be eviscerated through Republican-approved abuses of the bankruptcy laws? Will the National Labor Relations Act be converted into a tool that limits working men and women and empowers only their employers? Who will ensure that our next generation does not suffer the effects of toxic substances in the workplace—substances whose existence is not even revealed to the worker?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

If Mr. Reagan is reelected, who would protect the rights of senior citizens?

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Speaking at Philadelphia in 1980 during his campaign, Ronald Reagan vowed to a large audience of senior citizens his strong support for Social Security. He assured thousands of senior citizens on that occasion that as President he would see to it that every commitment made by the federal government to the senior citizens was faithfully kept.

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Ronald Reagan violated that promise shortly after he became President. In 1981, speaking to a joint session of Congress, President Reagan said, "We will not cut Medicare." In a matter of weeks thereafter Present Reagan asked the Congress of the United States to cut $88 billion in 1981 and the following four years from Social Security programs. He proposed to reduce by a third the number of people protected by the disability insurance program. He proposed to reduce by a third the benefits a senior citizen would receive if he or she retired at 62. He proposed to cut out the burial program for recipients of Social Security.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

He proposed to cut millions from programs that Democratic Administrations had provided for the education of the children of the elderly covered by Social Security, slashing the list of beneficiaries of these programs by hundreds of thousands of sons and daughters of men and women covered by Social Security. And he called for the abolition of the $122-a-month minimum benefit program, which would have dropped over three million people from Social Security altogether.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

The American people then revolted, and so did the Congress. The Democratic Party put a stop to the decimation of the Social Security program, but not before President Reagan had cut $19 billion from Social Security benefits in 1981 and the ensuing four years. Democrats in Congress forced the restoration of the $122-a-month minimum benefit program to those who were covered before the Reagan cuts, but never succeeded in extending coverage to the additional 7,000 people a month who would have become eligible after the Reagan cuts.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

Instead of keeping his word that he would not cut Medicare, Reagan forced Congress every year beginning in 1981 to cut billions from the Medicare program. When Social Security developed financial problems due to massive unemployment in 1982, the Reagan Administration moved to "solve" them by cutting benefits further. Only the Democrats on the Social Security Commission prevented him from doing that.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

If Mr. Reagan is reelected, how would we teach our children to respect the law?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

We cannot teach our children to respect the law when they see the highest officials of government flaunting it at their will. Lawlessness has been a pattern in this Administration—and it is a pattern that is unlikely to be altered if Reagan and the Republicans stay in the White House.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

More than forty top Republican officials have already been implicated in all kinds of wrongdoing. Murky transactions on the fringe of organized crime, accepting gifts from foreign journalists and governments, misusing government funds, lying under oath, stock manipulations, taking interest-free loans from wealthy businessmen who later receive federal jobs—all of these are part of business as usual with Ronald Reagan's appointees.

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The Republicans profess to stand for "law and order." But this is the same Administration that voted the bipartisan anti-crime bill in 1982. And when it comes to laws they do not like—whether they concern toxic wastes, pure food and drugs, or worker health and safety—this Administration simply makes believe they do not exist. The same is true overseas: this Administration is just as willing to ignore international law as domestic law. When we finally learned of illegal mining of of Nicaragua's harbors, the Reagan Administration hastily attempted, the night before Nicaragua sued us, to withdraw jurisdiction over the question from the World Court. But even this maneuver was carried out in an illegal fashion that the World Court later set aside.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

This Republican Administration has been unprecedentedly eager to limit public debate by instituting "security agreements" that censor ex-officials, "revising" the Freedom of Information Act, refusing visas to foreign visitors who might provide another perspective on American policies overseas, and denying our war correspondents their historic position alongside out troops. This comes as no surprise: in the first term, the Reagan Administration had a lot to hide. What would happen in a second?

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If Mr. Reagan is reelected, what would happen to our unfinished civil rights agenda?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.31

The answer is clear: an Administration which refuses to enforce the laws that are on the books can [p.32] hardly be expected to respect—or even recognize—the rights of those who are not already specifically protected by existing law.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

Nowhere is this Administration's hostility to equal rights and equal justice more apparent than in its attitude to the Equal Rights Amendment. As soon as the Reagan faction took control of the Republican Party at its convention in 1980, it ended that Party's forty-year commitment to passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. So long as this Administration remains in office, the proponents of unamended ERA have nothing less than an enemy in the White House. And if this is true for the women of America, it is equally true for disadvantaged minorities who must depend on this government's sense of justice to secure their rights and lead independent lives.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

Since assuming office, the Reagan Administration has shown more hostility—indeed, more outright and implacable aggression—toward the American ideal of equal justice for all than even its harshest critics would have predicted in 1980. Given its first-term record, even our most pessimistic forecasts for four more Republish years may well fall short of the mark. No one knows the full extent of the damage Reagan could wreak on this country in another term. But we do know one thing: we cannot afford to find out.

The Democratic Alternative: Equal Justice for All

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

"The Democratic Party is challenged as never before to redirect the present dangerous course of our nation and our world, and to provide meaningful work at adequate pay for all our citizens and justice for all Americans.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

"The dream of a nation fully committed to peace, jobs, and justice has fast became a nightmare under this Administration…

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

"Our choice today is to become just a new party in power in November with new faces and new pledges—or a truly great party with the courage to develop a new vision and a new direction for the sake of our nation and our world."

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Coretta Scott King (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing, Washington, DC. June 11. 1984)

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"The Equal Rights Amendment is the only guarantee of full equality the women of this nation can trust and count on. We have seen in the past three and one-half years an administration that has gone out of its way to prove that laws, court decisions, executive orders, and regulations are not enough—they can be changed by a new majority, overturned, swept aside, underfunded, or rescinded. Only when the legislative protections against such discrimination are in the bedrock of the Constitution can we at the vagaries of changing political climate or a hostile administration will not wipe out those protections."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

Judy Goldsmith. President. National Organization for Women (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing, Washington, DC, June 12, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

Equal justice for all, in a Democratic future, means that every individual must have a fair and equal opportunity to fulfil his or her potential, and to be an independent, working member of our society—and it is the commitment of our Party to secure that opportunity.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

We are determined to build an America of self-sufficient, independent people. We will enforce the laws guaranteeing equal opportunity and human rights, and complete the unfinished civil rights agenda. We will keep our commitments to all of the members of our community who rely upon our word to stay, or to become, independent—our senior citizens, those who served in our Armed Forces, the handicapped and disabled, the members of our American family who are trapped in poverty, and all Americans who look to government to protect them from the pain, expense, and dislocation caused by crime. And in fulfilling these and all the duties of government, a Democratic Administration will stand as an example to all of integrity and justice.

Equal Justice Under Law

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

Many have suffered from historical patterns of discrimination and others, because of their recent immigration in sizeable numbers, are subject to new forms of discrimination. Over the years, the Democratic Party has voiced a commitment to eradicating the injustices. In 1948, the Democratic Platform for the first time contained a plank committing this Party to the cause of civil rights. For almost forty years, we have fought proudly for that cause. In 1964, a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress enacted the landmark legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment and public accommodations. And for nearly two decades, a bipartisan commitment has existed in Congress and in the White House to expand and enforce those laws. Until Ronald Reagan.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

This Administration has sought to erode the force and meaning of constitutionally-mandated and court-sanctioned remedies for long-standing patterns of discriminatory conduct. It has attempted to create new standards under each of our nation's civil rights laws by requiring a showing of intent to discriminate, and case-by-case litigation of class-wide violations. Its interpretation of two recent Supreme Court decisions attempts to sound the death knell for equal opportunity and affirmative action.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.32

In one case, the Administration interpreted the Court's decision as requiring that equal opportunity mandates associated with the receipt of all federal [p.33] the special needs of the disabled. This Administration has closed its eyes to those needs, and in so doing, violated a fundamental trust by seeking to condemn millions of disabled Americans to dependency. We will honor our commitments. We will insist that those who receive federal funds accommodate disabled employees—a requirement this Administration sought to eliminate. We will insist that benefits be available for those who cannot work, and that training is available for those who need help to find work.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

The Democratic Party will safeguard the rights of the elderly and disabled to remain free from institutionalization except where medically indicated. The rights of the disabled within institutions should be protected from violations of the integrity of their person. Also, we will promote accessible public transportation, buildings, make voting booths accessible, and strictly enforce laws such as the entire Rehabilitation Act of 1973

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

Opportunities for Veterans—This country has a proud tradition of honoring and supporting those who have defended us. Millions of Americans in the years after World War II went to college and bought their homes thanks to GI benefits. But for the latest generation of American veterans, needed support and assistance have been missing.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

The nation has begun to welcome home with pride its Vietnam veterans, as reflected in the extraordinary Vietnam Veterans Memorial which was built through public contributions. The Democratic Party shares the nation's commitment to Vietnam veterans.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

No President since the beginning of the Vietnam War has been so persistently hostile to Vietnam veterans programs as Ronald Reagan. He has sought to dismantle the Readjustment Counseling Centers, opposed employment and Agent Orange benefits, as well as basic due process at the Veterans Administration, including judicial review.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

The Vietnam War divided our nation. Many of the rifts remain, but all agree on the respect due Vietnam veterans for their distinguished service during a troubled time. The Democratic Party pledges to reverse Ronald Reagan's Vietnam veteran policies, helping our nation come together as one people. And we believe it is especially important that we end discrimination against women and minority veterans, particularly in health and education programs.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

We believe that the government has a special obligation to all of this nation's veterans, and we are committed to fulfilling it—to providing the highest quality health care, improving education and training, providing the assistance they need to live independent and productive lives.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

Opportunities for the Poor—For the past four years, this Administration has callously pursued policies which have further impoverished those at the bottom of the economic ladder and pushed millions of Americans, particularly women and children, below the poverty line. Thanks to the Reagan budget cuts, many of the programs upon which the poor rely have been gutted—from education to housing to child nutrition. Far from encouraging independence, the Administration has penalized those seeking to escape poverty through work, by conditioning assistance on nonparticipation in the workplace. The figures tell part of the story:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

—Today, 15 percent of all Americans live below the poverty line;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

—Over three million more children are in poverty today than there were in 1979;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

—Over half of all black children under age three live in poverty;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

—More than one-third of all female-headed households are below the poverty line, and for non-white families headed by women with more than one child, the figure is 70 percent.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

But the numbers tell only part of the story; numbers do not convey the frustration and suffering of women seeking a future for themselves and their children, with no support from anyone; numbers do not recount the pain of growing numbers of homeless men and women with no place to sleep, or of increasing infant mortality rates among children born to poor mothers. Numbers do not convey the human effects of unemployment on a once stable and strong family.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

As Democrats, we call upon the American people to join with us in a renewed commitment to combat the feminization of poverty in our nation so that every American can be a productive, contributing member of our society. In that effort, our goal is to strengthen families and to reverse the existing incentives for their destruction. We therefore oppose laws requiring an unemployed parent to leave the family or drop out of the work force in order to quality for assistance and health care. We recognize the special need to increase the labor force participation of minority males, and we are committed to expanding their opportunities through education and training and to enforcing the laws which guarantee them equal opportunities. The plight of young mothers must be separately addresses as well; they too need education and training and quality child care must be available if they are to participate in such programs. Only through a nation that cares and a government that acts can those Americans trapped in poverty move toward meaningful independence.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.33

The Hungry and the Homeless—In the late 1960's, the nation discovered widespread hunger and malnutrition in America, especially among poor children and the elderly. The country responded with a national effort, of which Americans should be justly proud. By the late 1970's, medical researchers found that hunger had nearly been eliminated.

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[p.34] Since 1980, however, hunger has returned. High unemployment, coupled with deep cutbacks in food assistance and other basic support programs for poor families have led to conditions not seen in this country for years. Studies in hospitals and health departments document increases in numbers of malnourished children. Increasing numbers of homeless wander our cities streets in search of food and shelter. Religious organizations, charities and other agencies report record numbers of persons standing in line for food at soup kitchens and emergency food pantries.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

Strong action is needed to address this issue and to end the resurgence of hunger in America. The Democratic Party is committed to reversing regressive Reagan policies and to providing more adequate food aid for poor families, infants, children, elderly and handicapped persons. It is time to resume the national effort, jettisoned in 1980, to ensure that less fortunate Americans do not go without adequate food because they are too poor to secure a decent diet. As Democrats, we call upon the American people to join with us in a renewed commitment to fight hunger and homelessness so that every American can be a productive, contributing member of our society.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

Hunger is an international problem as well. In many countries it shortens peace and stability. The United States should take the lead in working with our allies and other countries to help wipe hunger from the face of the earth.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

A Democratic President will ensure that the needs of the world's children are given priority in all U.S. foreign assistance programs and that international assistance programs are geared toward increasing self-reliance of local populations and self-sufficiency in food production.

Integrity In Government

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

As Democrats, we believe that the American people are entitled to a government that is honest, that is open, and that is fully representative of this nation and its people, and we are committed to providing it.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

After four years in which the roll of dishonor in the Administration has grown weekly and monthly—from Richard Allen to Rita Lavelle, from Thomas Reed to James Watt—it is time for an end to the embarrassment of Republican cronyism and malfeasance. Our appointments will be ones of which Americans can be proud. Our selection process in staffing the government will be severe. We will not tolerate impropriety in a Democratic Administration.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

We must work to end political action committee funding of federal political campaigns. To achieve that, we must enact a system of public financing of federal campaigns. At the same time, our Party should assure that a system of public financing be responsive to the problem of under representation of women and minorities in elective offices.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

We Democrats are not afraid to govern in public and to let the .American people know and understand the basis for our decisions. We will reverse current Administration policies that permit the widespread overclassification of documents lacking a relationship to our national security. We will rescind Reagan Administration directives imposing undue burdens on citizens seeking information about their government through the Freedom of Information Act.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

We will insist that the government, in its relations with its own employees, set a standard of fairness which is a model for the private sector. We believe, moreover, that an Administration that cannot run its own house fairly cannot sere the American people fairly. We will ensure that government's number one priority is the performance of its mission under the law, and not the implementation of the narrow political agenda of a single Party. Sound management and fair government cannot be administered by a politicized work force. Neither can it be accomplished by a demoralized work force. A Democratic Administration will not devalue the pay, benefits, and retirement rights of federal workers guaranteed under the law. We will work to reverse personnel policies, including the contracting out of work traditionally performed by public employees, that have made it impossible for current federal employees to recommend a career in federal service to our nation's young people.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

Our judicial system must be one in which excellence and access are the foundations. It is essential to recruit people of high integrity, outstanding competence, and high quality of judgment to serve in our nation's judiciary. And we oppose efforts to strip the federal courts of their historic jurisdiction to adjudicate cases involving questions of federal law and constitutional right.

Crime

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

No problem has worried Americas more persistently over the past 20 years than the problem of crime. Crime and the fear of crime affect us all, but the impact is greatest on poor Americans who live in our cities. Neither a permissive liberalism nor a static conservatism is the answer to reducing crime. While we must eliminate those elements—like unemployment and poverty—that foster the criminal atmosphere, we must never let them be used as an excuse.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.34

Although the primary responsibility for law enforcement rests at the local level. Democrats believe the federal government can play an important role by encouraging local innovation and the implementation of new crime control methods as their effectiveness is shown. And when crime spills acres state borders, the federal government must take the lead, and assume responsibility for enforcing the law. This Administration has done neither. It has talked "law and order" while cutting law enforcement budgets. It [p.35] has decried the influence of drugs, while cutting back on customs enforcement.

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As a result, drug trafficking and abuse have risen to crisis proportions in the United States. In 1983, an estimated 60 tons of cocaine, 15,000 tons of marijuana, and 10 tons of heroin entered the United States, clear evidence that we are losing the effort overseas to control the production and transshipment of these and other dangerous drugs. Domestically, the illicit trafficking in drugs is a $100 billion per year business; the economic and social costs to our society are far higher.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

Today, in our country, there are 25 million regular abusers of marijuana, close to 12 million abusers of cocaine, and half a million heroin addicts. Since 1979, hospital emergency room incidents—including deaths—related to cocaine have soared 300 percent; incidents related to heroin have climbed 80 percent. According to the 1983 National High School Survey on Drug Abuse, 63 percent of high school seniors have tried an illicit drug, and 40 percent have tried a drug other than marijuana. Alcohol abuse is also a serious problem which must be faced.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—For this reason, the Democratic Party believes it is essential to make narcotics control a high priority on the national agenda, and a major consideration in our dealings with producer and transshipment countries, particularly if they are recipients of U.S. assistance.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—At the national level, the effort must begin by introducing a comprehensive management plan to eliminate overlap and friction between the 113 different federal agencies with responsibilities for fighting crime, particularly with respect to the control of drug traffic. We must provide the necessary resources to federal agencies and departments with responsibility for the fight against drugs.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—To spur local law enforcement efforts, establishment of an independent criminal justice corporation should be considered. This corporation could serve as a means of encouraging community-based efforts, such as neighborhood citizen watches, alternative deployment patterns for police, and community service sentencing programs, which have proven effectiveness.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—Violent acts of bigotry, hatred and extremism aimed at women, racial, ethnic and religious minorities, and gay men and lesbians have become an alarmingly common phenomenon. A Democratic Administration will work vigorously to address, document, and end all such violence.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—We believe that victims of crime deserve a workable program of compensation. We call for sentencing reforms that routinely include monetary or other forms of restitution to victims. The Federal government should ensure that victims of violent federal crime receive compensation. We need to establish a federal victim compensation fund, to be financed, in part, by fines and the proceeds from the sale of goods forfeited to the government.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—We support tough restraints on the manufacture, transportation, and sale of snub-nosed handguns, which have no legitimate sporting use and are used in a high proportion of violent crimes.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—We will establish a strong federal-state partnership to push for further progress in the nationwide expansion of comprehensive, community-based anti-drunk driving programs. With the support of citizens, private-sector business and government at all levels; we will institutionalize fatality and injury reduction on the nation's highways.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—We support fundamental reform of the sentencing process so that offenders who commit similar crimes receive similar penalties. Reform should begin with the establishment of appropriately drafted sentencing guidelines, and judges deviating from such guidelines should be required to provide written reasons for doing so.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.35

—Finally, we believe that the credibility of our criminal courts must be restored. Our courts should not be attacked for failing to eliminate the major social problem of crime—courts of justice were not designed, and were never intended, to do that. A Democratic Administration will encourage experimentation with alternative dispute-resolution mechanisms, diversion programs for first and nonviolent offenders, and other devices to eliminate the congestion in our courts and restore to them an atmosphere in which they can perform their intended job: doing real individualized justice, in an orderly way.[p.36]

Chapter III: Peace, Security, and Freedom

Introduction

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

Building a safer future for our nations and the world: that is the Democratic agenda for our national security. Every responsibility before our nation, every task that we set, pales beside the most important challenge we face—providing new leadership that enhances our security, promotes our values, and works for peace.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

The next American President will preside over a period of historic change in the international system. The relatively stable world order that has prevailed since World War II is bursting at the seams from the powerful forces of change —the proliferation of nuclear and conventional weapons, the relentless Soviet military buildup, the achievement of rough nuclear parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, the increasingly interdependent nature of the international economic order, the recovery and rise of European and Asian powers since the devastation of the Second World War, and the search for a new America political consensus in the wake of Vietnam and Lebanon and in the shadow of a regional crisis in Central America.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

The greatest foreign policy imperative of the Democratic Party and of the next President is to learn from past mistakes and adapt to these changes, rather than to foist or ignore them. While not underestimating the Soviet threat, we can no longer afford simplistically to blame all of our troubles on a single "focus of evil," for the sources of international change run even deeper than the sources of superpower competition. We must see change as an opportunity as well as a challenge. In the 1980's and beyond, America must not only make the world safe for diversity; we must learn to thrive on diversity.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

The Domestic Party believes that it is time to harness the full range of America's capacity to meet the challenges of a changing world. We reject the notion that America is beset by forces beyond its control. Our commitment to freedom and democracy, our willingness to listen to contrasting viewpoints, and our ingenuity at devising new ideas and arrangements have given us advantages in an increasingly diverse world that no totalitarian system can match.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

The Democratic Party has a constructive and confident vision of America's ability to use all of our economic, political, and military resources to pursue our wide-ranging security and economic interests in a diverse and changing world. We believe in a responsible defense policy that will increase our national security. We believe in a foreign policy that respects our allies, builds democracy, and advances the cause of human rights. We believe that our economic future lies in our ability to rise to the challenge of international economic competition by making our own industries more competitive. Above all, we believe that our security requires the direct, personal involvement of the President of the United States to limit the Soviet military threat and to reduce the danger of nuclear war.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

We have no illusions about the forces arrayed against the democratic cause in our time. In the year made famous by George Orwell, we can see the realization of many of his grimmest prophecies in the totalitarian Soviet state, which has amassed an arsenal of weapons far beyond its defensive needs. In the communist and non-communist world, we find tyrannical regimes that trample on human rights and repress their people's cry for economic justice.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

The Reagan Administration points to Soviet repression—but has no answer other than to escalate the arms race. It downgrades repression in the noncommunist world, by drawing useless distinctions between "totalitarian" and "authoritarian" regimes.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

The Democratic Party understands the challenge posed by the enemies of democracy. Unlike the Reagan Administration, however, we are prepared to work constructively to reduce tensions and make genuine progress toward a safer world.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

The Democratic Party is confident that American ideals and American interests reinforce each other in our foreign policy; the promotion of democracy and human rights not only distinguishes us from our adversaries, but it also builds the long-term stability that comes when governments respect their people. We look forward to the 21st Century as a century of democratic solidarity where security, freedom, and peace will flourish.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

Peace, freedom and security are the essence of America's dream. They are the future of our children and their children.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

This is the test where failure could provide no opportunity to try once more. As President Kennedy once warned: "We have the power to make this the best generation of mankind in the history of the world—or to make it the last."

The Future If Reagan Is Reelected

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.36

"Star Wars is not the path towards a less dangerous world. A direct and safe road exists: equitable and verifiable deep cuts in strategic offensive forces. We must abandon the illusion that ever more [p.37] sophisticated technology can remove the perils that science and technology have created."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Statement by Dr Jerome B. Wiesner, Dr. Carl Sagan, Dr. Henry Kendall, and Admiral Noel Gayler (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing, Washington, D.C., June 12, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

"The minister of the apartheid government recently boasted of the fruitful relationship between Pretoria and Washington since the advent of the Reagan regime. Now apartheid South Africa has acquired the military muscle to bomb, to maim, to kill men, women, and children, and to bully these states into negotiating with apartheid through the threat of increased military action. This may be hailed as a victory for apartheid and for the Reagan Administration, but in truth it can only create anger and contempt in the African people."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Professor Dennis Brutus, Northwestern University (former political prisoner in South Africa) (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing, New York, New York. April 9, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Suppose Mr. Reagan is reelected. How would he deal with the serious threats that face us and our children?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Under Mr. Reagan, the nuclear arms race would continue to spiral out of control. A new generation of destabilizing missiles will imperil all humanity. We will live in a world where the nuclear arms race has spread from earth into space.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Under Mr. Reason, we would continue to over-emphasize destabilizing and redundant nuclear weapons programs at the expense of our conventional forces. We will spend billions for weapons that do not work. We will continue to ignore proposals to improve defense management, to get a dollar's worth for each dollar spent, and to make our military more combat-effective and our weapons more cost-effective.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Under Mr. Reagan, regional conflicts would continue to be dangerously mismanaged. Young Americans may be sent to fight and die needlessly. The spread of nuclear materials to new nations and the spread of sophisticated conventional weapons to virtually every nation on earth will continue unabated.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Can America afford a President so out of touch with reality that he tells us, "I think the world is safer and further removed from a possible war than it was several years ago"?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Can America afford the recklessness of a President who exposed American Marines to mortal danger and sacrificed over 260 of them in a bungled mission in Lebanon against the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and brought upon us the worst U.S. military disaster since the Vietnam War?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Can America afford the irresponsibility of a President who undermines confidence in our deterrent with misleading allegations of Soviet nuclear "superiority" and whose Administration beguiles the American public with false claims that nuclear war can be survived with enough shovels?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Can America afford the unresponsiveness of a President who thwarts the will of the majority of Americans by waging a secret war against Nicaragua?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

In a second Reagan term, will our heavens become a nuclear battleground?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

In 1980, candidate Ronald Reagan promised the American people a more secure world. Yet, as President:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

—He has raced to deploy new weapons that will be destabilizing and difficult to verify. He has pressed for a multi-billion dollar chemical weapons program. He has launched his trillion dollar "Slat Wars" arms race in space.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

—He has relaxed controls on nuclear proliferation, thus enhancing the risk that nuclear weapons will be acquired and used by unstable governments and international terrorists.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

—He has become the first President since the Cold War to preside over the complete collapse of air nuclear arms negotiations with the Soviets.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

—He has rejected SALT II, threatened the ABM Treaty, and abandoned the goal of a complete ban on nuclear weapons tests that that has been pursued by every President since Eisenhower. He has refused to seek negotiations to limit anti-satellite weapons that could threaten our vital early-warning and military satellites. Over 250 strategic missiles and bombers that would have been eliminated under SALT II are still in Soviet hands.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

Con we afford four more years of a Pentagon spending binge?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

In 1980, candidate Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party promised the American people a defense spending increase "to be applied judiciously to critically needed programs." Yet as President:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

—He has initiated the largest peacetime defense build-up in our history with no coherent plan for integrating the increased programs into an effective military posture.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.37

—He has slighted training and readiness of our conventional forces in favor of big ticket nuclear items, "preparing," in the words of General [p.38] Maxwell Taylor, "for the least possible threats to the neglect of the most probable."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

—He has brought us the worst-managed and most wasteful Defense Department in history. Under the Pentagon's wasteful purchasing system, the American taxpayer has paid $435 for a $17 claw hammer, $1100 for a 22-cent plastic steel cap, over $2000 for a 13-cent plain round nut, and $9600 for a 12-cent Allen wrench.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

Can we afford four more years of dangerous foreign policy failures?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

In 1980, candidate Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party promised "to put America on a sound, secure footing in the international arena." Yet, as President:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

—He has contributed to the decline of U.S.-Soviet relations to a perilous point. Instead of challenges, he has used easy and abusive anti-Soviet rhetoric as a substitute for strength, progress, and careful use of power.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

—He has strained vital U.S. alliances through his bungled efforts to stop the Soviet natural gas pipeline, his inflammatory nuclear rhetoric and policies, and his failure to support the efforts of our democratic allies to achieve a negotiated political solution in Central America.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

—He has had as many Middle East policies as he has had staff turnovers. First, he offered strategic cooperation to Israel as if it were a gift. Then he took it away to punish Israel as if it were not our ally. Then he pressured Israel to make one-sided concessions to Jordan. Then he demanded that Israel withdraw from Lebanon. Then he pleaded with them to stay. Then he did not accept their offer of medical help for our wounded Marines. He undercut American credibility throughout the Middle East by declaring Lebanon a vital interest of the United States and then withdrawing.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

—He has failed to understand the importance for the United States of a solid relationship with the African continent—not only from the perspective of human decency, but also from enlightened concern for our own self-interest. By his lack of sensitivity and foresight, he has ignored the fate of millions of people who need our help in developing their economies and in dealing with the ravages of drought, and he has jeopardized our relations with counties that are important to U.S. security and well-being.

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—He has brought us a strategy in Central America and the Caribbean that has failed. Since he took office, the region has become much more unstable; the hemisphere is much more hostile to us; and the poverty is much deeper. Today in El Salvador, after more than a billion dollars in American aid, the guerillas are stronger than they were three years ago, and the people are much poorer. In Nicaragua, our support for the contras and for the covert war has strengthened the totalitarians at the expense of the moderates. In Honduras, an emerging democracy has been transformed into a staging ground for possible regional war. And in Cost Rica our backing for rebels based there is in danger of dragging that peaceful democracy into a military confrontation with Nicaragua. In Grenada, Mr. Reagan renounced diplomacy for over two years, encouraging extremism, instability, and crisis. By his failure to avoid military intervention, he divided us from our European allies and alienated our friends throughout the Western hemisphere. And by excluding the press, he set a chilling precedent, greatly hampering public scrutiny of his policies. After three and one-half years of Mr. Reagan's tunnel vision, extremism is stronger, our democratic friends are weaker, and we are further than ever from achieving peace and security in the region.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

—He is the first President to fail to support publicly the ratification of the Genocide Convention. His Vice President has praised the Philippine dictator for his "love of democracy," his first Secretary of State announced that human rights would be replaced as a foreign policy priority, and his first nominee for Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights was rejected by the U.S. Senate as unfit for that post. He has closely identified the United States with the apartheid regime in South Africa, and he has time and again failed to confront dictators around the globe.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

This is an unprecedented record of failure. But President Reagan is content to make excuses for failure.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

President Reagan blames Congress and the Democratic Party. He rebukes Americans deeply and genuinely concerned about the threat of nuclear war. He rails at the Soviet Union—as if words alone, without strategy or effective policy, will make that nation change its course.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.38

It is time for Democrats and Americans to apply a tough standard to Ronald Reagan. Let us paraphrase the question he asked in 1980: Are we safer today [p.39] than we were three and a half years ago? Are we further from nuclear war? After more than a thousand days of Mr. Reagan, is the world anywhere less tense, anywhere closer to peace?

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

Americans throughout this land are answering with a resounding no.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

President Reagan himself is responsible—responsible for four years of a failed foreign policy. America elects its President to lead. It does not elect its President to make excuses.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

The Democratic Party believes that it is time to harass the full power of America's spirit and capacity to meet the challenges of a changing world.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

The Democratic Party has a different and positive vision of America's future. What is at stake may be freedom and survival itself.

The Democratic Alternative:A Safer Future for Our Nation and the World

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

"I do not see why we think of our nation as so weak and so vulnerable. Let us for heaven's sake have some confidence in America and not tremble, fearing that our society will fall apart at the least rattle of the door. If I were constructing this platform, I would ask that its planks be carved out of self-confidence, and planted in belief in our own system."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

Historian Barbara Tuchman (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing. New York, New York, April 9, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

"The Democratic Party requires a foreign policy which approaches the problems that confront us primarily in their national and regional contexts, rather than viewing them, as the Reagan Administration does, almost exclusively as a manifestation of the "evil empire's" efforts to extend its sway over the entire globe. What we need is a foreign policy which promotes the cause of human rights by opposing tyranny on the part of left as well as right wing governments, rather than a foreign policy like the one we have now, which supports virtually every reactionary and repressive regime that professes to be anti-communist."

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

Honorable Stephen J. Solarz, U.S. Representative. New York (Democratic Platform Committee Hearing. New York, New York, April 9, 1984)

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

There is no higher goal for the Democratic Party than assuring the national security of the United States. This means a strong national defense, vigorous pursuit of nuclear arms control, and a foreign policy dedicated to salvaging the interests of America and the forces of freedom and democracy in a period of global transformation. This will require new leadership, strong alliances, skillful diplomacy, effective economic cooperation, and a foreign policy sustained by American strength and ideals. And to hold the support of the American people, our leaders must also be careful and measured in the use of force.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

The Democratic Party is committed to a strong national defense. Democrats know that a relentless Soviet military build-up—well beyond its defensive needs—directly challenges world security, our democratic values, and our free institutions. On the nature of the Soviet threat and on the essential issue of our nation's security, Americans do not divide. On the common interest in human survival, the American and Soviet peoples do not divide.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

Maintaining strong and effective military forces is essential to keeping the peace and safeguarding freedom. Our allies and adversaries must never doubt our military power or our will to defend our vital interests. To that end, we pledge a strong defense built in concert with our allies, based on a coherent strategy, and supported by a sound economy.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

In an age of about 50,000 nuclear weapons, however, nuclear arms control and reductions are also essential to our security. The most solemn responsibility of a President is to do all that he or she can to prevent a single nuclear weapon from ever being used. Democrats believe that mutual and verifiable controls on nuclear arms can, and must be, a serious integral part of national defense. True national security requires urgent measures to freeze and reverse the arms race, not the pursuit of the phantom of nuclear superiority or futile Star Wars schemes.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

The Democratic Party believes that the purpose of nuclear weapons is to deter war, not to fight it. Democrats believe that America has the strength and tenacity to negotiate nuclear arms agreements that will reduce the risk of nuclear war and preserve our military security.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

Today we stand at one of the most critical junctures in the arms race since the explosion of the first atomic bomb. Mr. Reagan wants to open the heavens for warfare.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.39

His Star Wars proposal would create a vulnerable and provocative "shield" that would lull our nation into a false sense of security. It would lead our allies to believe that we are retreating from their defense. It would lead to the death of the ABM Treaty—the most successful arms control treaty in history—and this trillion-dollar program would provoke a dangerous offensive and defensive arms race.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

[p.40] If we and our allies could defend our populations effectively against a nuclear war, the Democratic Party would be the first to endorse such a scheme. Unfortunately, our best scientists agree that an effective population defense is probably impossible. Therefore, we must oppose an arms race where the sky is no longer the limit.

Arms Control and Disarmament

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

Ronald Reagan is the first American President in over twenty years who has not reached any significant arms control agreements with the Soviet Union, and he is the first in over fifty years who has not met face to face with Soviet leaders. The unjustified Soviet walkout from key nuclear talks does not excuse the arms control failures of the Administration.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

To reopen the dialogue, a Democratic President will propose an early summit with regular annual summits to follow with the Soviet leaders, and meetings between senior civilian and military officials, in order to reduce tensions and explore possible formal agreements. In a Democratic Administration, the superpowers will not communicate through megaphones.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

A new Democratic Administration will implement a strategy for peace which makes arms control an integral part of our national security policy. We must move the world back from the brink of nuclear holocaust and set a new direction toward an enduring peace, in which lower levels of military spending will be possible. Our ultimate aim must be to abolish all nuclear weapons in a world safe for peace and freedom.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

This strategy calls for immediate steps to stop the nuclear arms race, medium-term measures to reduce the dangers of war, and long-term goals to put the world on a new and peaceful course.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

The first practical step is to take the initiative, on January 20, 1985, to challenge the Soviets to halt the arms race, quickly. As President Kennedy successfully did in stopping nuclear explosions above ground in 1963, a Democratic President will initiate temporary, verifiable, and mutual moratoria, to be maintained for a fixed period during negotiations so long as the Soviets do the same, on the testing of underground nuclear weapons and anti-satellite weapons; on the testing and deployment of all weapons in space; on the testing and deployment of new strategic ballistic missiles now under development; and on the deployment of nuclear-armed, sea-launched cruise missiles.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

These steps should lead promptly to the negotiation of a comprehensive, mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of all nuclear weapons.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

Building on this initiative, the Democratic President will:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—update and resubmit the SALT II Treaty to the Senate for its advice and consent.

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—pursue deep, stabilizing reductions in nuclear arsenals within the framework of SALT II, in the meantime observing the SALT II limits ourselves and insisting that the Soviets do likewise.

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—propose the merging of the intermediate-range and strategic arms limitations negotiations, if the President judges that this could advance a comprehensive arms limitation agreement with the Soviet Union.

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—immediately resubmit to the Senate for its advice and consent the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—conclude a verifiable and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—reaffirm our commitment to the ABM Treaty, ensure U.S. compliance, and vigorously demand answers to questions about Soviet compliance through the Standing Consultative Commission and other appropriate channels.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—actively pursue a verifiable, anti-satellite weapons treaty and ban on weapons in space.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—seek a verifiable international ban on the production of nuclear weapons-grade fissile material, such as plutonium and highly enriched uranium.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—undertake all-out efforts to halt nuclear proliferation.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—terminate production of the MX missile and the B-1 bomber.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—prohibit the production of nerve gas and work for a verifiable treaty banning chemical weapons.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—establish U.S. nuclear risk reduction centers and other improved communications for a crisis.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.40

—invite the most eminent members of the scientific community to study and report on the worldwide human suffering and the long-term environmental damage which would follow in the days after a nuclear war, and take into account as fully as possible the results of such study in the formulation of our nuclear weapons and arms control policies.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

[p.41] —strengthen broad-based, long-term public support for arms control by working closely with leaders of grass-roots, civic, women's, labor, business, religious and professional groups, including physicians, scientists, lawyers, and educators.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—provide national leadership for economic adjustment for affected communities and industries, and retraining for any defense workers affected by the termination or cutbacks in weapons programs.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—initiate, in close consultation with our NATO allies, a strategy for peace in Europe including:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—achieving a balance of conventional forces in order to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons and to permit the Atlantic Alliance to move toward the adoption of a "no first use" policy;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—mutually pulling back battlefield nuclear weapons from the front lines of Europe, in order to avoid the necessity of having to make a "use them or lose them" choice should hostilities erupt in Europe;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—negotiating new approaches to intermediate nuclear force limits along the lines of the "walk in the woods" proposal, and then seeking to move closer to zero INF deployments by the U.S. and U.S.S.R.;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—negotiating significant mutual and balanced reductions in conventional forces of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and confidence-building measures to reduce the dangers of a surprise attack.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

We are under no illusion that these arms control proposals will be easy to achieve. Most will involve patience and dedication, and above all leadership in the pursuit of peace, freedom, and security. The Soviets are tough negotiators and too often seek to use arms control talks for propaganda purposes. On this issue—preventing nuclear war—America must lead, and the Democratic Party intends to lead. Without our leadership the nations of the world will be tempted to abandon themselves, perhaps slowly at first, but then relentlessly to the quest for nuclear weapons, and our children will look back with envy upon today's already dangerous nuclear world as a time of relative safety.

Defense Policy

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

The Reagan Administration measures military might by dollars spent. The Democratic Party seeks prudent defense based on sound planning and a realistic assessment of threats. In the field of defense policy, the Democratic Administration will:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—Work with our NATO and other allies to ensure our collective security, especially by strengthening our conventional defenses so as to reduce our need to rely on nuclear weapons, and to achieve this at increased spending levels, with funding to continue at levels appropriate to our collective security, with the firm hope that successful steps to reduce tensions and to obtain comprehensive and verifiable arms control agreements will guarantee our nation both military security and budgetary relief.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—Cancel destabilizing or duplicative weapons systems, while proceeding in the absence of appropriate arms control agreements with necessary modernization of our strategic forces.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—Scale back the construction of large, expensive and vulnerable nuclear carriers.

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—Modernize our conventional forces by balancing new equipment purchases with adequate resources spent on training, fuel, ammunition, maintenance, spare parts, and airlift and sea-lift to assure combat readiness and mobility, and by providing better equipment for our Reserves and National Guard.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—Reorganize Pentagon management and strengthen the JCS system to reduce inter-service rivalries, promote military leadership over bureaucratic skills, assure effective execution of policies and decisions, undertake better multi-year planning based upon realistic projections of available resources, and reduce conflicts of interest.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—Ensure open and fair competitive bidding for procurement of necessary equipment and parts, and establish a system of effective, independent testing of weapons for combat conditions.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—Implement a program of military reform. Our forces must be combat ready; our doctrines should emphasize out-thinking and outmaneuvering our adversaries; and our policies should improve military organization and unit cohesion.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.41

—Press our European allies to increase their contributions to NATO defense to levels of effort comparable to our own—an approach that the Administration undercut by abandoning the NATO-wide agreement concluded by its Democratic predecessor—and pursue improved trans-Atlantic economic cooperation and coordination of arms procurement.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

[p.42] —Recognize that the heart of our military strength is people, Americans in uniform who will have the skills and the will to maintain the peace. The men and women of our armed services deserve not only proper pay and benefits, but the nation's recognition, respect and gratitude as well.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

—Recognize the importance of the intelligence community and emphasize its mission as being dedicated to the timely collection and analysis of information and data. A Democratic Administration will also recognize the urgent need to de-politicize the intelligence community and to restore professional leadership to it.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

—Oppose a peacetime military draft or draft registration.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

—Oppose efforts to restrict the opportunities of women in the military based solely on gender. The Reagan Administration has used the combat designation as an arbitrary and inappropriate way to exclude women from work they can legitimately perform. Women nurses and technicians, for example, have long served with distinction on the front lines: women must not be excluded from jobs that they are trained and able to perform.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

—Seek ways to expand programs such as VISTA, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, and the Peace Corps.

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These and other qualitative improvements will ensure effective American strength at affordable cost. With this strength we will restore the confidence of our fellow citizens and our allies; we will be able to mount an effective conventional defense; and we will present our adversaries with a credible capability to deter war.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

The Democratic Party is committed to reversing the policies of the Reagan Administration in the area of military and defense procurement. Public accounts reveal a four-year record of waste, fraud, conflicts of interest, and indications of wrongdoing. Administration officials have engaged in practices that have cost the taxpayers billions of dollars. Further, the Reagan Administration has ignored legal remedies to stop the abuses, recover the funds, and punish those responsible.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

A Democratic President will demand full disclosure of all information, launch a thorough investigation, and seek recovery of any tax funds illegally spent. This will be a major step towards restoring integrity to defense procurements and reducing unnecessary expenditures in the defense budget.

Foreign Policy

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

The purpose of foreign policy is to attain a strong and secure United States and a world of peace, freedom and justice. On a planet threatened by dictatorships on the left and right, what is at stake may be freedom itself. On a planet shadowed by the threat of a nuclear holocaust, what is at stake may be nothing less than human survival.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

A Democratic Administration will comprehend that the gravest political and security dangers in the developing world flow from conditions that open opportunities for the Soviet Union and its surrogates: poverty, repression and despair. Against adversaries such as these, military force is of limited value. Such weapons as economic assistance, economic and political reform, and support for democratic values by, among other steps, funding scholarships to study at U.S. colleges and universities, must be the leading elements of our presence and the primary instruments of American influence in the developing countries.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

To this end, a Democratic President will strengthen our Foreign Service, end the present practice of appointing unqualified persons as Ambassadors, strengthen our programs of educational and cultural exchange, and draw upon the best minds in our country in the quest for peace.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

A Democratic Administration will initiate and establish a Peace Academy. In the interests of balancing this nation's investment in the study of making war, the Peace Academy will study the disciplines and train experts in the arts of waging peace.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

The Democratic Party is committed to ensuring strong representation of women and minorities in military and foreign policy decision-making positions in our government.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

In addition, a Democratic President will understand that ass Commander-in-Chief, he or she directs the forces of peace as well as those of war, and will restore an emphasis on skilled, sensitive, bilateral and multilateral diplomacy as a means to avert and resolve international conflict.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.42

A Democratic President will recognize that the United States, with broad economic, political and security interests in the world, had an unparalleled stake in the rule of international law. Under a Democratic Administration, there will be no call for clumsy attempts to escape the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, such as those put forth by the Reagan Administration in connection with its mining of the harbors of Nicaragua.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

[p.43] A Democratic President will reverse the automatic militarization of foreign policy and look to the causes of conflict to find out whether they are internal or external, whether they are political or primarily social and economic.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

In the face of the Reagan Administration's cavalier approach to the use of military force around the world, the Democratic Party affirms its commitment too the selective, judicious use of American military power in consonance with Constitutional principles and reinforced by the War Powers Act.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

A Democratic President will be prepared to apply military force when vital American interests are threatened, particularly in the event of an attack upon the United States or its immediate allies. But he or she will not hazard American lives or engage in unilateral military involvement:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

\* Where our objectives are not clear;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

\* Until all instruments of diplomacy and nonmilitary leverage, as appropriate, have been exhausted;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

\* Where our objectives threaten unacceptable costs or unreasonable levels of military force;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

\* Where the local forces supported are not working to resolve the causes of conflict;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

\* Where multilateral or allied options for the resolution of conflict are available.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

Further, a Democratic Administration will take all reasonable domestic action to minimize U.S. vulnerability to international instability, such as reducing Western reliance on Persian Gulf oil and other strategic resources. To this end, a Democratic Administration will implement, with our allies, a multilateral strategy for reduction of allied dependence on critical resources from volatile regions of the world.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

U.S. covert operations under a Democratic President will be strictly limited to cases where secrecy is essential to the seccess of an operation and where there is an unmistakable foreign policy rationale. Secrecy will not be used simply to hide from the American people policies they might be expected to oppose.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

Finally, a Democratic President will recognize our democratic process as a source of strength and stability, rather than an unwelcome restraint on the control of foreign policy. He or she will respect the War Powers Resolution as a reflection of wise judgment that the sustained commitment of America's fighting forces must be made with the understanding and support of Congress and the American people. A Democratic President will understand that United States leadership among nations requires a proper respect for law and treaty obligations, and the rights of men and women everywhere.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

Europe and the Atlantic Alliance—American leadership is not about standing up to our friends. It is about standing up with them, and for them, In order to have allies, we must act like one.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

Maintaining a strong alliance is critically important. We remain absolutely committed to the defense of Europe, and we will work to ensure that our allies carry their fair share of the burden of the common defense. A Democratic Administration in turn will commit itself to increased consultation on security affair. We must work to sustain and enhance Western unity.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

We must persuade the next generation of Europeans that America will use its power responsibly in partnership with them. We Democrats affirm that Western security is indivisible. We have a vital interest in the security of our allies in Europe. And it must always remain clear that an attack upon them is the same as an attack upon us—by treaty and in reality.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

A strong Western alliance requires frank discussions among friends about the issues that from time to time divide us. For example, we must enter into meaningful negotiations with the European Community to reduce their agricultural export subsidies which unfairly impair the competitiveness of American agricultural products in third-country markets.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

A Democratic President will encourage our European friends to resolve their longs-standing differences over Ireland and Cyprus.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.43

The Democratic Party supports an active role by the United States in safeguarding human rights in Northern Ireland and achieving an enduring peaceful settlement of that conflict. We oppose the use of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland, and we urge all sides to reject the use of violence. The Democratic Party supports a ban on all commercial transactions by the U.S. government with firms in England and Ireland that practice, on an on-going basis, discrimination in Northern Ireland on the basis of race, religion, or sex. We affirm our strong commitment to Irish unity—achieved by consent and based on reconciliation of all the people of Ireland. The Democratic Party is greatly encouraged by the historic and hopeful Report of the New Ireland Forum which holds the promise of a real breakthrough. A Democratic President will promptly appoint a special envoy and urge the British as well as the political leaders in Northern Ireland to review the findings and proposals of the Forum with [p.44] open hearts and open minds, and will appeal to them to join a new initiative for peace. The Congress and a Democratic President will stand ready to assist this process, and will help promote jobs and investments on a non-discriminatory basis, that will represent a significant contribution to the cause of peace in Ireland.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.44

In strong contrast to President Reagan's failure to apply effective diplomacy in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, a Democratic President will act with urgency and determination to make a balanced policy in the area and a peaceful resolution of the Cyprus dispute a key foreign policy priority. A Democratic President will utilize all available U.S. foreign policy instruments and will play an active, instead of a passive, role in the efforts to secure implementation of U.N. Resolutions so as to achieve removal of Turkish troops, the return of refugees, reestablishment of the integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, and respect for all citizens' human rights on Cyprus.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.44

United States—Soviet Relations—U.S. relations with the Soviet Union are a critical element of our security policy. All Americans recognize the threat to world peace posed by the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. is the only adversary with the capability of destroying the United States. Moreover, Americans are more generally concerned about the Soviet leadership's dangerous behavior internationally and the totalitarian nature of their regime. The Brezhnev Doctrine proclaims Soviet willingness to maintain communist regimes against the opposition of their own people. Thus, Soviet troops have invaded and today continue to wage war on the proud people of Afghanistan. In Poland, a military government, acting under Soviet pressure, has sought to crush the indomitable spirit of the Polish people and to destroy Solidarity, a free trade Union movement of ten million members and the first such movement in a communist country. In recent years, the Soviet Union and its allies have played a more aggressive role in countries around the world. At the same time, the Soviet military arsenal, nuclear and conventional, far exceeds that needed for its defense.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.44

Yet we also recognize that the Soviets share a mutual interest in survival. They, too, have no defense against a nuclear war. Our security and their security can only be strengthened by negotiation and cooperation.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.44

To shape a policy that is both firm and wise, we must first stand confident and never fear the outcome of any competition between our systems. We must see the Soviet Union as it is—neither minimizing the threats that Soviet power and policies pose to U.S. interests, nor exaggerating the strength of a Soviet regime beset by economic stagnation and saddled with a bankrupt and sterile ideology. We must join with our allies and friends to maintain an effective deterrent to Soviet power. We must pursue a clear, consistent and firm policy of peaceful competition toward the Soviet Union, a steady and pragmatic approach that neither tolerates Soviet aggression and repression nor fuels Soviet paranoia.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.44

The job of an American President is both to check Soviet challenges to our vital interests, and to meet them on the common ground of survival. The risk of nuclear war cannot be eliminated overnight. But every day it can be either increased or decreased. And one of the surest ways to increase it is to cut off communications.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.44

The Democratic Party condemns continued Soviet persecution of dissidents and refuseniks, which may well have brought Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov and his wife to the verge of death in internal exile in Gorki. We will not be silent when Soviet actions, such as the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky and Ida Nudel and thousands of others, demonstrate the fundamentally repressive and anti-Semitic nature of the Soviet regime. A Democratic Administration will give priority to securing the freedom to emigrate for these brave men and women of conscience including Jews and other minorities, and to assuring their fair treatment while awaiting permission to leave. These freedoms are guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by the Helsinki Final Act which the Soviets have signed and with whose provisions they must be required to comply. Jewish emigration, which reached the level of fifty thousand per year during the last Democratic Administration and which has virtually ended under its Republican successor, must be renewed through firm, effective diplomacy. We also recognize that Jewish emigration reached its height at the same time there was an American Administration dedicated to pursuing arms control, expanding mutually beneficial trade, and reducing tensions with the Soviet Union—fully consistent with interests of the United States and its allies. It is no contradiction to say that while pursuing an end to the arms race and reducing East-West tensions, we can also advance the cause of Soviet Jewish emigration.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.44

Eastern Europe—We must respond to the aspirations and hopes of peoples of Eastern Europe and encourage, wherever possible, the forces of change and pluralism that will increase these people's freedom from Soviet tyranny and communist dictatorship. We should encourage Eastern European countries to pursue independent foreign policies and to permit greater liberalization in domestic affairs, and we should seek [p.45] independent relationships to further these objectives with them.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The Democratic Party condemns the Soviet repression by proxy in Poland and the other countries of Eastern Europe. The emergence of the free trade union Solidarity is one of the most formidable developments in post-war Europe and inspires all who love freedom. The struggle of the Polish people for a democratic society and religious freedom is eloquent testimony to their national spirit and bravery that even a brutal martial law regime cannot stamp out.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

Today the Jaruzelski regime claims to have ended the harshest repressive measures. Yet it continues to hold political prisoners, it continues to mistreat them, and it continues to hunt down members of Solidarity.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The Democratic Party agrees with Lech Walesa that the underground Solidarity movement must not be deprived of union freedoms. We call for the release of all political prisoners in Poland and an end to their harassment. The recognition of the Free trade union Solidarity, and the resumption of progress toward liberty and human rights in that nation. A Democratic President will continue to press for effective international sanctions against the Polish regime until it makes satisfactory progress toward these objectives.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The Middle East—The Democratic Party believes that the security Israel and the pursuit of peace in the Middle East are fundamental priorities for American foreign policy. Israel remains more than a trusted friend, a steady ally, and a sister democracy. Israel is strategically important to the United States, and we must enter into meaningful strategic cooperation.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The Democratic Party opposes this Administration's sales of highly advanced weaponry to avowed enemies of Israel, such as AWACS aircraft and Stinger missiles to Saudi Arabia. While helping to meet the legitimate defensive needs of states aligned with our nation, we must ensure Israel's military edge over any combination of Middle East confrontation states. The Democratic Party opposes any consideration of negotiations with the PLO, unless the PLO abandons terrorism, recognizes the state of Israel, and adheres to U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

Jerusalem should remain forever undivided with free access to the holy places for people of all faiths. As stated in the 1976 and 1980 platforms, the Democratic Party recognizes and supports the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. As a symbol of this stand, the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The Democratic Party condemns this Administration's failure to maintain a high-level Special Negotiator for the Middle East, and believes that the Camp David peace process must be taken up again with urgency. No nation in the Middle East can afford to wait until a new war brings even worse destruction. Once again we applaud and support the example of both Israel and Egypt in taking bold steps for peace. We believe that the United States should press for negotiations among Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other Arab states. We re-emphasize the fundamental principle that the prerequisite for a lasting peace in the Middle East remains an Israel with secure and defensible borders, strong beyond a shadow of a doubt; that the basis for peace is the unequivocal recognition of Israel's right to exist by all other states; and that there should be a resolution of the Palestinian issue.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The United States and our allies have vital interests in the Persian Gulf. We must be prepared to work with our allies in defense of those interests. We should stand by our historic support for the principle of freedom of the high seas. At the same time, we and our allies should employ active diplomacy to encourage the earliest possible end to Iran/Iraq conflict.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The Western Hemisphere—The Western Hemisphere is in trouble. Central America is region at war. Latin America is experiencing the most serious economic crisis in 50 years. The Inter-American system is on the verge of collapse. Concern about U.S. policies has risen sharply.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

It is time to make this Hemisphere a top priority. We need to develop relations based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. Beyond essential security concerns, these relations must emphasize diplomacy, development and respect for human rights. Above all, support for democracy must be pursued. The Reagan Administration is committing the old error of supporting authoritarian military regimes against the wishes of the people they rule, but the United States was not founded, and defended for 200 years with American blood, in order to perpetuate tyranny among our neighbors.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The Hemisphere's nations must strive jointly to find acceptable solutions with judgments and actions based on equally-applied criteria. We must condemn violations of human rights, aggression and deprivation of basic freedoms wherever they occur. The United States must recognize that the economic and debt crisis of Latin America also directly affects us.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.45

The Reagan Administration has badly misread and mishandled the conflict in Central America. The President has chosen to dwell on the strategic [p.46] importance of Central America and to cast the struggle in almost exclusively East-West terms. The strategic importance of Central America is not in doubt, nor is the fact that the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua have all encouraged instability and supported revolution in the region. What the President ignores, however, are the indigenous causes of unrest. Historically, Central America had been burdened by widespread hunger and disease. And the historic pattern of concentrated wealth has done little to produce stable democratic societies.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

Sadly, Mr. Reagan has opted for the all too frequent American response to the unrest that has characterized Central America-military assistance. Over the past 100 years, Panama. Nicaragua, and Honduras have all been occupied by U.S. forces in an effort to suppress indigenous revolutionary movements. In 1954, CIA-backed forces successfully toppled the Government of Guatemala.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

President Reagan's massive transfusions of military aid to El Salvador are no substitute for the social and economic reforms that are necessary to undermine the appeal the guerillas hold for many Salvadorans. The changes and upheavals in El Salvador and Nicaragua are home-grown, but they are exacerbated by forces from outside of Central America. The undoubted communist influence on these revolutions cannot be nullified by the dispatch of naval and air armadas to the waters off Nicaragua and thousands of troops to the jungles of Honduras. The solution lies with a new policy that fosters social, economic and political reforms that are compatible with our legitimate vital interests while accommodating the equally legitimate forces of change.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

America must find a different approach. All too often, the United States thinks in terms of what it can do for the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean region. Rarely does it think in terms of what it can do with them. Even with the best of intentions, the difference is more than rhetorical, for paternalism can never be disguised and it is always resented—whether we choose to label it a "special relationship" or to call it a "defensive shield." Acting for the nations of the Hemisphere rather than acting in concert with them is the surest way of repeating the mistakes of the past and casting dark shadow over the future.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

It need not be. There is an alternative, a good alternative. The great Mexican patriot Benito Juarez pointed the way and said it best: "Between men as between nations, respect for the rights of others is peace." Working with our hemispheric neighbors produces understanding and cooperation. Doing something for them produces resentment and conflict.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

Democrats know there is a real difference between the two and a Democratic President will seek the advice and counsel of the authentic democratic voices within the region—voices that may be heard north and south, east and west; the voices of President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico, President Balisario Betancur of Colombia, and President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina; the voices of President Jorge Blanco of the Dominican Republic, Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados, and President Alberto Monge of Costa Rica. By consulting with and listening carefully to these leaders and to their democratic colleagues elsewhere in the region, the next Democratic President of the United States will fashion a policy toward the region which recognizes that:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

—the security and well-being of the Hemisphere are more a function of economic growth and development than of military agreements and arms transfers;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

—the mounting debt crisis throughout the region poses a broader threat to democratic institutions and political stability than does any insurgency or armed revolutionary movement;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

—there is an urgent and genuine need for far-reaching economic, social and political reforms in much of the region and that such reforms are absolutely essential to the protection of basic human rights;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

—the future belongs as much to the people of the region—the politically forgotten and the economically deprived—as it does to the rich and powerful elite;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

—preservation and protection of U.S. interests in the Hemisphere requires mutual respect for national sovereignty and demilitarization of the region, prior consultation in accordance with the Rio Treaty and the OAS Charter regarding the application of the Monroe Doctrine, the use of military force, and a multilateral commitment to oppose the establishment of Soviet and Cuba military bases, strategic facilities, or combat presence in Central America or elsewhere in Latin America;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.46

—efforts to isolate Cuba only serve to make it more dependent on the Soviet Union: U.S. diplomatic skills must be employed to reduce that level of dependence and to explore the differences that divide us with a view to stabilizing our relations with Cuba. At the same time we must continue to oppose firmly Cuban intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. Progress in our relationship will depend on Cuba's willingness to end its support [p.47] for violent revolution, to recognize the sovereignty and independence of other nations by respecting the principle of non-intervention, to demonstrate respect for human rights both inside and outside of Cuba, and to abide by international norms of behavior.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.47

Mindful of these realities and determined to stop widening, militarizing, and Americanizing the conflict, a Democratic President's immediate objective will be to stop the violence and pursue a negotiated political solution in concert with our democratic allies in the Contadora group. He or she will approach Central American policy in the following terms:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.47

—First, there must be unequivocal support for the Contadora process and for the efforts by those countries to achieve political solutions to the conflicts that plague the Central American region.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.47

—Second, there must be a commitment on the part of the United States to reduce tensions in the region. We must terminate our support for the contras and other paramilitary groups fighting in Nicaragua. We must halt those U.S. military exercises in the region which are being conducted for no other real purpose than to intimidate or provoke the Nicaraguan government or which may be used as a pretext for deeper U.S. military involvement in the area. And, we must evidence our firm willingness to work for a demilitarized Central America, including the mutual withdrawal of all foreign forces and military advisors from the region. A Democratic President will seek a multilateral framework to protect the security and independence of the region which will include regional agreements to bar new military bases, to restrict the numbers and sophistication of weapons being introduced into Central America, and to permit international inspection of borders. This diplomatic effort can succeed, however, only if all countries in Central America, including Nicaragua, will agree to respect the sovereignty and integrity of their neighbors, to limit their military forces, to reject foreign military bases (other than those provided for in the Panama Canal Treaties), and to deny any external force or power the use of their territories for purposes of subversion in the region. The viability of any security agreement for Central America would be enhanced by the progressive development of pluralism in Nicaragua. To this end, the elections proposed for November are important; how they are conducted will be an indication of Nicaragua's willingness to move in the direction of genuine democracy.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.47

—Third, there must be a clear, concise signal to indicate that we are ready, willing and able to provide substantial economic resources, through the appropriate multilateral channels, to the nations of Central America, as soon as the Contadora process achieves a measure of success in restoring peace and stability in the region. In the meantime, of course, we will continue to provide humanitarian aid and refugee relief assistance. The Democratic Administration will work to help churches and universities which are providing sanctuary and assistance to Guatemalan, Haitian, and Salvadoran refugees, and will give all assistance to such refugees as is consistent with U.S. law.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.47

—Fourth, a Democratic President will support the newly elected President of El Salvador in his efforts to establish civilian democratic control, by channeling U.S. aid through him and by conditioning it on the elimination of government-supported death squads and on progress toward his objectives of land reform, human rights and serious negotiations with contending forces in El Salvador, in order to achieve a peaceful democratic political settlement of the Salvadoran conflict.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.47

—Fifth, a Democratic President will not use U.S. armed forces in or over El Salvador or Nicaragua for the purpose of engaging in combat unless: 1) Congress has declared war or otherwise authorized the use of U.S. combat forces, or 2) the use of U.S. combat forces is necessary to meet a clear and present danger of attack upon the U.S., its territories or possessions or upon U.S. embassies or citizens, consistent with the War Powers Act.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.47

These are the key elements that evidence very real differences between the Democrats' approach to Central America and that of the Reagan Administration. And these are the key elements that will offer the American public a choice—a very significant choice—between war and peace in the Central American region.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.47

A Democratic President would seek to work with the countries of the Caribbean to strengthen democratic institutions. He or she would not overlook human rights, by refusing to condemn repression by the regimes of the right or the left in the region. A Democratic President would give high priority to democracy, freedom, and to multilateral development. [p.48] A Democratic President would encourage regional cooperation and make of that important area a showplace rather than a footstool for economic development. Finally, support for democracy must be pursued in its own right, and not just as a tactic against communism.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

Human rights principles were a cornerstone of President Carter's foreign policy and have always been a central concern in the Inter-American system. Regional multilateral action to protect and advance human rights is an international obligation.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

A Democratic President must not overlook human rights, refusing to condemn repression by the regimes of the right or the left in the region. Insistence that governments respect their obligations to their people, is a criterion that must apply equally to all. It is as important in Cuba as in El Salvador, Guatemala as in Nicaragua, in Haiti as in the Paraguay and Uruguay.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

A Democratic Administration would place protection of human rights in a core position in our relations with Latin America and the Caribbean. It would particularly seek multilateral support for such principles by strengthening and backing the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and by encouraging the various private organizations in the hemisphere dedicated to monitoring and protecting human rights.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

Africa—The Democratic Party will advocate a set of bold new initiatives for Third World nations in general and Africa in particular. Hunger, drought, and famine have brought untold suffering to millions in Africa. This human misery—and the armies of nationless—requires a policy of substantial increases in humanitarian assistance, a major thrust in agricultural technology transfer, and cessation of the unfortunate tendency to hold such aid hostage to East-West confrontation or other geopolitical aims. The United States also must offer substantially greater economic assistance to these nations, while engaging in a North-South multilateral dialogue that addresses mutual economic development strategies, commodities pricing, and other treaties relevant to international trade. A Democratic President will join with our friends within and outside the continent in support of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all African states. Africa is the home of one-eighth of the world's population and a continent of vast resources. Our national interest demands that we give this rich and diverse continent a much higher priority.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

A Democratic President will reverse the Reagan Administration's failed policy of "constructive engagement" and strongly and unequivocally oppose the apartheid regime in South Africa. A Democratic Administration will.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—exert maximum pressure on South Africa to hasten the establishment of a democratic, unitary political system within South Africa.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—pursue scrupulous enforcement of the 1977 U.N. arms embargo against South Africa, including enforcement of restrictions on the sale of "dual use" equipment.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—impose a ban on all new loans by U.S. business interests to the South African government and on all new investments and loans to the South African private sector, until there is substantial progress toward the full participation of all the people of South Africa in the social, political, and economic life in that country and toward an end to discrimination based on race or ethnic origin.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—ban the sale or transfer of sophisticated computers and nuclear technology to South Africa and the importation of South African gold coins.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—reimpose export controls in effect during the Carter Administration which were relaxed by the Reagan Administration.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—withdraw landing rights to South African aircraft.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

The Democratic Party condemns South Africa for unjustly holding political prisoners. Soviet harassment of the Sakharovs is identical to South African house arrests of political opponents of the South African regime. Specifically, the detention of Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, and Winnie Mandela must be brought to the world's attention, and we demand their immediate release. In addition, we demand the immediate release of all other political prisoners in South Africa.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

A Democratic Administration will work as well toward legitimate rights of self-determination of the peoples of Namibia by:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—demanding compliance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 435—the six-year-old blueprint for Namibian independence;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—imposing severe fines on U.S. companies that violate the United Nations Decree prohibiting foreign exploitation of Namibian mineral wealth until Namibia attains independence;

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.48

—progressively increasing effective sanctions against South Africa unless and until it grants independence to Namibia and abolishes its own abhorrent apartheid system.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

[p.49] Asia—Our relationship with the countries of Asia and the Pacific Basin will continue to be of increasing importance. The political, cultural, economic, and strategic ties which link the United States to this reason cannot be ignored.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

With our Asian friends and allies, we have a common cause in preserving the security and enhancing democracy in the area.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

With our Asian trading partners, we share a common interest in expanding commerce and fair trade between us, as evidenced by the 33 percent of total American trade now conducted with those countries.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

And with the growing number of Asian/Pacific-Americans, we welcome the strength and vitality which increased cultural ties bring to this country.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

Our relationship with Japan is a key to the maintenance of peace, security, and development in Asia and the Pacific region. Mutual respect, enhanced cooperation, and steady diplomacy must guide our dealings with Japan. At the same time, as allies and friends, we must work to resolve areas of disagreement. A Democratic President, therefore, will press for increased access to Japanese as well as other Asian markets for American firms and their produces. Finally, a Democratic President will expect Japan to continue moving toward assuming its fair share of the burden of collective security—in self-defense as well as in foreign assistance and democratic development.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

Our security in the Pacific region is also closely tied to the well-being of our long-time allies. Australia and New Zealand. A Democratic President will honor and strengthen our security commitment to ANZUS as well as to other Southeast Asian friends.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

Our relationship with the People's Republic of China must also be nurtured and strengthened. The Democratic Party believes that our developing relations with the PRC offer a historic opportunity to bring one quarter of the world's population into the community of nations, to strengthen a counterweight to Soviet expansionism, and to enhance economic relations that offer great potential for mutual advantage. At the same time, we recognize our historic ties to the people on Taiwan and we will continue to honor our commitments to them, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

Our own principles and interests demand that we work with those in Asia, as well as elsewhere, who can encourage democratic institutions and support greater respect for human rights. A Democratic President will work closely with the world's largest democracy, India, and maintain mutually beneficial ties. A Democratic President will press for the restoration of full democracy in the Philippines, further democratization and the elimination of martial law in Taiwan, the return to freedom of speech and press in South Korea, and restoration of human rights for the people of East Timor. Recognizing the strategic importance of Pakistan and the close relationship which has existed between our two countries, a Democratic President would press to restore democracy and terminate its nuclear weapons program. Finally, a Democratic President would press for the fullest possible accounting of Americans still missing in Indochina.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

For the past four years, the Soviet Union has been engaged in a brutal effort to crush the resistance of the people or Afghanistan. It denies their right to independence. It is trying to stamp out their culture and to deny them the right to practice their religion, Islam. But despite appalling costs, the people of Afghanistan continue to resist—demonstrating the same qualities of human aspiration and fortitude that made our own nation great. We must continue to oppose Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. We should support the efforts of the Afghanistan freedom fighters with material assistance.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

If the Soviet Union is prepared to abide by the principles of international law and human dignity, it should find the U.S. prepared to help produce a peaceful settlement.

Global Debt and Development

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

The Democratic Party will pursue policies for economic development, for aid and trade that meet the needs of the people of the developing world and that further our own national interest. The next Democratic President will support development policies that meet the basic needs of the poor for food, water, energy, medical care, and shelter rather than "trickle down" policies that never reach those on the bottom. The next Democratic Administration will give preference in its foreign assistance to countries with democratic institutions and respect for human rights.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

A Democratic President will seek to cut back record U.S. budget deficits and interest rates not only for our own economic well-being, but to reduce the economic crisis confronting so many industrialized and developing states alike.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.49

Mr. Reagan has perceived national security in very limited and parochial terms, and thus has failed completely to grasp the significance of the international debt which now has sky-rocketed to some $800 billion. In 1983, some thirty nations accounting for half of this total were forced to seek restructuring of their debts with public and private creditors because they were unable to meet their debt payments.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

[p.50] The U.S. economy is directly linked to the costs of these loans through their variable interest rates (tied to the U.S. prime rate). A rise in the U.S. prime rate by one percent added more than $4 billion to the annual interest costs associated with these external debts. The struggle to meet their external debts has slashed the purchasing power of these developing countries and forced them to curtail imports from the U.S. This accounts for one-third to one-half of the adverse turn in the U.S. trade deficit, which is projected to reach $130 billion this year.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

The social and political stability of these developing countries is seriously challenged by the debt crisis. In light of the interdependence of the international economy, the crisis also threatens the very foundation of the international financial system. To answer these dangers, the Democratic Administration will:

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

—Call immediately for discussions on improving the functioning of the international monetary systems and on developing a comprehensive long-term approach to the international debt problem.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

—Instruct the Treasury Department to work with the Federal Reserve Board, U.S. bank regulators, key private banks, and the finance ministers and central bankers of Europe and Japan, to develop a short-term program for reducing the debt service obligations of less developed countries, while 1) preserving the safety and soundness of the international banking system and 2) ensuring that the costs of the program shared equitably among all parties to existing and rescheduled debts.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

—Recommend an increase in the lending capacity of the World Bank, as well as an increase in the lending capacity of the Export-Import Bank of the U.S.. to ensure that debtor nations obtain adequate capital for investment in export industries.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

—Review international trade barriers which limit the ability of these countries to earn foreign exchange.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

Security assistance can in appropriate circumstances, help our friends meet legitimate defense needs. But shifting the balance from economic development toward military sales, as has occurred over the past three and one-half years, sets back the cause of peace and justice, fuels restful arms races, and places sophisticated weapons in the hands of those who could one day turn them back upon us and upon our friends and allies. The Democratic Party seeks now, as in the past, effective international agreements to limit and reduce the transfer of conventional arms.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

A Democratic President will seize new opportunities to make major advances at limited cost in the health and survival of the world's poorest people—thus enabling more people to contribute to and share in the world's resources, and promoting stability and popular participation in their societies. Recognizing that unrestrained population growth constitutes a danger for economic progress and political stability, a Democratic President will restore full U.S. support for national and international population programs that are now threatened by the policies of the Reagan Administration.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

A Democratic President will work to see the power and prestige of the U.S. fully committed to the reform and strengthening of the United Nations and other international agencies in the pursuit of their original purposes—peace, economic and social welfare, education, and human rights.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

Because of the economic instability caused by global debts and by other problems, unprecedented migration into the United States and other parts of the world is occurring in the form of economic refugees. The Democratic Party will support economic development programs so as to aid nations in reducing migration from their countries, and thereby reduce the flow of economic refugees to the U.S. and other parts of the world.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

Rather than scuttling the international Law of the Sea negotiations after over a decade of bipartisan U.S. involvement, a Democratic President will actively pursue efforts to achieve an acceptable Treaty and related agreements that protect U.S. interests in all uses of ocean space.

Human Rights and Solidarity

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.50

The Democratic Party believes that we need new approaches to replace the failed Republican policies. We need sustained, personal, presidential leadership in foreign policy and arms control. We need a President who will meet with the Soviets to challenge them to reduce the danger of nuclear war, who will become personally involved in reviving the Camp David peace process, who will give his or her full support to the Contadora negotiations, and who will press the South Africans to repeal their policies of apartheid and destabilization. We need a President who will understand that human rights and national security interests are mutually supportive. We need a President to restore our influence, enhance our security, pursue democracy and freedom, and work unremittingly for peace. With firm purpose, skill, sensitivity, and a recovery of our own pride in what we are—a [p.51] Democratic President will build an international alliance of free people to promote these great causes.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.51

A Democratic President will pursue a foreign policy that advances basic civil and political rights—freedom of speech, association, thought and religion, the right to leave, freedom of the integrity of the person, and the prohibition of torture, arbitrary detention and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment—and that seeks as well to attain basic, economic, social, and cultural rights. A Democratic President's concern must extend from the terror of the Russian Gulag to the jails of Latin generals. The banning of South African blacks is no more acceptable than the silencing of of Cuban poets. A Democratic President will end U.S. support for dictators throughout the world from Haiti to the Philippines. He or she will support and defend the observance of basic human rights called for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. He or she will seek, through both quiet diplomacy and public measures, the release of political prisoners and the free immigration of prosecuted individuals and peoples around the world. He or she will seek U.S. ratification of the Genocide Convention, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and the American Convention on Human Rights, as well as the establishment of a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights. He or she will fulfill the spirit as well as the letter of our legislation calling for the denial of military and economic assistance to governments that systematically violate human rights.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.51

The Democratic Party believes that whether it is in response to totalitarianism in the Soviet Union or repression in Latin America and East Asia, to apartheid in South Africa or martial law in Poland, to terrorism in Libya or the reign of terror in Iran, or to barbaric aggression in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan, the foreign policy of the United States must be unmistakably on the side of those who love freedom.

The 1984 Democratic Platform, p.51

As Democrats and as Americans, we will make support for democracy, human rights and economic and social justice the cornerstone of our policy. These are the most revolutionary ideas on our planet. They are not to be feared. They are the hallmarks of the democratic century that lies before us.

Republican Platform of 1984

America's Future Free and Secure

Proposed by the Committee on Resolutions

Republican National Convention

August 20, 1984

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

This year, the American people will choose between two diametrically opposed visions of what America should be.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

The Republican Party looks at our people and sees a new dawn of the American spirit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

The Democratic Party looks at our nation and sees the twilight of the American soul.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

Republicans affirm that now, as throughout history, the spiritual and intellectual genius of the American people will create a better nation and maintain a just peace. To Republicans, creativity and growth are imperatives for a new era of opportunity for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

The Republican Party's vision of America's future, the heart of our 1984 Platform, begins with a basic premise:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

From freedom comes opportunity; from opportunity comes growth; from growth comes progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

This is not some abstract formula. It is the vibrant, beating heart of the American experience. No matter how complex our problems, no matter how difficult our tasks, it is freedom that inspires and guides the American Dream.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

If everything depends on freedom—and it does—then securing freedom, at home and around the world, is one of the most important endeavors a free people can undertake.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

Thus, the title of our Platform, "America's Future: Free and Secure," is more than a summary of our Platform's message. It is the essence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

The Democratic Party understands none of this. It thinks our country has passed its peak. It offers Americans redistribution instead of expansion, contraction instead of growth, and despair instead of hope. In foreign policy it asserts the rhetoric of freedom, but in practice it follows a policy of withdrawal and isolation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

The Democratic Party, in its 1984 Platform, has tried to expropriate the optimism and vision that marked the 1980 Republican Platform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.1

Rhetorical pilfering of Republican ideals cannot disguise one of history's major ironies: the party whose 1932 standard-bearer told the [p.2] American people, as president, that all we have to fear is fear itself has itself become the party of fear.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.2

Today we declare ourselves the Party of Hope—not for some but for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.2

It has been said that mercy must have a human heart and pity a human face. We agree. Democrats measure social programs in terms of government activity alone. But the divine command to help our neighbor is directed to each individual and not to a bureaucratic machine. Not every problem cries out for a federal solution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.2

We must help the poor escape poverty by building an economy which creates more jobs, the greatest poverty fighter of them all. Not to help the poor is to abandon them and demean our society; but to help the poor without offering them a chance to escape poverty is ultimately to degrade us all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.2

The great tasks of compassion must be accomplished both by people who care and by policies which foster economic growth to enhance all human development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.2

In all these areas, at home and abroad, Ronald Reagan has demonstrated the boldness of vision, the optimism for our future, and the confidence in the American people that can transform human lives and the life of a nation. That is what we expect from a President who, wounded by an assassin, walked his way into a hospital and cheerfully assured the world that he and his country would not be deterred from their destiny.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.2

His example has shaped the 1984 Republican Platform, given it meaning and inspired its vision. We stand with President Reagan and with Vice President Bush to make it a reality. [p.3]

Economic Freedom and Prosperity

Free Enterprise, Democracy, and the Role of Government

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.3

Free enterprise is fundamental to the American way of life. It is inseparable from the social, religious, political, and judicial institutions which form the bedrock of a nation dedicated to individual freedom and human rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.3

Economic growth enables all citizens to share in the nation's great physical and spiritual wealth, and it is maximized by giving them the fullest opportunity to engage in economic activities and to retain the rewards of their labor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.3

Our society provides both a ladder of opportunity on which all can climb to success and a safety net of assistance for those who need it. To safeguard both, government must protect property rights, provide a sound currency, and minimize its intrusions into individual decisions to work, save, invest, and take risks.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.3

The role of the federal government should be limited. We reaffirm our conviction that State and local governments closest to the people are the best and most efficient. While President Reagan has done much to alleviate federal regulatory and bureaucratic burdens on individuals and businesses, Congress has failed to act. The size and scope of the federal government remains much too large and must be reduced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.3

During the Carter-Mondale Administration, no group of Americans was spared from the impact of a failing economy. Family budgets were stretched to the limit to keep pace with increases in taxes and costs of food, energy, and housing. For the first time, owning a home slipped out of reach for millions. Working people saw their wage increases outpaced by inflation. Older Americans saw their savings and retirement incomes consumed by basic living costs. Young people found job opportunities narrowing. Disadvantaged Americans faced an inefficient and wasteful bureaucracy which perpetuated programs of dependency. American business and industry faced recession, unemployment, and upheaval, as high interest rates, inflation, government regulation, and foreign competition combined to smother all enterprise and strike at our basic industries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.3

When President Reagan took office in 1981, our economy was in a disastrous state. Inflation raged at 12.4 percent. The cost of living had jumped 45 percent in the Carter-Mondale years. The prime rate was 21.5 percent. Federal spending increases of 17 percent per year, massive tax rate increases due to inflation, and a monetary policy debasing the dollar had destroyed our economic stability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.4

[p.4] We brought about a new beginning. Americans are better off than they were four years ago, and they're still improving. Almost six and one-half million have found jobs since the recovery began, the largest increase in our history. One and one-half million have come in manufacturing—a part of our economy designated for stagnation and government control by Democrats. More than 107 million Americans, more than ever before, are working. Their industry proves that policies which increase incentives for work, saving, and investment do lead to economic growth, while the redistributionist policies of the past did cause unemployment, declining incomes, and idle industries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.4

We will therefore continue to return control over the economy to the people. Our policies will maximize the role of the individual and build on the success of the past four years: (a) the most rapid decline in unemployment of any post-World War II recovery; (b) inflation dramatically reduced; (c) interest rates significantly cut; (d) a 25 percent cut in federal tax rates; (e) automatic tax increases eliminated by indexing tax rates; (f) the financial holdings of American families increased by over $1.8 trillion; (g) oil prices down 35 percent in real terms; and (h) 300 million hours once devoted to government paperwork returned to individuals and business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.4

Our most important economic goal is to expand and continue the economic recovery and move the nation to full employment without inflation. We therefore oppose any attempts to increase taxes, which would harm the recovery and reverse the trend to restoring control of the economy to individual Americans. We favor reducing deficits by continuing and expanding the strong economic recovery brought about by the policies of this Administration and by eliminating wasteful and unnecessary government spending. Mondale-Ferraro, by contrast, boast that they will raise taxes, with ruinous effects on the economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.4

To assure workers and entrepreneurs the capital required to provide jobs and growth, we will further expand incentives for personal saving. We will expand coverage of the Individual Retirement Account, especially to homemakers, and increase and index the annual limits on IRA contributions. We will increase the incentives for savings by moving toward the reduction of taxation of interest income. We will work for indexation of capital assets and elimination of the double taxation of dividends to increase the attractiveness of equity investments for small investors.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.4

We oppose withholding on dividend and interest income. It would discourage saving and investment, create needless paperwork, and rob savers of their due benefits. A higher personal saving rate is key to deficit control. We therefore oppose any disincentives to thrift.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.5

[p.5] History has proven again and again that wage and price controls will not stop inflation. Such controls only cause shortages, inequities, and ultimately high prices. We remain firmly opposed to the imposition of wage and price controls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.5

We are committed to bringing the benefits of economic growth to all Americans. Therefore, we support policies which will increase opportunities for the poorest in our society to climb the economic ladder. We will work to establish enterprise zones in urban and rural America; we will work to enable those living in government-owned or subsidized housing to purchase their homes. As part of our effort to reform the tax system, we will reduce disincentives to employment which too often result in a poverty trap for poor American families.

Fiscal and Monetary Policy

Taxation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.5

A major goal of all Republicans in 1980 was to reduce the oppressive tax rates strangling Americans. The tax burden, which had increased steadily during the Carter-Mondale Administration, was at a record high and scheduled to go even higher. Taxes as a percentage of GNP rose from 18.2 percent in 1976 to 21 percent in 1981 and would have reached 24 percent by 1984. The tax bill for the median-income family of four had risen from $1,713 in 1976 to $2,778 in 1980 and would have reached $3,943 in 1984.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.5

Double-digit inflation had pushed individuals into ever higher marginal tax brackets. High marginal tax rates reduced the incentive for work, saving, and investment, and retarded economic growth, productivity, and job creation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.5

With the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, we carried out the first phase of tax reduction and reform by cutting marginal tax rates by 25 percent. Tax brackets were indexed to prevent tax hikes through bracket creep. In addition, families received further relief by reducing the marriage penalty and lowering estate and gift taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.5

Businesses and workers benefitted when we replaced outdated depreciation systems with the accelerated cost recovery system, reduced capital gains tax rates, and lowered the pressures which high tax rates place on wage demands. Investment in plants and equipment has increased 16.5 percent since 1982, resulting in 6.3 million new jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.5

In 1980, we promised the American people a tax cut which would be progressive and fair, reducing tax rates across-the-board. Despite Democrat opposition we succeeded in reducing the tax rates of all taxpayers [p.6] by about 25 percent with low-income taxpayers receiving a slightly larger percentage tax reduction than high-income taxpayers. These sound economic policies have succeeded. We will continue our efforts to further reduce tax rates and now foresee no economic circumstances which would call for increased taxation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.6

The bulk of the tax cut goes to those who pay most of the taxes: middle-income taxpayers. Nearly three-fourths of its benefits go to taxpayers earning less than $50,000. In fact, these taxpayers now pay a smaller percentage of total income taxes than they did in 1980; and those earning more than $50,000 pay a larger percentage of total income taxes than they did in 1980.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.6

As a result, the income tax system is fairer now than it was under Carter-Mondale. To keep it fair, Republicans indexed the tax code: starting in 1985, individual tax brackets, the zero bracket amount, and the personal exemption will be adjusted annually for inflation. As a result, cost of living raises will no longer push taxpayers into higher brackets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.6

For years, congressional big spenders used inflation as a silent partner to raise taxes without taking the heat for passing tax increases. With indexing, taxpayers will be protected against that theft. Low- and moderate-income taxpayers benefit the most from indexing and would bear the brunt of the hidden tax increases if it were repealed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.6

Nearly 80 percent of the tax increase from the repeal of indexing would fall on taxpayers earning less than $50,000. For a family of four earning $10,000, repeal of indexing would result in a staggering 40 percent tax increase over the next five years. We pledge to preserve tax indexing. We will fight any attempt to repeal, modify, or defer it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.6

The Republican Party pledges to continue our efforts to lower tax rates, change and modernize the tax system, and eliminate the incentive-destroying effects of graduated tax rates. We therefore support tax reform that will lead to a fair and simple tax system and believe a modified flat tax—with specific exemptions for such items as mortgage interest—is a most promising approach.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.6

For families, we will restore the value of personal exemptions, raising it to a minimum of $2,000 and indexing to prevent further erosion. We will preserve the deduction for mortgage interest payments. We will propose an employment income exclusion to assure that tax burdens are not shifted to the poor. Tax reform must not be a guise for tax increases. We believe such an approach will enhance the income and opportunities of families and low- and middle-income Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

[p.7] We oppose taxation of churches, religious schools, or any other religious institutions. However, we do believe that any business income unrelated to the religious function of the institution should be subject to the same taxes paid by competing businesses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

We oppose the setting of artificially high interest rates which would drastically curtail the ability of sellers to finance sales of their own property. Rather, we encourage marketplace transfer of homes, farms, and smaller commercial properties.

Spending and Budget

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

The Republican Party believes the federal budget must be balanced. We are committed to eliminating deficits and the excessive spending that causes them. In 1980, federal spending was out of control, increasing at a rate of over 17 percent. We have cut that growth rate by almost two-thirds.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

But Congress ignored many of the President's budget reforms. It scaled back and delayed the tax cuts. As a result, we began to pay the price for the irresponsible spending and tax policies of the Carter-Mondale Administration. The resulting recession dramatically increased the deficit, and government spending continues at an unacceptable level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

Democrats claim deficits are caused by Americans' paying too little in taxes. Nonsense. We categorically reject proposals to increase taxes in a misguided effort to balance the budget. Tax and spending increases would reduce incentives for economic activity and threaten the recovery.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

Even when we achieve full employment and even with robust economic growth, federal spending—including credit programs and other off-budget items—will remain too high. As a percentage of GNP, it must be reduced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

The congressional budget process is bankrupt. Its implementation has not brought spending under control, and it must be thoroughly reformed. We will work for the constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget passed by the Republican Senate but blocked by the Democrat-controlled House and denounced by the Democrat Platform. If Congress fails to act on this issue, a constitutional convention should be convened to address only this issue in order to bring deficit spending under control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

The President is denied proper control over the federal budget. To remedy this, we support enhanced authority to prevent wasteful spending, including a line-item veto.

Monetary Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.7

Our 1980 Platform promised to bring inflation under control. We did it. This cruelest tax—hitting hardest at the poor, the aged, and those on [p.8] fixed incomes—raged up to 13.3 percent under Carter-Mondale. We have brought it down to about 4 percent and we strive for lower levels. The effects of our program have been dramatic. Real, after-tax incomes are rising. Food prices are stable. Interest rates have fallen dramatically, leading to a resurgence in home building, auto purchases, and capital investment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.8

Just as our tax policy has only laid the groundwork for a new era of prosperity, reducing inflation is only the first step in restoring a stable currency. A dollar now should be worth a dollar in the future. This allows real economic growth without inflation and is the primary goal of our monetary policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.8

The Federal Reserve Board's destabilizing actions must therefore stop. We need coordination between fiscal and monetary policy, timely information about Fed decisions, and an end to the uncertainties people face in obtaining money and credit. The Gold Standard may be a useful mechanism for realizing the Federal Reserve's determination to adopt monetary policies needed to sustain price stability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.8

Domestically, a stable dollar will mean lower interest rates, rising real wages, guaranteed value for retirement and education savings, growth of assets through productive investment, affordable housing, and greater job security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.8

Internationally, a stable dollar will mean stable exchange rates, protection for contract prices, commodity prices which change only when real production changes, greater resources devoted to job-creating investment, less protectionist pressure, and increased trade and income for all nations.

Regulatory Reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.8

Our 1980 Platform declared that "excessive regulation remains a major component of our nation's spiraling inflation and continues to stifle private initiatives, individual freedom, and State and local government autonomy." President Reagan's regulatory reform program contributed significantly to economic recovery by removing bureaucratic roadblocks and encouraging efficiency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.8

In many fields, government regulation either did not achieve its goals or made limited improvements at exorbitant costs. We have worked with industry and labor to get better results through cooperation rather than coercion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.8

The flood of regulation has stopped. The number of new regulations has been halved. Unrestrained growth in the size and spending of the regulatory workforce has stopped. Some $150 billion will thereby be saved [p.9] over the next decade by consumers and businesses. In the past four years alone, 300 million hours of government-mandated paperwork were eliminated. We have reduced the regulatory burden on Americans by making government rules as cost-effective as possible. We must maintain this progress through comprehensive regulatory reform legislation and a constitutional procedure which will enable Congress to properly oversee executive branch rules by reviewing and, if necessary, overturning them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.9

So consumers can have the widest choice of services at the lowest possible prices, Republicans commit themselves to breaking down artificial barriers to entry created by antiquated regulations. With the explosion of computer technologies just beginning to enhance our way of life, we will encourage rather than hinder innovative competition in telecommunications and financial services.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.9

There are still federal statutes that keep Americans out of the work-force. Arbitrary minimum wage rates, for example, have eliminated hundreds of thousands of jobs and, with them, the opportunity for young people to get productive skills, good work habits, and a weekly paycheck. We encourage the adoption of a youth opportunity wage to encourage employers to hire and train inexperienced workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.9

We demand repeal of prohibitions against household manufacturing. Restrictions on work in the home are intolerable intrusions into our private lives and limit economic opportunity, especially for women and the homebound.

Support For Small Business

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.9

America's small business entrepreneurs have led the way in fueling economic recovery. Almost all the 11 million non-farm businesses in the United States are small, but they provide over 50 million jobs. We must keep them strong to ensure lasting prosperity. Republicans reaffirm our historic ties with independent business people and pledge continued efforts to help this energetic segment of our economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.9

We have created a climate conducive to small business growth. Our tax rate reductions increased incentives for entrepreneurial activity and provided investment capital through incentives to save. Reduced capital gains taxes further stimulated capital formation and increased the return on small business investment. Greater depreciation allowances encouraged modernization. Estate tax changes will allow families to keep the rewards of their labors.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.9

We have insisted on less federal interference with small business. As a result, burdensome regulations were reduced, and runaway agencies like OSHA were reined in. We have ensured that the federal government pays its bills on time or pays interest penalties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

[p.10] Presidential action has focused needed attention on increased government procurement from small and minority businesses. In FY 1983 the Small Business Administration directed $2.3 billion in federal sole-source contracts to minority firms through its 8(a) program—a 45 percent increase over 1980. This record amount was achieved along with management improvements that eliminated past abuses in that program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

Three million women business owners are generating $40 billion in annual receipts and creating many new jobs. Yet, their enterprises face barriers in credit, access to capital, and technical assistance. They lag far behind in federal procurement contracts. We are dedicated to helping them become full partners in the economic mainstream of small business.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

To them and to all who make America grow, we reaffirm out commitment to reduce marginal tax rates further. We oppose any scheme to roll back the estate tax cuts and will seek further reductions for family businesses. Moreover, we support lower capital gains tax rates and indexation of asset values to protect investors from inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

We will create enterprise zones to revitalize economically depressed areas by offering simplified regulation and lower taxes for small businesses that relocate there.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

We will make it easier for small businesses to compete for government contracts, not only to assist the private sector but also to provide competition and greater cost control in federal purchases.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

In a continuing effort to offset our balance of trade deficit, we reaffirm our strong support for this nation's tourism industry.

Science and Technology

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

We pledge to continue the Reagan Administration's science and technology policies, which have enhanced economic recovery and our nation's research capability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

We have refocused federal research and development spending on basic research, and it has increased more than 50 percent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

We propose to extend the incremental research and development tax credit to stimulate greater activity in the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.10

To allow U.S. firms to compete on an equal footing with foreign companies, we will permit U.S. firms to cooperate in joint research and development projects. [p.11]

Energy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.11

In 1980, energy prices were at all-time highs and rising rapidly. The OPEC cartel had an iron grip on free world economies. Oil imports rose, and domestic production fell under Carter-Mondale price controls and allocations. Competition in energy markets declined.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.11

We have all but eliminated those disastrous policies. President Reagan's immediate decontrol of oil prices precipitated a decline in real oil prices and increased competition in all energy markets. Oil price decontrol crippled the OPEC cartel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.11

The results have been dramatic. Imported oil prices are down 35 percent in real terms. The real price of gasoline is at a five-year low. Energy consumption has declined relative to economic growth. Energy efficiency increased by 12 percent since 1980, with lower costs to businesses and families. The Strategic Petroleum Reserve is now four times larger than in 1980, providing significant protection against any disruption in imports.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.11

We will complete America's energy agenda. Natural gas should be responsibly decontrolled as rapidly as possible so that families and businesses can enjoy the full benefits of lower prices and greater production, as with decontrolled oil. We are committed to the repeal of the confiscatory windfall profits tax, which has forced the American consumer to pay more for less and left us vulnerable to the energy and economic strangle-hold of foreign producers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.11

While protecting the environment, we should permit abundant American coal to be mined and consumed. Environmentally sound development of oil and natural gas on federal properties (which has brought the taxpayers $20 billion in revenue in the last four years) should continue. We believe that as controls have been lifted from the energy marketplace, conservation and alternative sources of energy, such as solar, wind, and geothermal, have become increasingly cost-effective. We further take pride in the fact that Reagan Administration economic policies have created an environment most favorable to the small businesses that pioneer these alternative technologies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.11

We now have a sound, long-term program for disposal of nuclear waste. We will work to eliminate unnecessary regulatory procedures so that nuclear plants can be brought on line quickly, efficiently, and safely. We call for an energy policy, the stability and continuity of which will restore and encourage public confidence in the fiscal stability of the nuclear industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.12

[p.12] We are committed to the termination of the Department of Energy. President Reagan has succeeded in abolishing that part which was telling Americans what to buy, where to buy it, and at what price—the regulatory part of DOE. Then he reduced the number of bureaucrats by 25 percent. Now is the time to complete the job.

Agriculture

Securing a Prosperous Rural America

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.12

The Republican Party is thankful for, and proud of, the ability of American farmers and ranchers to provide abundant, high quality, and nutritious food and fiber for all our citizens and millions more throughout the world. This unmatched ability to produce is basic to this country's high standard of living. We recognize that a prosperous agriculture is essential to the future of America and to the health and welfare of its people. We have set the stage for securing prosperity in rural America. In 1979, farm and ranch production costs increased 19 percent, in 1983 they actually declined by almost 3 percent. The prime interest rate has been brought down from 21.5 percent to 13 percent. Our reputation as a reliable world food and fiber supplier has been restored. Despite that remarkable beginning, much remains to be done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.12

We believe well managed, efficient American farm and ranch operations are the most cost-effective and productive food and fiber suppliers in the world, and therefore have the inherent economic capability and right to make a profit from their labor, management, and investments. The primary responsibility of government with respect to agriculture is to create the opportunity for a free and competitive economic and policy environment supportive of the American farmers' and ranchers' industrious and independent spirit and innovative talent. We further believe that, to the extent some well-managed and efficient farms and ranches are temporarily unable to make a profit in the marketplace, it is in the public interest to provide reasonable and targeted assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.12

The Carter-Mondale Administration, and 28 years of a Congress rigidly controlled by the Democrats and out of touch with the people, brought farmers and ranchers to the hardest times since the Great Depression. Farm and ranch incomes fell to disastrous levels. Uncontrolled inflation and the highest interest rates in over a century prevented farmers from operating at a profit, and 300,000 of them went out of business under Carter-Mondale.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.12

In the span of but four devastating years, the Carter-Mondale Administration managed to jeopardize this country's agricultural heritage by [p.13] putting America's farmers $78 billion further in debt (a 75 percent increase) and inflating farmers' annual food and fiber production costs by $46 billion (55 percent increase). These irresponsible inflationary policies led to spiraling land values and to the illusion of enhanced debt-bearing wealth. This paper wealth was converted into very real and unavoidable debt. Debt payments, combined with record cost of production levels, have presented many farmers and ranchers with severe cash flow problems. On top of all that came the Carter-Mondale grain embargo of 1980. Thus, one begins to understand the origins of the financial stress farmers and ranchers are experiencing today. Adding insult to injury, farmers and ranchers found themselves blamed as Carter-Mondale inflation ballooned consumer food costs by $115 billion, a 50 percent increase in four years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.13

Republicans support a sound agricultural credit policy, including the Farm Credit System, to meet agriculture's expanded credit needs. We support an extensive examination of agricultural and rural credit and crop insurance programs to assure they are adequately serving our farmers and rural residents.

Interest Rates and Farm and Ranch Indebtedness

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.13

The magnitude of indebtedness and the level of interest rates significantly influence farm and ranch profitability. The interrelationship between high interest rates and the high value of the dollar has caused an erosion in our competitive position in export markets. Republicans recognize that lower interest rates are vital to a healthy farm and ranch economy and pledge that an economic priority of the first order will be the further lowering of interest rates by intensifying our efforts to cut federal spending to achieve a balanced budget and by reforming Federal Reserve policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.13

Republicans are very much aware of the devastating impact which high interest rates have had, and continue to have, on the viability of America's farmers and ranchers. We also realize that, unless interest rates decline significantly in the near future, the character of American agriculture and rural life will be tragically changed. For these reasons, we pledge to pursue every possible course of action, including the consideration of temporary interest rate reductions, to ensure that the American farmer or rancher is not a patient that dies in the course of a successful economic operation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.13

Republicans are cognizant that there are many well-managed, efficient, farm and ranch operations which face bankruptcy and foreclosure. The foreclosures and resulting land sales will jeopardize the equity positions of neighboring farms and ranches, compounding financial problems [p.14] in agriculture. Republicans pledge to implement comprehensive Farmers Home Administration and commercial farm and ranch debt restructuring procedures, including the establishment of local community farm and ranch finance committees, which will advise borrowers, lenders, and government officials regarding debt restructuring alternatives and farmer and rancher eligibility.

Setting the Stage for Farm and Ranch Recovery

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.14

Sensitive to the needs of farmers and ranchers, we have made the best of the tools available to deal with the Carter-Mondale failure. Among the many specific accomplishments of the Reagan Administration in agriculture, Republicans are proud to have:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.14

• Lifted the Carter-Mondale grain embargo and demonstrated by word and deed that farm and ranch product embargoes will not be used as a tool of foreign policy, negotiated a long term agreement with the Soviet Union, and strengthened our credibility as a reliable supplier by enacting contract sanctity legislation.

• Increased food assistance and agricultural export financing programs to over $7 billion, a record level.

• Challenged unfair export subsidy practices and aggressively countered them with "blended credit" and other export expansion programs.

• Achieved major breakthroughs in Japan's beef and citrus quotas, allowing our exports to double over four years.

• Resisted protectionist efforts by other industries, such as domestic content legislation, that would cause a backlash against U.S. farm and ranch exports.

• Developed and implemented the PIK program to draw down burdensome reserve stocks of major commodities created by the Carter-Mondale embargo.

• Reformed bankruptcy law to provide for accelerated distribution of farm products in bankrupt elevators, acceptance of warehouse receipts and scale tickets as proof of ownership, and allowing a lien against elevator assets for unpaid farmers.

• Eliminated the marriage tax penalty for a surviving spouse and protected family farms and ranches by exempting, by 1987, up to $600,000 from estate taxes.

• [p.15] Accelerated depreciation of farm and ranch equipment and buildings and increased the exemption for agricultural vehicles from the heavy vehicle use tax.

• Increased the gasoline tax exemption by 50 percent for alcohol fuels, stimulating demand for domestic grain production and reducing dependency on foreign oil.

• Worked with rural credit and farm and ranch lending institutions to assure adequate capital at the lowest possible interest rates.

• Responded to the emergency financial needs of farmers and ranchers stricken by drought and flood.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.15

We want real profits for farmers and ranchers. We have begun the turnaround on farm and ranch incomes. Sound fiscal, monetary, and growth-oriented tax policies are essential if farmers and ranchers are to realize sufficient and enduring profits. We support legislation to permit farmers, ranchers, and other self-employed individuals to deduct from their gross income up to one-half of the cost of their personal hospitalization insurance premiums.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.15

Government policies should strengthen the ability of farmers and ranchers to provide quality products at reasonable rates of return in an expanding economy. We believe that federal farm programs should be tailored to meet the economic needs and requirements of today's structurally diverse and internationally oriented agriculture. These programs must be sensitive to potential impacts on all agriculture, especially non-program commodities, livestock, agribusiness, and rural communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.15

Republicans believe that the future of American agriculture lies in the utilization of our rich farmland, advanced technology, and hard working farm and ranch people, to supply food and fiber to the world. Traditional farm programs have threatened the confidence of America's farmers and ranchers and exhausted the patience of American taxpayers. We reject the policy of more of the same, and we further reject the Democrats' public utility vision of agriculture which views it as a problem to be minimized by further political and bureaucratic management. Our new programs will bring the flexibility to adjust to rapidly changing export market conditions and opportunities, and, in a timely and effective manner, respond to the inherent, uncontrollable risks of farming and ranching.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.15

Rural Americans impart a special strength to our national character, important to us all. Whether farmers or not, all rural citizens should have the same consideration as those who live in towns and cities in economic [p.16] development, energy, credit, transportation availability, and employment. Opportunities for non-farm jobs have become increasingly important to farm and ranch families, enhancing life and work in rural America.

Toward Fair and Expanded Markets and Responding to Hunger

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.16

Agriculture is an international advantage for the United States. But a successful farm and ranch policy demands earnest attention to building on the strength of our domestic production capacity and to developing world markets, for American agriculture cannot be prosperous without exports.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.16

Our farmers and ranchers must have full access to world markets and should not have to face unfair export subsidies and predatory dumping by other producing nations without redress. Republicans believe that unfair trade practices and non-tariff barriers are so serious that a comprehensive renegotiation of multilateral trade arrangements must be undertaken to revitalize the free, fair, and open trade critical to worldwide economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.16

The Republican Party is unalterably opposed to the use of embargoes of grain or other agricultural products as a tool of foreign policy. The Carter-Mondale grain embargo is—still more than any other factor—the cause of the present difficulties in American agriculture and possibly the irretrievable loss of foreign markets. Republicans say, "Never again." The Democratic Platform says nothing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.16

America has a long history of helping those in need, and the responsibility for food assistance has been shared by federal and State governments and neighborhood volunteers. Federal expenditures in this area exceeded $19 billion in 1983, the highest amount ever. Numerous private and public efforts assure that adequate food is available. This expresses faith in our future and reflects our people's goodness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.16

We will provide adequate resources in programs ranging from food stamps to school lunches for the truly needy. We also recognize that fraud and abuse must be eliminated from those programs. We stress maximum local control consistent with national objectives.

Reducing Excessive Regulation in Agriculture

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.16

Excessive federal regulations, many imposed by the Carter-Mondale Administration, have been a crushing burden.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.16

In 1980, we pledged to make sensible reductions in regulations that drained the profitability from farming, ranching, and commercial fishing. We did just that. We restored balance to the Interior Department's [p.17] ineffective predator-control policies, and we moderated the EPA's and the FDA's excessive adherence to "zero risk" standards concerning the use of pesticides, antibiotics, food additives, and preservatives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.17

Republicans favor modernizing our food-safety laws, providing guidelines for risk-benefit assessment, peer review, and regulatory flexibility consistent with other health and safety policies.

Soil and Water Conservation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.17

Agriculture must be both economically and environmentally sustainable. The soil and water stewardship of our farmers, ranchers, watermen, and rural people is commendable. Republicans believe that long-term soil, water, and other conservation policies, emphasizing environmentally sound agricultural productivity, rangeland protection, fish and wildlife habitat, and balanced forestry management, must be a top priority. Conservation practices must be intensified and integrated with farm programs to safeguard our most valuable resources. Volunteer participation, emphasizing State and local control and adequate incentives, is essential to effective conservation.

Water Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.17

In 1980, we pledged a water policy which addressed our national diversity in climate, geography, reclamation needs, and patterns of land ownership. We promised a partnership between the States and federal government which would not destroy traditional State supremacy in water law, and which would avert a water crisis in the coming decades. That partnership is now working to meet these challenges.

The Future of Farming

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.17

American agriculture is the world's most successful because of the hard work and creativity of family farmers and ranchers. They have benefitted immensely from agricultural research, extension, and teaching, unequalled in the world. Cooperative extension, operating in every country, brings the results of USDA and Land Grant University research to rural America. We support these programs, with special attention to marketing efficiencies, reduced production costs, and new uses for farm and ranch commodities. We also encourage the establishment of regional international research and export trade centers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.17

Our agricultural people have developed the ideals of free enterprise and have based their enterprise on our culture's basic element, the family. The family farm and ranch is defined as a unit of agricultural production [p.18] managed as an enterprise where labor and management have an equity interest in the business and a direct gain or loss from its operation. Family farms and ranches are the heart, soul, and backbone of American agriculture; it is the family farm that makes our system work better than any other.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.18

Our rural and coastal people developed a great diversity of support organizations. They organized farm and ranch cooperatives, and rural electric and telephone cooperatives to provide essential services. They established farm and ranch organizations to work for better farm policies and to improve the quality of rural life. Republicans note with particular pride and enthusiasm the vital impact women have always had in American farming and ranching, and we support efforts to increase their role.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.18

American agriculture has always relied upon the hardworking people who harvest seasonal and perishable crops. Republicans support comprehensive farm-labor legislation, fair to workers and employers, to protect consumers from work stoppages which disrupt the flow of food.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.18

Republicans also recognize the tremendous efforts of commercial fishers to bring nutritious seafood products to market, thus strengthening America's food base.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.18

Our agriculture is both a global resource and a tremendous opportunity. Only America possesses the natural, technological, management, and labor resources to commercially develop agriculture's next frontier.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.18

We are encouraged by innovation in agriculture, and applaud its diversity, creativity, and enterprise. Commercial applications of new technology and marketing and management innovations are creating additional opportunities for farming and ranching. Republicans have set the stage for building a new prosperity into our fundamentally strong agricultural system. We renew our national commitment to American farmers and ranchers.

International Economic Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.18

The recent tremendous expansion of international trade has increased the standard of living worldwide. Our strong economy is attracting investment in the United States, which is providing capital needed for new jobs, technology, higher wages, and more competitive products.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.18

We are committed to a free and open international trading system. All Americans benefit from the free flow of goods, services and capital, and the efficiencies of a vigorous international market. We will work with [p.19] all of our international trading partners to eliminate barriers to trade, both tariff and non-tariff. As a first step, we call on our trading partners to join in a new round of trade negotiations to revise the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in order to strengthen it. And we further call on our trading partners to join us in reviewing trade with totalitarian regimes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.19

But free trade must be fair trade. It works only when all trading partners accept open markets for goods, services, and investments. We will review existing trade agreements and vigorously enforce trade laws including assurance of access to all markets for our service industries. We will pursue domestic and international policies that will allow our American manufacturing and agricultural industries to compete in international markets. We will not tolerate the loss of American jobs to nationalized, subsidized, protected foreign industries, particularly in steel, automobiles, mining, footwear, textiles, and other basic industries. This production is sometimes financed with our own tax dollars through international institutions. We will work to stop funding of those projects which are detrimental to our own economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.19

The greatest danger today to our international trade is a growing protectionist sentiment. Tremendous fluctuations in exchange rates have rendered long-term international contracts virtually useless. We therefore urge our trading partners to join us in evaluating and correcting the structural problems of the international monetary system, to base it on more stable exchange rates and free capital markets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.19

Further, we support reorganization of trade responsibilities in order to reduce overlap, duplication, and waste in the conduct of international trade and industry.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.19

Revisions in that system will stabilize trade relations so that debtor nations can repay their debts. These debts are the direct result of their domestic policies, often mandated by multilateral institutions, combined with the breakdown of the international monetary system. Slower economic growth, reduced imports, and higher taxes will not relieve debt burdens, but worsen them. The only way to repay the debts is to create productive capacity to generate new wealth through economic expansion, as America has done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.19

Austerity should be imposed not on people, but on governments. Debtor nations seeking our assistance must increase incentives for growth by encouraging private investment, reducing taxes, and eliminating subsidies, price controls, and politically motivated development projects. [p.20]

Security for the Individual

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.20

America was built on the institutions of home, family, religion, and neighborhood. From these basic building blocks came self-reliant individuals, prepared to exercise both rights and responsibilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.20

In the community of individuals and families, every generation has relearned the art of self-government. In our neighborhoods, Americans have traditionally taken care of their needs and aided the less fortunate. In the process we developed, independent of government, the remarkable network of "mediating institutions"—religious groups, unions, community and professional associations. Prominent among them have been innumerable volunteer groups, from fire departments and neighborhood-watch patrols to meals-on-wheels and the little leagues.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.20

Public policy long ignored these foundations of American life. Especially during the two decades preceding Ronald Reagan's election, the federal government eroded their authority, ignored their rights, and attempted to supplant their functions with programs at once intrusive and ineffectual. It thereby disrupted our traditional patterns of caring, sharing, and helping. It elbowed out the voluntary providers of services and aid instead of working through them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.20

By centralizing responsibility for social programs in Washington, liberal experimenters destroyed the sense of community that sustains local institutions. In many cases, they literally broke up neighborhoods and devastated rural communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.20

Washington's governing elite thought they knew better than the people how to spend the people's money. They played fast and loose with our schools, with law enforcement, with welfare, with housing. The results were declining literacy and learning, an epidemic of crime, a massive increase in dependency, and the slumming of our cities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.20

Worst of all, they tried to build their brave new world by assaulting our basic values. They mocked the work ethic. They scorned frugality. They attacked the integrity of the family and parental rights. They ignored traditional morality. And they still do.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.20

Our 1980 Republican Platform offered a renewed vision. We based it upon home, family, and community as the surest guarantees of both individual rights and national greatness. We asserted, as we do now, the ethical dimension of public policy: the need to return to enduring principles of conduct and firm standards of judgment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.20

The American people responded with enthusiasm. They knew that our roots, in family, home, and neighborhood, do not tie us down. They give us strength. Once more we call upon our people to assert their supervision over government, to affirm their rights against government, to uphold their interests within government. [p.21]

Housing and Homeownership

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

Homeownership is part of the American Dream. For the last two decades, that dream has been endangered by bad public policy. Government unleashed a dreadful inflation upon homebuyers, driving mortgage rates beyond the reach of average families, as the prime rate rose more than 300 percent (from 6.5 percent to 21.5 percent). The American worker's purchasing power fell every year from 1977 through 1980.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

No wonder the housing industry was crippled. Its workers faced recurrent recessions. The boom-and-bust cycle made saving foolish, investment risky, and housing scarce.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

Federal housing blighted stable low-income neighborhoods, disrupting communities which people had held together for generations. Only government could have wasted billions of dollars to create the instant slums which disgrace our cities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

In our 1980 Platform, we pledged to reverse this situation. We have begun to do so, despite obstructionism from those who believe that the taxpayer's home is government's castle.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

We attacked the basic problem, not the symptoms. We cut tax rates and reduced inflation to a fraction of the Carter-Mondale years. The median price house that would cost $94,800 if Carter-Mondale inflation had continued now costs $74,200. The average monthly mortgage payment, which rose by $342 during the Carter-Mondale years, has increased just $24 since January 1981. The American Dream has made a comeback.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

To sustain it, we must finish the people's agenda.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

We reaffirm our commitment to the federal-tax deductibility of mortgage interest payments. In the States, we stand with those working to lower property taxes that strike hardest at the poor, the elderly, and large families. We stand, as well, with Americans earning possession of their homes through "sweat-equity" programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

We will, over time, replace subsidies and welfare projects with a voucher system, returning public housing to the free market.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.21

Despite billions of dollars poured into public housing developments, conditions remain deplorable for many low-income Americans who live in [p.22] them. These projects have become breeding grounds for the very problems they were meant to eliminate. Their dilapidated and crumbling structures testify to decades of corrupt or incompetent management by poverty bureaucrats.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.22

Some residents of public housing developments have reversed these conditions by successfully managing their own housing units through creative self-help efforts. It is abundantly clear that their pride of ownership has been the most important factor contributing to the efficiency of operation, enhancing the quality of housing, improving community morale, and providing incentives for their self-improvement. The Republican Party therefore supports the development of programs which will lead to homeownership of public housing developments by current residents.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.22

We strongly believe in open housing. We will vigorously enforce all fair housing laws and will not tolerate their distortion into quotas and controls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.22

Rent controls promise housing below its market cost but inevitably result in a shortage of decent homes. Our people should not have to underwrite any community which erodes its own housing supply by rent control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.22

Sound economic policy is good housing policy. In our expanding economy, where people are free to work and save, they will shelter their families without government intrusion.

Welfare

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.22

Helping the less fortunate is one of America's noblest endeavors, made possible by the abundance of our free and competitive economy. Aid should be swift and adequate to ensure the necessities of a decent life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.22

Over the past two decades, welfare became a nightmare for the taxpayer and the poor alike. Fraud and abuse were rampant. The costs of public assistance are astronomical, in large part because resources often benefit the welfare industry rather than the poor.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.22

During the 1970s, the number of people receiving federal assistance increased by almost 300 percent, from 9 million to 35 million, while our population increased by only 11.4 percent. This was a fantastic and unsustainable universalization of welfare.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.22

Welfare's indirect effects were equally as bad. It became a substitute for urgently needed economic reforms to create more entry-level jobs. Government created a hellish cycle of dependency. Family cohesion was [p.23] shattered, both by providing economic incentives to set up maternal households and by usurping the breadwinner's economic role in intact families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.23

The cruelest result was the maternalization of poverty, worsened by the breakdown of the family and accelerated by destructive patterns of conduct too long tolerated by permissive liberals. We endorse programs to assist female-headed households to build self-sufficiency, such as efforts by localities to enable participants to achieve permanent employment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.23

We have begun to clean up the welfare mess. We have dramatically reduced the poor's worst enemy—inflation—thereby protecting their purchasing power. Our resurgent economy has created over six million new jobs and reduced unemployment by 30 percent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.23

We have launched real welfare reforms. We have targeted benefits to the needy through tighter eligibility standards, enforced child-support laws, and encouraged "workfare" in the States. We gave States more leeway in managing welfare programs, more assistance with fraud control, and more incentives to hold down costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.23

Only sustained economic growth, continuing our vigorous recovery, can give credible hope to those at the bottom of the opportunity ladder.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.23

The working poor deserve special consideration, as do low-income families struggling to provide for their children. As part of a comprehensive simplification of the federal tax code, we will restore the real value of their personal tax exemptions so that families, particularly young families, can establish their economic independence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.23

Federal administration of welfare is the worst possible, detached from community needs and careless with the public's money. Our long tradition of State and local administration of aid programs must be restored. Programs and resources must be returned to State and local governments and not merely exchanged with them. We will support block grants to combine duplicative programs under State administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.23

We must also recognize and stimulate the talents and energy of low-income neighborhoods. We must provide new incentives for self-help activities that flow naturally when people realize they can make a difference. This is especially critical in foster care and adoption.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.23

Because there are different reasons for poverty, our programs address different needs and must never be replaced with a unitary income guarantee. That would betray the interests of the poor and the taxpayers alike.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.24

[p.24] We will employ the latest technology to combat welfare fraud in order to protect the needy from the greedy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.24

Whenever possible, public assistance must be a transition to the world of work, except in cases, particularly with the aged and disabled, where that is not appropriate. In other cases, it is long overdue.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.24

Remedying poverty requires that we sustain and broaden economic recovery, hold families together, get government's hand out of their pocketbooks, and restore the work ethic.

Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.24

Our tremendous investment in health care has brought us almost miraculous advances. Although costs are still too high, we have dramatically enhanced the length and quality of life for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.24

Faced with Medicare and Medicaid mismanagement, government tried to ration health care through arbitrary cuts in eligibility and benefits. Meanwhile, inflation drove up medical bills for us all. Economic incentives were backwards, with little awareness of costs by individual patients. Reimbursement mechanisms were based on expenses incurred, rather than set prospectively. Conspicuously absent were free-market incentives to respond to consumer wishes. Instead, government's heavy hand was everywhere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.24

We narrowly averted disaster. We moved creatively and carefully to restructure incentives, to free competition, to encourage flexible new approaches in the States, and to identify better means of health-care delivery. Applying these principles, we will preserve Medicare and Medicaid. We will eliminate the excesses and inefficiencies which drove costs unacceptably high in those programs. In order to assure their solvency and to avoid placing undue burdens on beneficiaries, reform must be a priority. The Republican Party reaffirms its commitment to assure a basic level of high quality health care for all Americans. We reaffirm as well our opposition to any proposals for compulsory national health insurance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.24

While Republicans held the line against government takeover of health care, the American people found private ways to meet new challenges. There has been a laudable surge in preventive health care and an emphasis on personal responsibility for maintaining one's health. Compassionate innovation has developed insurance against catastrophic illness, and capitated "at risk" plans are encouraging innovation and creativity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.25

[p.25] We will maintain our commitment to health excellence by fostering research into yet-unconquered diseases. There is no better investment we as a nation can make than in programs which hold the promise of sounder health and longer life. For every dollar we spend on health research, we save many more in health care costs. Thus, what we invest in medical research today will yield billions of dollars in individual productivity as well as in savings in Medicare and Medicaid. The federal government has been the major source of support for biomedical research since 1945. That research effort holds great promise for combatting cancer, heart disease, brain disorders, mental illness, diabetes, Alzheimer's disease, sickle cell anemia, and numerous other illnesses which threaten our nation's welfare. We commit to its continuance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.25

Many health problems arise within the family and should be dealt with there. We affirm the right and responsibility of parents to participate in decisions about the treatment of children. We will not tolerate the use of federal funds, taxed away from parents, to abrogate their role in family health care.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.25

Republicans have secured for the hospice movement an important role in federal health programs. We must do more to enable persons to remain within the unbroken family circle. For those elderly confined to nursing homes or hospitals, we insist that they be treated with dignity and full medical assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.25

Discrimination in health care is unacceptable; we guarantee, especially for the handicapped, non-discrimination in the compassionate healing that marks American medicine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.25

Government must not impose cumbersome health planning that causes major delays, increases construction costs, and stifles competition. It should not unduly delay the approval of new medicines, nor adhere to outdated safety standards hindering rapidly advancing technology.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.25

We must address ailments not symptoms, in health-care policy. Drug and alcohol abuse costs thousands of lives and billions of dollars every year. We reaffirm our vigorous commitment to alcohol and drug abuse prevention and education efforts. We salute the citizens' campaign, launched from America's grass roots, against drunk driving. We applaud those States which raised the legal drinking age.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.25

Much illness, especially among the elderly, is related to poor nutrition. The reasons are more often social than economic: isolation, separation from family, and often a mismatch between nutritional needs and available assistance. This reinforces our efforts to protect federal [p.26] nutrition programs from fraud and abuse, so that their benefits can be concentrated upon the truly needy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.26

A supportive environment linking family, home, neighborhood, and workplace is essential to a sound health policy. The other essential step is to encourage the individual responsibility and group assistance that are uniquely American.

Environment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.26

It is part of the Republican philosophy to preserve the best of our heritage, including our natural resources. The environment is not just a scientific or technological issue; it is a human one. Republicans put the needs of people at the center of environmental concerns. We assert the people's stewardship of our God-given natural resources. We pledge to meet the challenges of environmental protection, economic growth, regulatory reform, enhancement of our scenic and recreational areas, conservation of our non-renewable resources, and preservation of our irreplaceable natural heritage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.26

Americans were environmentalists long before it became fashionable. Our farmers cared for the earth and made it the world's most bountiful. Our families cared for their neighborhoods as an investment in our children's future. We pioneered the conservation that replenished our forests, preserved our wildlife, and created our national park system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.26

The American people have joined together in a great national effort to protect the promise of our future by conserving the rich beauty and bounty of our heritage. As a result, by almost any measure, the air is cleaner than it was 10 years ago, and fish are returning to rivers where they had not been seen for generations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.26

Within the last four years, dramatic progress has been made in protecting coastal barrier islands, and we began the Park Preservation and Restoration Program to restore the most celebrated symbols of our heritage. We support programs to restore and protect the nation's estuaries, wetland resources, and beaches.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.26

The Republican Party endorses a strong effort to control and clean up toxic wastes. We have already tripled funding to clean up hazardous waste dumps, quadrupled funding for acid rain research, and launched the rebirth of the Chesapeake Bay.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.26

The environmental policy of our nation originated with the Republican Party under the inspiration of Theodore Roosevelt. We hold it a privilege to build upon the foundation we have laid. The Republican Party supports the continued commitment to clean air and clean water. [p.27] This support includes the implementation of meaningful clean air and clean water acts. We will continue to offer leadership to reduce the threat to our environment and our economy from acid rain, while at the same time preventing economic dislocation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.27

Even as many environmental problems have been brought under control, new ones have been detected. And all the while, the growth and shifts of population and economic expansion, as well as the development of new industries, will further intensify the competing demands on our national resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.27

Continued progress will be much more difficult. The environmental challenges of the 1980s are much more complex than the ones we tried to address in the 1970s, and they will not yield quickly to our efforts. As the science and administration of environmental protection have become more sophisticated, we have learned of many subtle and potentially more dangerous threats to public health and the environment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.27

In setting out to find solutions to the environmental issues of the 1980s and 1990s, we start with a healthy appreciation of the difficulties involved. Detecting contamination, assessing the threat, correcting the damage, and setting up preventive measures, all raise questions of science, technology, and public policy that are as difficult as they are important. However, the health and well being of our citizens must be a high priority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.27

The number of people served by waste water treatment systems has nearly doubled just since 1970. The federal government should offer assistance to State and local governments in planning for the disposal of solid and liquid wastes. A top priority nationwide should be to eliminate the dumping of raw sewage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.27

We encourage recycling of materials and support programs which will allow our economic system to reward resource conservation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.27

We also commit ourselves to the development of renewable and efficient energy sources and to the protection of endangered or threatened species of plants and wildlife.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.27

We will be responsible to future generations, but at the same time, we must remember that quality of life means more than protection and preservation. As Teddy Roosevelt put it, "Conservation means development as much as it does protection." Quality of life also means a good job, a decent place to live, accommodation for a growing population, and the continued economic and technological development essential to our standard of living, which is the envy of the whole world. [p.28]

Transportation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.28

America's overall transportation system is unequalled. Generating over 20 percent of our GNP and employing one of every nine people in the work force, it promotes the unity amid diversity that uniquely characterizes our country. We travel widely, and we move the products of field and factory more efficiently and economically than any other people on earth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.28

And yet, four years ago, the future of American transportation was threatened. Over several decades, its vigor and creativity had been stunted by the intrusion of government regulation. The results were terribly expensive, and consumers paid the price. Our skies and highways were becoming dangerous and congested. With the same vision that marked President Eisenhower's beginning of the Interstate Highway System, the Reagan Administration launched a massive modernization of America's transport systems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.28

An expanded highway program is rebuilding the nation's roads and bridges and creating several hundred thousand jobs in construction and related fields. Driving mileage has increased by 8 percent, but greater attention to safety has led to a 17 percent reduction in fatalities, saving more than 8,000 lives yearly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.28

In public transit, we have redefined the federal role to emphasize support for capital investment, while restoring day-to-day responsibility to local authorities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.28

Our National Airspace Plan is revolutionizing air traffic control. It will improve flight safety and double the nation's flight capacity, providing better air service and stimulating economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.28

Regulatory reform is revitalizing American transportation. Federal agencies had protected monopolies by erecting regulatory barriers that hindered the entry of new competitors. Small businesses and minority enterprises were virtually excluded. Prices were set, not by the public through free exchange, but by Washington clerks through green eye-shades.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.28

Republicans led the successful fight to break government's strangle-hold. The deregulation of airline economics (not their safety!) will be completed on December 30, 1984, when the Civil Aeronautics Board closes its doors forever. Through our regulatory reform efforts, the rail and trucking industries are now allowed to compete in both price and service. We also led the fight to deregulate interstate bus operations by enacting the Bus Regulatory Reform Act of 1982. While returning to a more free and competitive marketplace, we have ensured that small communities in rural [p.29] America will retain necessary services through transitional assistance like the Essential Air Service Program, which will continue for four more years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.29

The Shipping Act of 1984 secured the first major reform of maritime law, as it applies to the U.S. liner trade, since 1916. This major step introduces genuine competition to the maritime industry, while enhancing our ability to compete against international cartels. Important in peacetime, critical in times of conflict, one of our proudest industries had long been neglected. We have expanded employment and brought hope of a future worthy of its past. The Reagan defense program now provides more work for our shipyards than at any time since World War II. We seek to halt the decline of our commercial fleet and restore it to economic strength and strategic capacity to fulfill its national obligations. We also seek to maximize the use of our nation's existing port facilities and shipbuilding and repair capability as a vital transportation resource that should be preserved in the best long-term interest of this country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.29

The American people benefit from regulatory reform. Air travellers now have a remarkable range of options, and flight is within reach of the average family budget. In the trucking business, increased competition has lowered prices and improved service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.29

The future of America's freight rail system is again bright. As a result of our reforms, the major private railroads have climbed back to profitability. Government red tape caused their red ink; by cutting the former, we are wiping out the latter. In addition, we transformed Conrail from a multi-billion dollar drain on the taxpayers into an efficient, competitive freight railroad. Returning Conrail as a financially sound single entity to private ownership, with service and jobs secure, will provide the nation with an improved rail freight system to promote economic growth. It will also return to the Treasury a significant portion of the taxpayers' investment, virtually unheard of for a federal project. We support improved passenger rail service where economically justified. We have made substantial progress in reducing the taxpayers' subsidy to Amtrak while maintaining services for which there is genuine demand. The Reagan Administration is selling the Alaska Railroad to the State of Alaska and transferring Conrail's commuter lines to the jurisdictions they serve.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.29

The Republican Party believes that the nation's long-term economic growth will depend heavily on the adequacy of its public works infrastructure. We will continue to work to reverse the long-term decline that has occurred. We should foster development of better information on the magnitude and effectiveness of current federal, State, and local government [p.30] capital expenditures and innovative financing mechanisms which would improve our capacity to leverage limited federal funds more effectively.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.30

America's leadership in space depends upon the vitality of free enterprise. That is why we encourage a commercial space-transportation industry. We share President Reagan's vision of a permanent manned space station within a decade, viewing it as the first stepping stone toward creating a multi-billion dollar private economy in space. The permanent presence of man in space is crucial both to developing a visionary program of space commercialization and to creating an opportunity society on Earth of benefit to all mankind. We are, after all, the people who hewed roads out of the wilderness. Our families crossed ocean, prairie, and desert no less dangerous than today's space frontier to reach a new world of opportunity. And every route they took became a highway of liberty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.30

Like them, we know where we are going: forward, toward a future in our hands. Because of them, and because of us, our children's children will use space transportation to build both prosperity and peace on earth.

Education and Youth

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.30

Our children are our hope and our future. For their sake, President Reagan has led a national renewal to get back to the "basics" and excellence in education. Young people have turned away from the rebellion of the 1960s and the pessimism of the 1970s. Their hopeful enthusiasm speaks better for a bright future than any government program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.30

During the Reagan Administration, we restored education to prominence in public policy. This change will clearly benefit our youth and our country. By using the spotlight of the Oval office, the Reagan Administration turned the nation's attention to the quality of education and gave its support to local and State improvement efforts. Parents and all segments of American society responded overwhelmingly to the findings of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, appointed by President Reagan. Its report, along with others from prominent experts and foundations, provided the impetus for educational reform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.30

Ronald Reagan's significant and innovative leadership has encouraged and sustained the reform movement. He catapulted education to the forefront of the national agenda and will be remembered as a president who improved education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.30

Unlike the Carter-Mondale Democrats, Republicans have levelled with parents and students about the problems we face together. We find remedies to these problems in the common sense of those most concerned: [p.31] parents and local leaders. We support the decentralization necessary to put education back on the right track. We urge local school communities, including parents, teachers, students, administrators, and business and civic leaders, to evaluate school curricula—including extra-curricular activities and the time spent in them—and their ultimate effect upon students and the learning process. We recognize the need to get "back to basics" and applaud the dramatic improvements that this approach has already made in some jurisdictions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.31

In schools, school districts, and States throughout our land, the past year and one-half has been marked by unprecedented response to identified education deficiencies. The Nation Responds, a recent report by the Reagan Administration, referred to a "tidalwave of school reform which promises to renew American education." According to that report:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.31

• Forty-eight States are considering new high school graduation requirements and 35 have approved changes.

• Twenty-one States report initiatives to improve textbooks and instructional material.

• Eight States have approved lengthening the school day, seven are lengthening the school year, and 18 have mandates affecting the amount of time for instruction.

• Twenty-four States are examining master teacher or career ladder programs, and six have begun statewide or pilot programs.

• Thirteen States are considering changes in academic requirements for extra-curricular and athletic programs, and five have already adopted more rigorous standards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.31

Education is a matter of choice, and choice in education is inevitably political. All of education is a passing on of ideas from one generation to another. Since the storehouse of knowledge is vast, a selection must be made of what to pass on. Those doing the selecting bring with them their own politics. Therefore, the more centralized the selection process, the greater the threat of tyranny. The more diversified the selection process, the greater the chance for a thriving free marketplace of ideas as the best insurance for excellence in education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.31

We believe that education is a local function, a State responsibility, and a federal concern. The federal role in education should be limited. It includes helping parents and local authorities ensure high standards, protecting civil rights, and ensuring family rights. Ignoring that principle, from 1965 to 1980, the United States indulged in a disastrous experiment [p.32] with centralized direction of our schools. During the Carter-Mondale Administration, spending continued to increase, but test scores steadily declined.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.32

This decline was not limited to academic matters. Many schools lost sight of their traditional task of developing good character and moral discernment. The result for many was a decline in personal responsibility.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.32

The key to the success of educational reform lies in accountability: for students, parents, educators, school boards, and all governmental units. All must be held accountable in order to achieve excellence in education. Restoring local control of education will allow parents to resume the exercise of their responsibility for the basic education, discipline, and moral guidance of their children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.32

Parents have the primary right and responsibility for the education of their children; and States, localities, and private institutions have the primary responsibility for supporting that parental role. America has been a land of opportunity because America has been a land of learning. It has given us the most prosperous and dynamic society in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.32

The Republican Party recognizes the importance of good teachers, and we acknowledge the great effort many put forth to achieve excellence in the classroom. We applaud their numerous contributions and achievements in education. Unfortunately, many teachers are exhausted by their efforts to support excellence and elect to leave the classroom setting. Our best teachers have been frustrated by lowered standards, widespread indifference, and compensation below the true value of their contribution to society. In 1980-81 alone, 4 percent of the nation's math and science teachers quit the classroom. To keep the best possible teachers for our children, we support those education reforms which will result in increased student learning, including appropriate class sizes, appropriate and adequate learning and teaching materials, appropriate and consistent grading practices, and proper teacher compensation, including rewarding exceptional efforts and results in the classroom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.32

Classroom materials should be developed and produced by the private sector in the public marketplace, and then selections should be made at the State, local, and school levels.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.32

We commend those States and local governments that have initiated challenging and rigorous high school programs, and we encourage all States to take initiatives that address the special educational needs of the gifted and talented.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.33

[p.33] We have enacted legislation to guarantee equal access to school facilities by student religious groups. Mindful of our religious diversity, we reaffirm our commitment to the freedoms of religion and speech guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and firmly support the rights of students to openly practice the same, including the right to engage in voluntary prayer in schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.33

While much has been accomplished, the agenda is only begun. We must complete the block-grant process begun in 1981. We will return revenue sources to State and local governments to make them independent of federal funds and of the control that inevitably follows.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.33

The Republican Party believes that developing the individual dignity and potential of disabled Americans is an urgent responsibility. To this end, the Republican Party commits itself to prompt and vigorous enforcement of the rights of disabled citizens, particularly those rights established under the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act. We insist on the highest standards of quality for services supported with federal funds.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.33

In addition, government should seek out disabled persons and their parents to make them knowledgeable of their rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.33

We will work toward providing federal funds to State and local governments sufficient to meet the degree of fiscal participation already promised in law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.33

We are committed to excellence in education for all our children within their own communities and neighborhoods. No child should be assigned to, or barred from, a school because of race.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.33

In education, as in other activities, competition fosters excellence. We therefore support the President's proposal for tuition tax credits. We will convert the Chapter One grants to vouchers, thereby giving poor parents the ability to choose the best schooling available. Discrimination cannot be condoned, nor may public policies encourage its practice. Civil rights enforcement must not be twisted into excessive interference in the education process.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.33

Teachers cannot teach and students cannot learn in an undisciplined environment. We applaud the President's promise to provide protection to teachers and administrators against suits from the unruly few who seek to disrupt the education of the overwhelming majority of students.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.34

[p.34] We urge the aggressive enforcement of the Protection of Pupil Rights amendment (also known as the Hatch Amendment, 20 U.S.C. 1232h) in order to protect pupils' and parents' rights. The amendment prohibits requiring any pupil to reveal personal or family information as part of any federally supported program, test, treatment, or psychological examination unless the school first obtains written consent of the pupil's parents.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.34

The recent Grove City and Hillsdale College cases have raised questions about the extension of federal interference with private colleges, universities, and schools. Since federal aid, no matter how indirect, is now being linked to nearly every aspect of American life, great care must be taken in defining such terms as "federal financial assistance," "indirect" assistance, and "recipient" of assistance. We are deeply concerned that this kind of federal involvement in the affairs of some of the nation's fine private universities, colleges, and schools, many of which have remained stubbornly free of federal entanglements, can only bring with it unintended results. As the historical party of Lincoln and individual rights, we support enactment of legislation which would ensure protection of those covered under Title IX.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.34

We urge States to establish partnerships with the scientific and business worlds to increase the number of teachers in these critical areas of learning. We also recognize a vast reservoir of talent and experience among retirees and other Americans competent to teach in these areas and ready to be tapped.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.34

We endorse experiments with education such as enterprise zones and Cities-in-Schools. We reaffirm our commitment to wipe out illiteracy in our society. Further, we encourage the Congress and the States to reassess the process for aiding education, awarding funds on the basis of academic improvement rather than on daily attendance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.34

We are aware that good intentions do not always produce the desired results. We therefore urge our schools to evaluate their sex education programs to determine their impact on escalating teenage pregnancy rates. We urge that school officials take appropriate action to ensure parent involvement and responsibility in finding solutions to this national dilemma.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.34

We support and encourage volunteerism in the schools. President Reagan's Adopt-a-School program is an example of how private initiative can revitalize our schools, particularly inner-city schools, and we commend him for his example.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.35

[p.35] Our emphasis on excellence includes the nation's colleges and universities. Although their achievements are unequalled in the world—in research, in proportion of citizens enrolled, in their contribution to our democratic society—we call upon them for accountability in good teaching and quality curricula that will ensure competent graduates in the world of work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.35

We pledge to keep our colleges and universities strong. They have been far too dependent on federal assistance and thus have been tied up in federal red tape. Their independence is an essential part of our liberty. Through regulatory reform, we are holding down the costs of higher education and reestablishing academic freedom from government. This is especially important for small schools, religious institutions, and the historically black colleges, for which President Reagan's Executive Order 12320 has meant new hope and vigor. We further reaffirm and support a regular Black College Day which honors a vital part of our educational community.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.35

Republicans applaud the information explosion. This literacy-based knowledge revolution, made possible by computers, tapes, television, satellites, and other high technology innovations, buttressed by training programs through the business sector and foundations, is a tribute to American ingenuity. We urge our schools to educate for the ever-changing demands of our society and to resist using these innovations as substitutes for reasoning, logic, and mastery of basic skills.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.35

We encourage excellence in the vocational and technical education that has contributed to the self-esteem and productivity of millions. We believe the best vocational and technical education programs are rooted in strong academic fundamentals. Business and industry stand ready to establish training partnerships with our schools. Their leadership is essential to keep America competitive in the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.35

In an age when individuals may have four or five different jobs in their working career, vocational education and opportunities for adult learning will be more important than ever. The challenge of learning for citizenship and for work in an age of change will require new adaptations and innovations in the process of education. We urge the teaching profession and educational institutions at all levels to develop the maximum use of new learning opportunities available through learning-focused high technology. This technology in education and in the workplace is making possible, and necessary, the continuing education of our adult population. [p.36] The participation by adults in educational offerings within their communities will strengthen the linkages among the places where Americans live, work, and study.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.36

Important as technology is, by itself it is inadequate for a free society. The arts and humanities flourish in the private sector, where a free market in ideas is the best guarantee of vigorous creativity. Private support for the arts and humanities has increased over the last four years, and we encourage its growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.36

We support the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities in their efforts to correct past abuses and focus on developing the cultural values that are the foundation of our free society. We must ensure that these programs bring the arts and humanities to people in rural areas, the inner city poor, and other underserved populations.

Crime

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.36

One of the major responsibilities of government is to ensure the safety of its citizens. Their security is vital to their health and to the well-being of their neighborhoods and communities. The Reagan Administration is committed to making America safe for families and individuals. And Republican programs are paying dividends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.36

For the first time in the history of recorded federal crime statistics, rates of serious crime have dropped for two consecutive years. In 1983, the overall crime rate dropped 7 percent; and in 1982, the overall crime rate dropped 3 percent. In 1982 (the latest year for which figures are available), the murder rate dropped 5 percent, the robbery rate was down 6 percent, and forcible rape dropped 5 percent. Property crimes also declined: burglary decreased 9 percent, auto theft declined 2 percent, and theft dropped 1 percent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.36

Republicans believe that individuals are responsible for their actions. Those who commit crimes should be held strictly accountable by our system of justice. The primary objective of the criminal law is public safety; and those convicted of serious offenses must be jailed swiftly, surely, and long enough to assure public safety.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.36

Republicans respect the authority of State and local law enforcement officials. The proper federal role is to provide strong support and coordination for their efforts and to vigorously enforce federal criminal laws. By concentrating on repeat offenders, we are determined to take career criminals off the street.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.37

[p.37] Additionally, the federal law enforcement budget has been increased by nearly 50 percent. We added 1,900 new investigators and prosecutors to the federal fight against crime. We arrested more offenders and sent more of them to prison. Convictions in organized crime cases have tripled under the Reagan Administration. We set up task forces to strike at organized crime and narcotics. In the year since, 3,000 major drug traffickers have been indicted, and nearly 1,000 have already been convicted. We are helping local authorities search for missing children. We have a tough new law against child pornography. Republicans initiated a system for pooling information from local, State and federal law enforcement agencies: the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VI-CAP). Under this program, State and local agencies have the primary law enforcement responsibility, but cross-jurisdictional information is shared rapidly so that serial murderers and other violent criminals can be identified quickly and then apprehended.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.37

Under the outstanding leadership of President Reagan and Vice President Bush's Task Force on Organized Crime, the Administration established the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System. We set up an aggressive Marijuana Eradication and Suppression Program, gave the FBI authority to investigate drugs, and coordinated FBI and DEA efforts. We reaffirm that the eradication of illegal drug traffic is a top national priority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.37

We have levelled with the American people about the involvement of foreign governments, especially Communist dictators, in narcotics traffic: Cuba, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria—and now the Sandinistas in Nicaragua are international "pushers," selling slow death to young Americans in an effort to undermine our free society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.37

The Republican Party has deep concern about gratuitous sex and violence in the entertainment media, both of which contribute to the problem of crime against children and women. To the victims of such crimes who need protection, we gladly offer it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.37

We have begun to restore confidence in the criminal justice system. The Carter-Mondale legal policy had more concern for abstract criminal rights than for the victims of crime. It hurt those least able to defend themselves: the poor, the elderly, school children, and minorities. Republican leadership has redressed that imbalance. We have advanced such reforms as restitution by convicted criminals to their victims; providing victims with full explanations of what will occur before, [p.38] during, and after trial; and assuring that they may testify at both trial and sentencing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.38

The Republican Senate has twice passed, with one dissenting vote, a comprehensive federal anti-crime package which would:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.38

• Establish uniform, predictable and fair sentencing procedures, while abolishing the inconsistencies and anomalies of the current parole system;

• Strengthen the current bail procedures to allow the detention of dangerous criminals, who under current law are allowed to roam the streets pending trial;

• Increase dramatically the penalties for narcotic traffickers and enhance the ability of society to recoup ill-gotten gains from drug trafficking;

• Narrow the overly broad insanity defense; and

• Provide limited assistance to states and localities for the implementation of anti-crime programs of proven effectiveness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.38

In addition, the Republican Senate has overwhelmingly passed Administration-backed legislation which would:

• Restore a constitutionally valid federal death penalty;

• Modify the exclusionary rule in a way recently approved by the Supreme Court; and

• Curtail abuses by prisoners of federal habeas corpus procedures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.38

The Democrat bosses of the House of Representatives have refused to allow a vote on our initiatives by the House Judiciary Committee, perennial graveyard for effective anti-crime legislation, or by the full House despite our pressure and the public's demand.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.38

The best way to deter crime is to increase the probability of detection and to make punishment certain and swift. As a matter of basic philosophy, we advocate preventive rather than merely corrective measures. Republicans advocate sentencing reform and secure, adequate prison construction. We concur with the American people's approval of capital punishment where appropriate and will ensure that it is carried out humanely.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.38

Republicans will continue to defend the constitutional right to keep and bear arms. When this right is abused and armed felonies are [p.39] committed, we believe in stiff, mandatory sentencing. Law-abiding citizens exercising their constitutional rights must not be blamed for crime. Republicans will continue to seek repeal of legislation that restrains innocent citizens more than violent criminals.

Older Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.39

We reaffirm our commitment to the financial security, physical well-being, and quality of life of older Americans. Valuing them as a treasure of wisdom and experience, we pledge to utilize their unique talents to the fullest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.39

During the Carter-Mondale years, the silent thief of inflation ruthlessly preyed on the elderly's savings and benefits, robbing them of their retirement dollars and making many dependent on government handouts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.39

No more. Due to the success of Reaganomics, a retiree's private pension benefits are worth almost $1,000 more than if the 1980 inflation rate had continued. Average monthly Social Security benefits have increased by about $180 for a couple and by $100 a month for an individual. Because President Reagan forged a hard-won solution to the Social Security crisis, our elderly will not be repeatedly threatened with the program's impending bankruptcy as they were under the irresponsible policies of the Carter-Mondale Administration. We will work to repeal the Democrats' Social Security earnings-limitation, which penalizes the elderly by taking one dollar of their income for every two dollars earned.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.39

Older Americans are vital contributors to society. We will continue to remove artificial barriers which discourage their participation in community life. We reaffirm our traditional opposition to mandatory retirement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.39

For those who are unable to care for themselves, we favor incentives to encourage home-based care.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.39

We are combatting insidious crime against the elderly, many of whom are virtual prisoners in their own homes for fear of violence. We demand passage of the President's Comprehensive Crime Control package, stalled by the Democrat-controlled House Judiciary Committee. We support local initiatives to fight crime against the elderly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.39

Older Americans want to contribute, to live with the dignity and respect they have earned, and to have their special needs recognized. The Republican Party must never turn its back on our elderly, and we ensure that we will adequately provide for them during their golden years so they can continue to enjoy our country's high standard of living, which their labors have helped provide. [p.40]

Advancing Opportunity

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

Throughout this Platform are initiatives to provide an opportunity ladder for the poor, particularly among minorities, in both urban and rural areas. Unlike the Carter-Mondale Administration that locked them into the welfare trap, Republicans believe compassion dictates our offering real opportunities to minorities and the urban poor to achieve the American Dream.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

We have begun that effort; and as a pledge of its continuance, this Platform commits us, not to a war of class against class, but to a crusade for prosperity for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

For far too long, the poor have been trapped by the policies of the Democratic Party which treat those in the ghetto as if their interests were somehow different from our own. That is unfair to us all and an insult to the needy. Their goals are ours; their aspirations we share.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

To emphasize our common bond, we have addressed their needs in virtually every section of this Platform, rather than segregating them in a token plank. To those who would see the Republican future for urban America, and for those who deserve a better break, we offer the commitments that make up the sinew of this Platform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

Congress must pass enterprise zones, to draw a green line of prosperity around the red-lined areas of our cities and to help create jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

We offer the boldest breakthrough in housing policy since VA mortgages: we offer opportunities for private ownership of housing projects by the poor themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

We pledge comprehensive tax reform that will give America back what was its post-war glory: a pro-family tax code with a dramatic work incentive for low-income and welfare families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

We offer hope, not despair; more opportunities for education through vouchers and tuition tax relief; and increased participation in the private enterprise system through the reform of counterproductive taxes and regulations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.40

Together with our emphatic commitment to civil rights, Republican programs will achieve, for those who feel left out of our society's progress, what President Reagan has already secured for our country: a new beginning to move America to full employment and honest money for all. [p.41]

A Free and Just Society

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.41

In 1980, the Republican Party offered a vision of America's future that applied our traditions to today's problems. It is the vision of a society more free and more just than any in history. It required a break with the worn-out past, to redefine the role of government and its relationship with individuals and their institutions. Under President Reagan's leadership, the American people are making that vision a reality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.41

The American people want an opportunity society, not a welfare state. They want government to foster an environment in which individuals can develop their potential without hindrance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.41

The Constitution is the ultimate safeguard of individual rights. As we approach the Constitutional Bicentennial in 1987, Republicans are restoring its vitality, which had been transgressed by Democrats in Congress, the executive, and in the courts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.41

We are renewing the federal system, strengthening the States, and returning power to the people. That is the surest course to our common goal: a free and just society.

Individual Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.41

The Republican Party is the party of equal rights. From its founding in 1854, we have promoted equality of opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.41

The Republican Party reaffirms its support of the pluralism and freedom that have been part and parcel of this great country. In so doing, it repudiates and completely disassociates itself from people, organizations, publications, and entities which promulgate the practice of any form of bigotry, racism, anti-semitism, or religious intolerance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.41

Americans demand a civil rights policy premised on the letter of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That law requires equal rights; and it is our policy to end discrimination on account of sex, race, color, creed, or national origin. We have vigorously enforced civil rights statutes. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has recovered record amounts of back pay and other compensation for victims of employment discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.41

Just as we must guarantee opportunity, we oppose attempts to dictate results. We will resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment. Quotas are the most insidious [p.42] form of discrimination: reverse discrimination against the innocent. We must always remember that, in a free society, different individual goals will yield different results.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.42

The Republican Party has an historic commitment to equal rights for women. Republicans pioneered the right of women to vote, and our party was the first major party to advocate equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.42

President Reagan believes, as do we, that all members of our party are free to work individually for women's progress. As a party, we demand that there be no detriment to that progress or inhibition of women's rights to full opportunity and advancement within this society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.42

Participation by women in policy-making is a strong commitment by the Republican Party and by President Reagan. He pledged to appoint a woman to the United States Supreme Court. His promise was not made lightly; and when a vacancy occurred, he quickly filled it with the eminently qualified Sandra Day O'Connor of Arizona.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.42

His Administration has also sought the largest number of women in history to serve in appointive positions within the executive branch of government. Three women serve at Cabinet level, the most ever in history. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, Elizabeth Dole, Secretary of Transportation, and Margaret Heckler, Secretary of Health and Human Services, head a list of over 1,600 women who direct policy and operations of the federal government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.42

The Republican Party continues to search for interested and qualified women for all government positions. We will continue to increase the number of first-time appointments for women serving in government at all levels.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.42

Our record of economic recovery and growth is an additional important accomplishment for women. It provides a stark contrast to the Carter-Mondale legacy to women: a shrinking economy, limited job opportunities, and a declining standard of living.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.42

Whether working in or outside the home, women have benefitted enormously from the economic progress of the past four years. The Republican economic expansion added over six million new jobs to the economy. It increased labor force participation by women to historic highs. Women's employment has risen by almost four and one-half million since the last Carter-Mondale year. They obtained almost one million more new jobs than men did. Economic growth due to Republican [p.43] economic policies has produced a record number of jobs so that women who want to work outside the home now have unmatched opportunity. In fact, more than 50 percent of all women now have jobs outside the home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.43

The spectacular decline in inflation has immeasurably benefitted women working both in and outside the home. Under President Reagan, the cost increase in everyday essentials-food, clothing, housing, utilities-has been cut from the Carter-Mondale highs of over 10 percent a year to just over 4 percent today. We have ushered in an era of price stability that is stretching take-home pay hundreds of dollars farther. In 1982, for the first time in 10 years, women experienced a real increase in wages over inflation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.43

Lower interest rates have made it possible for more women, single and married, to own their homes and to buy their own automobiles and other consumer goods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.43

Our 25 percent reduction in marginal tax rates provided important benefits to women, as did the virtual elimination of the "widow's tax" which had jeopardized retirement savings of senior women. At the same time, we raised the maximum child care tax credit from $400 to $720 per family. We will continue to actively seek the elimination of discrimination against homemakers with regard to Individual Retirement Accounts so that single-income couples can invest the same amount in IRAs as two-income couples.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.43

In addition, President Reagan has won enactment of the Retirement Equity Act of 1984. That legislation, strongly supported by congressional Republicans, makes a comprehensive reform of private pension plans to recognize the special needs of women.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.43

Our record of accomplishment during the last four years is clear, but we intend to do even better over the next four.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.43

We will further reduce the "marriage penalty," a burden upon two-income, working families. We will work to remove artificial impediments in business and industry, such as occupational licensing laws, that limit job opportunities for women, minorities, and youth or prevent them from entering the labor force in the first place.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.43

For low-income women, the Reagan Administration has already given States and localities the authority, through the Job Training Partnership Act, to train more recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children for permanent, not make-work, jobs. We have increased child support collections from $1.5 billion to $2.4 billion and enacted a strong child support enforcement law. We will continue to stress welfare [p.44] reforms which promote individual initiative, the real solution to breaking the cycle of welfare dependency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.44

With women comprising an increasing share of the work force, it is essential that the employment opportunities created by our free market system be open to individuals without regard to their sex, race, religion, or ethnic origin. We firmly support an equal opportunity approach which gives women and minorities equal access to all jobs—including the traditionally higher-paying technical, managerial, and professional positions—and which guarantees that workers in those jobs will be compensated in accord with the laws requiring equal pay for equal work under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.44

We are creating an environment in which individual talents and creativity can be tapped to the fullest, while assuring that women have equal opportunity, security, and real choices for the promising future. For all Americans, we demand equal pay for equal work. With equal emphasis, we oppose the concept of "comparable worth." We believe that the free market system can determine the value of jobs better than any government authority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.44

The Department of Justice has identified 140 federal statutes with gender-based distinctions. Proposed legislation will correct all but 18; six are still under study; the rest, which actually favor women, will remain as is. President Reagan's Fifty States Project, designed to identify State laws discriminating against women, has encouraged 42 States to start searches, and 26 have begun amending their laws. The Department has filed more cases dealing with sex discrimination in employment than were filed during a comparable period in the Carter-Mondale Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.44

Working with Republicans in Congress, President Reagan has declared 1983-1992 the Decade of Disabled Persons. All Americans stand to gain when disabled citizens are assured equal opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.44

The Reagan Administration has an outstanding record in achieving accessibility for the handicapped. During the past two years, minimum guidelines have at last been adopted, and the Uniform Federal Accessibility Standard has become fact.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.44

The Republican Party realizes the great potential of members of the disabled community in this country. We support all efforts being made at the federal level to remove artificial barriers from our society so that disabled individuals may reach their potential and participate at the maximum level of their abilities in education, employment, and recreation. This includes the removal, insofar as practicable, of architectural, [p.45] transportation, communication and attitudinal barriers. We also support efforts to provide disabled Americans full access to voting facilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.45

We deplore discrimination because of handicap. The Reagan Administration was the first to combat the insidious practice of denying medical care or even food and water to disabled infants. This issue has vast implications for medical ethics, family autonomy, and civil rights. But we find no basis, whether in law or medicine or ethics, for denying necessities to an infant because of the child's handicap.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.45

We are committed to enforcing statutory prohibitions barring discrimination against any otherwise qualified handicapped individuals, in any program receiving federal financial assistance, solely by reason of their handicap.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.45

We recognize the need for watchful care regarding the procedural due process rights of persons with handicaps both to prevent their placement into inappropriate programs or settings and to ensure that their rights are represented by guardians or other advocates, if necessary.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.45

For handicapped persons who need care, we favor family-based care where possible, supported by appropriate and adequate incentives. We increased the tax credit for caring for dependents or spouses physically or mentally unable to care for themselves. We also provided a deduction of up to $1,500 per year for adopting a child with special needs that may otherwise make adoption difficult.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.45

We are committed to seeking out gifted children and their parents to make them knowledgeable of their educational rights.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.45

We reaffirm the right of all individuals freely to form, join, or assist labor organizations to bargain collectively, consistent with State laws and free from unnecessary government involvement. We support the fundamental principle of fairness in labor relations. We will continue the Reagan Administration's "open door" policy toward organized labor and its leaders. We reaffirm our long-standing support for the right of States to enact "Right-to-Work" laws under section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.45

The political freedom of every worker must be protected. Therefore, we strongly oppose the practice of using compulsory dues and fees for partisan political purposes. Also, the protection of all workers must be secured. Therefore, no worker should be coerced by violence or intimidation by any party to a labor dispute.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.45

The healthy mix of America's ethnic, cultural, and social heritage has always been the backbone of our nation and its progress throughout our [p.46] history. Without the contributions of innumerable ethnic and cultural groups, our country would not be where it is today.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.46

For millions of black Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and members of other minority groups, the past four years have seen a dramatic improvement in their ability to secure for themselves and for their children a better tomorrow.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.46

That is the American Dream. The policies of the Reagan Administration have opened literally millions of doors of opportunity for these Americans, doors which either did not exist or were rapidly being slammed shut by the no-growth policies of the Carter-Mondale Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.46

We Republicans are proud of our efforts on behalf of all minority groups, and we pledge to do even more during the next four years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.46

We will continue to press for enactment of economic and social policies that promote growth and stress individual initiative of minority Americans. Our tax system will continue to be overhauled and reformed by making it fairer and simpler, enabling the families of minorities to work and save for their future. We will continue to push for passage of enterprise zone legislation, now bottled up in the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives. That bill, discussed elsewhere in this platform, will help minority Americans living in cities and urban areas to get jobs, to start their own businesses, and to reap the fruits of entrepreneurship by tapping their individual initiative, energy, and creativity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.46

We honor and respect the contributions of minority Americans and will do all we can to see that our diversity is enhanced during the next four years. Active contributions by minorities are the threads that weave the fabric that is America and make us stronger as a nation. We recognize these individuals and their contributions and will continue to promote the kinds of policies that will make their dreams for a better America a reality. The party of Lincoln will remain the party of equal rights for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.46

We continue to favor whatever legislation may be necessary to permit American citizens residing in the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico to vote for president and vice president in national elections.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.46

We support the right of Indian Tribes to manage their own affairs and resources. Recognizing the government-to-government trust responsibility, we are equally committed to working towards the elimination of the conditions of dependency produced by federal control. The social and economic advancement of Native Americans depends upon changes they will chart for themselves. Recognizing their diversity, we support the President's policy of responsibly removing impediments to their self-sufficiency. We urge the nations of the Americas to learn from our past mistake's and to protect native populations from exploitation and abuse.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.47

[p.47] Native Hawaiians are the only indigenous people of our country who are not officially designated as Native Americans. They should share that honored title. We endorse efforts to preserve their culture as a unique element in the human tapestry that is America.

Family Protection

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.47

Republicans affirm the family as the natural and indispensable institution for human development. A society is only as strong as its families, for they nurture those qualities necessary to maintain and advance civilization.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.47

Healthy families inculcate values—integrity, responsibility, concern for others—in our youth and build social cohesion. We give high priority to their well-being. During the 1970s, America's families were ravaged by worsening economic conditions and a Washington elite unconcerned with them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.47

We support the concept of creating Family Education Accounts which would allow tax-deferred savings for investment in America's most crucial asset, our children, to assist low- and middle-income families in becoming self-reliant in meeting the costs of higher education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.47

In addition, to further assist the young families of America in securing the dream of homeownership, we would like to review the concept of Family Housing Accounts which would allow tax-exempt savings for a family's first home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.47

Preventing family dissolution, a leading cause of poverty, is vital. It has had a particularly tragic impact on the elderly, women, and minorities. Welfare programs have devastated low-income families and induced single parenthood among teens. We will review legislation and regulations to examine their impact on families and on parental rights and responsibilities. We seek to eliminate incentives for family break-up and to reverse the alarming rate of pregnancy outside marriage. Meanwhile, the Republican Party believes that society must do all that is possible to guarantee those young parents the opportunity to achieve their full educational and parental potential.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.47

Because of Republican tax cuts, single people and married people without dependents will have in 1984 basically the same average tax rates they had in 1960. The marriage penalty has been reduced. However, a couple with dependents still pays a greater portion of their income in taxes than in 1960. We reaffirm that the personal exemption for children be no less than for adults, and we will at least double its current level. The President's tax program also increased tax credits for child care expenses. We will encourage private sector initiatives to expand on-site child care facilities and options for working parents.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.48

[p.48] The problem of physical and sexual abuse of children and spouses requires careful consideration of its causes. In particular, gratuitous sex and violence in entertainment media contribute to this sad development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.48

We and the vast majority of Americans are repulsed by pornography. We will vigorously enforce constitutional laws to control obscene materials which degrade everyone, particularly women, and depict the exploitation of children. We commend the Reagan Administration for creating a commission on pornography and the President for signing the new law to eliminate child pornography. We stand with our President in his determination to solve the problem.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.48

We call upon the Federal Communications Commission, and all other federal, State, and local agencies with proper authority, to strictly enforce the law regarding cable pornography and to implement rules and regulations to clean up cable pornography and the abuse of telephone service for obscene purposes.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.48

Our history is a story about immigrants. We are proud that America still symbolizes hope and promise to the world. We have shown unparalleled generosity to the persecuted and to those seeking a better life. In return, they have helped to make a great land greater still.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.48

We affirm our country's absolute fight to control its borders. Those desiring to enter must comply with our immigration laws. Failure to do so not only is an offense to the American people but is fundamentally unjust to those in foreign lands patiently waiting for legal entry. We will preserve the principle of family reunification.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.48

With the estimates of the number of illegal aliens in the United States ranging as high as 12 million and better than one million more entering each year, we believe it is critical that responsible reforms of our immigration laws be made to enable us to regain control of our borders.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.48

The flight of oppressed people in search of freedom has created pressures beyond the capacity of any one nation. The refugee problem is global and requires the cooperation of all democratic nations. We commend the President for encouraging other countries to assume greater refugee responsibilities.

Our Constitutional System

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.48

Our Constitution, now almost 200 years old, provides for a federal system, with a separation of powers among the three branches of the national government. In that system, judicial power must be exercised with deference towards State and local officials; it must not expand [p.49] at the expense of our representative institutions. It is not a judicial function to reorder the economic, political, and social priorities of our nation. The intrusion of the courts into such areas undermines the stature of the judiciary and erodes respect for the rule of law. Where appropriate, we support congressional efforts to restrict the jurisdiction of federal courts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.49

We commend the President for appointing federal judges committed to the rights of law-abiding citizens and traditional family values. We share the public's dissatisfaction with an elitist and unresponsive federal judiciary. If our legal institutions are to regain respect, they must respect the people's legitimate interests in a stable, orderly society. In his second term, President Reagan will continue to appoint Supreme Court and other federal judges who share our commitment to judicial restraint.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.49

The Republican Party firmly believes that the best governments are those most accountable to the people. We heed Thomas Jefferson's warning: "When all government, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided of one government on another."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.49

For more responsible government, non-essential federal functions should be returned to the States and localities wherever prudent. They have the capability, knowledge, and sensitivity to local needs required to better administer and deliver public services. Their diverse problems require local understanding. The transfer of rights, responsibilities, and revenues to the "home front" will recognize the abilities of local government and the limitations of a distant federal government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.49

We commend the President for the bold initiatives of his "New Federalism." The enacted block grants discussed elsewhere in this Platform are a positive step. But the job of making government more accountable to the people has just begun. We strongly favor the expansion of block-grant funding and other means to restore our nation's federal foundation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.49

More than 40 years ago, a grave injustice was done to many Americans of Japanese ancestry. Uprooted from their homes in a time of crisis, loyal citizens and residents were treated in a way which contravened the fundamental principles of our people. We join them and their descendants in assuring that the deprivation of rights they suffered shall never again be permitted in this land of liberty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.49

To benefit all Americans, we support the privatization of government services whenever possible. This maximizes consumer freedom and choice. It reduces the size and cost of government, thus lessening the burden on taxpayers. It stimulates the private sector, increases prosperity, and [p.50] creates jobs. It demonstrates the primacy of individual action which, within a free market economy, can address human needs most effectively.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.50

Within the executive branch, the Reagan Administration has made government work more efficiently. Under the direction of the Office of Personnel Management, non-defense government employment was reduced by over 100,000. The overwhelming majority of federal employees are dedicated and hard-working. Indeed, we have proposed to base their pay and retention upon performance so that outstanding federal employees may be properly rewarded.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.50

The federal government owns almost a third of our nation's land. With due recognition of the needs of the federal government and mindful of environmental, recreational, and national defense needs, we believe the sale of some surplus land will increase productivity and increase State and local tax bases. It will also unleash the creative talents of free enterprise in defense of resource and environmental protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.50

The expression of individual political views is guaranteed by the First Amendment; government should protect, not impinge upon First Amendment rights. Free individuals must have unrestricted access to the process of self-government. We deplore the growing labyrinth of bewildering regulations and obstacles which have increased the power of political professionals and discouraged the participation of average Americans. Even well-intentioned restrictions on campaign activity stifle free speech and have a chilling effect on spontaneous political involvement by our citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.50

The holding of public office in our country demands the highest degree of commitment to integrity, openness, and honesty by candidates running for all elective offices. Without such a commitment, public confidence rapidly erodes. Republicans therefore reaffirm our commitment to the fair and consistent application of financial disclosure laws. We will continue our support for full disclosure by all high officials of the government and candidates in positions of public trust. This extends to the financial holdings of spouses or dependents, of which the official has knowledge, financial interest, or benefit. We will continue to hold all public officials to the highest ethical standards and will oppose the inconsistent application of those standards on the basis of gender.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.50

Republicans want to encourage, not restrict, free discourse and association. The interplay of concerned individuals, sometimes acting collectively to pursue their goals, has led to healthy and vigorous debate and better understanding of complex issues. We will remove obstacles to grass-roots participation in federal elections and will reduce, not increase, the federal role.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.51

[p.51] Republicans believe that strong, competitive political parties contribute mightily to coherent national policies, effective representation, and responsive government. Forced taxpayer financing of campaign activities is political tyranny. We oppose it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.51

In light of the inhibiting role federal election laws and regulations have had, Congress should consider abolishing the Federal Election Commission.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.51

We are the party of limited government. We are deeply suspicious of the amount of information which governments collect. Governments limited in size and scope best ensure our people's privacy. Particularly in the computer age, we must ensure that no unnecessary information is demanded and that no disclosure is made which is not approved. We oppose national identification cards.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.51

We support reasonable methods to fight those who undermine national security, prevent crosschecks of government benefit records to conceal welfare fraud, or misuse financial secrecy laws to hide their narcotics profits under the guise of a right to privacy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.51

Private property is the cornerstone of our liberty and the free enterprise system. The right of property safeguards for citizens all things of value: their land, merchandise and money, their religious convictions, their safety and liberty, and their right of contract to produce and sell goods and services. Republicans reaffirm this God-given and inalienable right.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.51

The unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We therefore reaffirm our support for a human life amendment to the Constitution, and we endorse legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to unborn children. We oppose the use of public revenues for abortion and will eliminate funding for organizations which advocate or support abortion. We commend the efforts of those individuals and religious and private organizations that are providing positive alternatives to abortion by meeting the physical, emotional, and financial needs of pregnant women and offering adoption services where needed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.51

We applaud President Reagan's fine record of judicial appointments, and we reaffirm our support for the appointment of judges at all levels of the judiciary who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life. [p.52]

America Secure and the World at Peace

The Future of Our Foreign Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.52

President Reagan has restored the American people's faith in the principles of liberal democracy. Today, we have more confidence in the self-evident truths of democracy than at any time since World War II.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.52

The first principle of that faith is that all human beings are created equal in the natural human right to govern themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.52

Just as we assert the right of self-government, it follows that all people throughout the world should enjoy that same human right. This moral principle must be the ideal by which our policy toward other nations is directed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.52

We Republicans emphasize that there is a profound moral difference between the actions and ideals of Marxist-Leninist regimes and those of democratic governments, and we reject the notions of guilt and apology which animate so much of the foreign policy of the Democratic Party. We believe American foreign policy can only succeed when it is based on unquestioned faith in a single idea: the idea that all human beings are created equal, the founding idea of democracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.52

The supreme purpose of our foreign policy must be to maintain our freedom in a peaceful international environment in which the United States and our allies and friends are secure against military threats, and democratic governments are flourishing in a world of increasing prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.52

This we pledge to our people and to future generations: we shall keep the peace by keeping our country stronger than any potential adversary.

The Americas

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.52

Our future is intimately tied to the future of the Americas. Family, language, culture, and trade link us closely with both Canada, our largest trading partner, and our southern neighbors.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.52

The people of both Mexico and Canada are of fundamental importance to the people of the United States of America, not just because we share a common border, but because we are neighbors who share both history and a common interest for the present and future. Under President Reagan, our relations with both countries are being carried out in a serious, straight-forward manner in a climate of mutual respect. As our [p.53] countries seek solutions to common problems on the basis of our mutual interests, we recognize that each country has a unique contribution to make in working together to resolve mutual problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.53

The security and freedom of Central America are indispensable to our own. In addition to our concern for the freedom and overall welfare of our neighbors to the south, two-thirds of our foreign trade passes through the Caribbean and the Panama Canal. The entire region, however, is gravely threatened by Communist expansion, inspired and supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba. We endorse the principles of the Monroe Doctrine as the strongest foundation for United States policy throughout the hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.53

We encourage even closer ties with the countries of South America and consider the strengthening of representative governments there as a contribution to the peace and security of us all. We applaud the Organization of American States for its efforts to bring peace and freedom to the entire hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.53

Republicans have no illusions about Castro's brutal dictatorship in Cuba. Only our firmness will thwart his attempts to export terrorism and subversion, to destroy democracy, and to smuggle narcotics into the United States. But we also extend a constructive, hopeful policy toward the Cuban people. Castro resents and resists their desire for freedom. He fears Radio Marti, President Reagan's initiative to bring truth to our Cuban neighbors. He is humiliated by the example of Cuban-born Americans, whose spiritual and material accomplishments contrast starkly with Communist failures in their birthplace. We believe in friendship between the Cuban and the American peoples, and we envision a genuine democracy in Cuba's future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.53

We support the President in following the unanimous findings of the Bipartisan Commission on Central America, first proposed by the late Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson of Washington.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.53

Today, democracy is under assault throughout the hemisphere. Marxist Nicaragua threatens not only Costa Rica and Honduras, but also El Salvador and Guatemala. The Sandinista regime is building the largest military force in Central America, importing Soviet equipment, Eastern bloc and PLO advisors, and thousands of Cuban mercenaries. The Sandinista government has been increasingly brazen in its embrace of Marxism-Leninism. The Sandinistas have systematically persecuted free institutions, including synagogue and church, schools, the private sector, the free press, minorities, and families and tribes throughout Nicaragua. We support continued assistance to the democratic freedom fighters [p.54] in Nicaragua. Nicaragua cannot be allowed to remain a Communist sanctuary, exporting terror and arms throughout the region. We condemn the Sandinista government's smuggling of illegal drugs into the United States as a crime against American society and international law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.54

The heroic effort to build democracy in El Salvador has been brutally attacked by Communist guerrillas supported by Cuba and the Sandinistas. Their violence jeopardizes improvements in human rights, delays economic growth, and impedes the consolidation of democracy. El Salvador is nearer to Texas than Texas is to New England, and we cannot be indifferent to its fate. In the tradition of President Truman's postwar aid to Europe, President Reagan has helped the people of El Salvador defend themselves. Our opponents object to that assistance, citing concern for human rights. We share that concern, and more than that, we have taken steps to help curb abuses. We have firmly and actively encouraged human rights reform, and results have been achieved. In judicial reform, the murderers of the American nuns in 1980 have been convicted and sentenced; and in political reform, the right to vote has been exercised by 80 percent of the voters in the fair, open elections of 1982 and 1984. Most important, if the Communists seize power there, human rights will be extinguished, and tens of thousands will be driven from their homes. We therefore support the President in his determination that the Salvadoran people will shape their own future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.54

We affirm President Reagan's declaration at Normandy: there is a profound moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest and territorial expansion. We applaud the liberation of man and mind from oppression everywhere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.54

We applaud the liberation of Grenada, and we honor those who took part in it. Grenada is small, and its people few; but we believe the principle established there, that freedom is worth defending, is of monumental importance. It challenges the Brezhnev doctrine. It is an example to the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.54

The Caribbean Basin Initiative is a sound program for the strengthening of democratic institutions through economic development based on free people and free market principles. The Republican Party strongly supports this program of integrated, mutually reinforcing measures in the fields of trade, investment, and financial assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.54

We recognize our special-valued relationship with Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands; and we will support special measures to ensure that they will benefit and prosper from the Caribbean Basin Initiative, thereby reinforcing a stronghold of democracy and free enterprise in the Caribbean. The Republican Party reaffirms its support of the right of Puerto Rico to be admitted into the Union after it freely so determines, through the [p.55] passage of an admission bill which will provide for a smooth fiscal transition, recognize the concept of a multicultural society for its citizens, and secure the opportunity to retain their Spanish language and traditions.

The Soviet Union

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.55

Stable and peaceful relations with the Soviet Union are possible and desirable, but they depend upon the credibility of American strength and determination. As our power waned in the 1970s, our very weakness was provocative. The Soviets exploited it in Afghanistan, the Middle East, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Western Hemisphere. Our policy of peace through strength encourages freedom-loving people everywhere and provides hope for those who look forward one day to enjoying the fruits of self-government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.55

We hold a sober view of the Soviet Union. Its globalist ideology and its leadership obsessed with military power make it a threat to freedom and peace on every continent. The Carter-Mondale Administration ignored that threat, and the Democratic candidates underestimate it today. The Carter-Mondale illusion that the Soviet leaders share our ideals and aspirations is not only false but a profound danger to world peace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.55

Republicans reaffirm our belief that Soviet behavior at the negotiating table cannot be divorced from Soviet behavior elsewhere. Over-eagerness to sign agreements with the Soviets at any price, fashionable in the Carter-Mondale Administration, should never blind us to this reality. Any future agreement with the Soviets must require full compliance, be fully verifiable, and contain suitable sanctions for non-compliance. Carter-Mondale efforts to cover up Soviet violations of the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitations agreement and Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty emboldened the Soviets to strengthen their military posture. We condemn these violations, as well as recent violations of chemical and toxic weapons treaties in Afghanistan, Southeast Asia, and the Iran-Iraq war. We insist on full Soviet compliance with all treaties and executive agreements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.55

We seek to deflect Soviet policy away from aggression and toward peaceful international conduct. To that end, we will seek substantial reductions in nuclear weapons, rather than merely freezing nuclear weapons at their present dangerous level. We will continue multilateral efforts to deny advanced Western technology to the Soviet war machine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.55

We will press for Soviet compliance with all international agreements, including the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and the U. N. Declaration on Human Rights. We will continue to protest Soviet anti-semitism and human rights violations. We admire the courage of such people as Andrei Sakharov, his wife Yelena Bonnet, Anatole Shcharansky, Ida Nudel and Josef Begun, whose defiance of Soviet repression stands as a testament to the greatness [p.56] of the human spirit. We will press the Soviet Union to permit free emigration of Jews, Christians, and oppressed national minorities. Finally, because the peoples of the Soviet empire share our hope for the future, we will strengthen our information channels to encourage them in their struggle for individual freedom, national self-determination, and peace.

Europe

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.56

Forty years after D-Day, our troops remain in Europe. It has been a long watch, but a successful one. For four decades, we have kept the peace where, twice before, our valiant fought and died. We learned from their sacrifice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.56

We would be in mortal danger were Western Europe to come under Soviet domination. Fragmenting NATO is the immediate objective of the Soviet military buildup and Soviet subversion. During the Carter-Mondale years, the Soviets gained a substantial military and diplomatic advantage in Europe. They now have three times as many tanks as we do and almost a monopoly on long-range theater nuclear forces. To keep the peace, the Reagan-Bush Administration is offsetting the Soviet military threat with the defensive power of the Alliance. We are deploying Pershing II and Cruise missiles. Remembering the Nazi Reich, informed voters on both sides of the Atlantic know they cannot accept Soviet military superiority in Europe. That is why the British, Italian, and West German parliaments have approved Euromissile deployments, and why new NATO base agreements were concluded successfully in Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and Greece. This is a victory for the Reagan-Bush Administration and our European friends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.56

The United States again leads the Alliance by offering hope of a safer future. As America's strength is restored, so is our allies' confidence in the future of freedom. We will encourage them to increase their contributions to our common defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.56

To strengthen NATO's Southern Flank, we place the highest priority on resolving the Cyprus dispute and maintaining our support for both Greece and Turkey, with non-recognition of regimes imposed in occupied territory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.56

We share a deep concern for peace and justice in Northern Ireland and condemn all violence and terrorism in that strife-torn land.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.56

We stand in solidarity with the peoples of Eastern Europe: the Poles, Hungarians, East Germans, Czechs, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Baltic peoples, Armenians, and all captive nations who struggle daily against their Soviet masters. The heroic efforts of Lech Walesa [p.57] and the Solidarity movement in Poland are an inspiration to all people yearning to be free. We are not neutral in their struggle, wherever the flame of liberty brightens the black night of Soviet oppression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.57

The tragic repression of the Polish people by the Soviet-inspired military dictatorship in Poland has touched the American people. We support policies to provide relief for Polish nationals seeking asylum and refuge in the United States.

The Middle East

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.57

President Reagan's Middle East policy has been flexible enough to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances, yet consistent and credible so that all nations recognize our determination to protect our vital interests. The President's skillful crisis management throughout the Iran-Iraq war has kept that conflict from damaging our vital interests. His peace efforts have won strong bipartisan support and international applause. And his willingness to stand up to Libya has made peace-loving states in the region feel more secure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.57

The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which surprised the Carter-Mondale Administration, brought Soviet forces less than 400 miles from the strategic Straits of Hormuz. The seizure of American hostages in Iran that year caught the United States unprepared and unable to respond. Lebanon is still in turmoil, despite our best efforts to foster stability in that unhappy country. With the Syrian leadership increasingly subject to Soviet influence, and the Palestine Liberation Organization and its homicidal subsidiaries taking up residence in Syria, U.S. policy toward the region must remain vigilant and strong. Republicans reaffirm that the United States should not recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as that organization continues to promote terrorism, rejects Israel's right to exist, and refuses to accept U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.57

The bedrock of that protection remains, as it has for over three decades, our moral and strategic relationship with Israel. We are allies in the defense of freedom. Israel's strength, coupled with United States assistance, is the main obstacle to Soviet domination of the region. The sovereignty, security, and integrity of the state of Israel are moral imperatives. We pledge to help maintain Israel's qualitative military edge over its adversaries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.57

Today, relations between the United States and Israel are closer than ever before. Under President Reagan, we have moved beyond mere words to extensive political, military, and diplomatic cooperation. U.S.-Israeli strategic planning groups are coordinating our joint defense efforts, and we are directly supporting projects to augment Israel's defense industrial base. We support the legislation pending for an Israel-U.S. free trade area.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.58

[p.58] We recognize that attacks in the U.N. against Israel are but thinly disguised attacks against the United States, for it is our shared ideals and democratic way of life that are their true target. Thus, when a U.N. agency denied Israel's right to participate, we withheld our financial support until that action was corrected. And we have worked behind the scenes and in public in other international organizations to defeat discriminatory attacks against our ally.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.58

Our determination to participate actively in the peace process begun at Camp David has won us support over the past four years from moderate Arab states. Israel's partner in the Camp David Accords, Egypt, with American support, has been a constructive force for stability. We pledge continued support to Egypt and other moderate regimes against Soviet and Libyan subversion, and we look to them to contribute to our efforts for a long-term settlement of the region's destructive disputes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.58

We believe that Jerusalem should remain an undivided city with free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths.

Asia and the Pacific

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.58

Free Asia is a tremendous success. Emulating the United States economically and politically, our friends in East Asia have had the world's highest economic growth rates. Their economies represent the dynamism of free markets and free people, in stark contrast to the dreary rigidity and economic failures of centrally planned socialism. U.S. investments in Asia now exceed $30 billion, and our annual trade surpasses that with any other region.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.58

Unable to match this progress, the Soviet Union, North Korea, and Vietnam threaten the region with military aggression and political intimidation. The Soviet rape of Afghanistan, the criminal destruction of the KAL airliner, the genocide in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the steady growth of Soviet SS-20 forces in East Asia, the rapid increase of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, the continuing build-up of North Korean forces and the brutal bombing of South Korean leaders in Rangoon, the recent deployment of Soviet forces at Cam Ranh Bay, the continued occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese, and chemical and biological weapons attacks against defenseless civilian populations in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia are some of the more obvious threats to the peace of Asia and to America's friends there.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.58

Republicans salute the brave people of Afghanistan, struggling to regain their freedom and independence. We will continue to support the [p.59] freedom fighters and pledge our continuing humanitarian aid to the thousands of Afghan refugees who have sought sanctuary in Pakistan and elsewhere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.59

To preserve free Asia's economic gains and enhance our security, we will continue economic and security assistance programs with the front-line states of Korea, Thailand, and Pakistan. We will maintain defense facilities in Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and the Indian Ocean to protect vital sea lanes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.59

We will promote economic growth while we strengthen human rights and the commitment to both democracy and free markets. We will help friendly nations deal with refugees and secure their help against drug cultivation and trafficking.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.59

Our relations with Japan are central to America's role in the Far East, and they have never been better. The world's second-largest industrial power can make an increasingly important contribution to peace and economic development over much of Asia. We applaud Japan's commitment to defend its territory, air space, and sea lanes. We are heartened by its increases in defense spending and urge Japan to further expand its contribution to the region's defense. We have made progress in our trade relations and affirm that, with good will on both sides, broader agreement is likely.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.59

In keeping with the pledge of the 1980 Platform, President Reagan has continued the process of developing our relationship with the People's Republic of China. We commend the President's initiatives to build a solid foundation for the long-term relations between the United States and the People's Republic, emphasizing peaceful trade and other policies to promote regional peace. Despite fundamental differences in many areas, both nations share an important common objective: opposition to Soviet expansionism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.59

At the same time, we specifically reaffirm our concern for, and our moral commitment to, the safety and security of the 18 million people on Taiwan. We pledge that this concern will be constant, and we will continue to regard any attempt to alter Taiwan's status by force as a threat to regional peace. We endorse, with enthusiasm, President Reagan's affirmation that it is the policy of the United States to support and fully implement the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act. In addition, we fully support self determination for the people of Hong Kong.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.59

The Republic of Korea is a stalwart ally. To deter aggression, we will maintain our forces there which contribute to our common defense. Our growing economic relations are good for both countries and enhance our influence to foster a democratic evolution there.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.60

[p.60] We prize our special relationship with the Philippines. We will make every effort to promote economic development and democratic principles they seek. Because the Clark and Subic Bay bases are vital to American interests in the Western Pacific, we are committed to their continued security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.60

We recognize the close and special ties we have maintained with Thailand since the days of Abraham Lincoln. Thailand stands tall against the imperialist aggression of Vietnam and the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.60

We hail the economic achievements of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. We will strengthen economic and political ties to them and support their opposition to the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.60

Almost a decade after our withdrawal from Vietnam, thousands of Americans still do not know the fate of their fathers, brothers, and sons missing in action. Our united people call upon Vietnam and Laos with one voice: return our men, end the grief of the innocent, and give a full accounting of our POW-MIAs. We will press for access to investigate crash sites throughout Indochina. We support the efforts of our private citizens who have worked tirelessly for many years on this issue.

Africa

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.60

Africa faces a new colonialism. The tripartite axis of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Libya has unleashed war and privation upon the continent. We are committed to democracy in Africa and to the economic development that will help it flourish. That is why we will foster free-market, growth-oriented, and liberalized trading policies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.60

As part of reforming the policies of the International Development Association, we have assisted in directing a larger proportion of its resources to sub-Saharan Africa. To nurture the spirit of individual initiative in Africa, our newly created African Development Foundation will work with African entrepreneurs at the village level. In addition, through our rejection of the austerity programs of international organizations, we are bringing new hope to the people of Africa that they will join in the benefits of the growing, dynamic world economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.60

We will continue to provide necessary security and economic assistance to African nations with which we maintain good relations to help them develop the infrastructure of democratic capitalism so essential to economic growth and individual accomplishment. We will encourage our allies in Europe and east Asia to coordinate their assistance efforts so that [p.61] the industrialized countries will be able to contribute effectively to the economic development of the continent. We believe that, if given the choice, the nations of Africa will reject the model of Marxist state-controlled economies in favor of the prosperity and quality of life that free economies and free people can achieve.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.61

We will continue to assist threatened African governments to protect themselves and will work with them to protect their continent from subversion and to safeguard their strategic minerals. The Reagan-Bush Administration will continue its vigorous efforts to achieve Namibian independence and the expulsion of Cubans from occupied Angola.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.61

We reaffirm our commitment to the rights of all South Africans. Apartheid is repugnant. In South Africa, as elsewhere on the continent, we support well-conceived efforts to foster peace, prosperity, and stability.

Foreign Assistance and Regional Security

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.61

Developing nations look to the United States for counsel and guidance in achieving economic opportunity, prosperity, and political freedom. Democratic capitalism has demonstrated, in the United States and elsewhere, an unparalleled ability to achieve political and civil rights and long-term prosperity for ever-growing numbers of people. We are confident that democracy and free enterprise can succeed everywhere. A central element in our programs of economic assistance should be to share with others the beneficial ideas of democratic capitalism, which have led the United States to economic prosperity and political freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.61

Our bilateral economic assistance program should be directed at promoting economic growth and prosperity in developing nations. Therefore, we support recently enacted legislation untying our programs from the policies of austerity of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.61

We have changed the Carter-Mondale policy of channeling increasing proportions of U.S. assistance through multinational institutions beyond our control. We strongly support President Reagan's decision not to increase funding for the International Development Association because of its predilection for nations with state-dominated economic systems. Our contribution to the International Fund for Agricultural Development will be eliminated due to its consistent bias toward non-market economies. And the anti-American bureaucracy of the U.N.'s Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) will no longer be supported by U.S. taxpayers. We will not support international organizations inconsistent with our interests. In particular, we will work to eliminate their funding of Communist states.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.62

[p.62] Prominent among American ideals is the sanctity of the family. Decisions on family size should be made freely by each family. We support efforts to enhance the freedom of such family decisions. We will endeavor to assure that those who are responsible for our programs are more sensitive to the cultural needs of the countries to which we give assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.62

As part of our commitment to the family and our opposition to abortion, we will eliminate all U.S. funding for organizations which in any way support abortion or research on abortion methods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.62

To strengthen bilateral foreign assistance, we will reduce or eliminate assistance to nations with foreign policies contrary to our interests and strengthen the Secretary of State's hand by ensuring his direct control over assistance programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.62

Foreign military assistance strengthens our security by enabling friendly nations to provide for their own defense, including defense against terrorism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.62

Terrorism is a new form of warfare against the democracies. Supported by the Soviet Union and others, it ranges from PLO murder to the attempted assassination of the Pope. Combatting it requires an integrated effort of our diplomacy, armed forces, intelligence services, and law-enforcement organizations. Legislative obstacles to international cooperation against terrorism must be repealed, followed by a vigorous program to enhance friendly nations' counter-terrorist forces. In particular, we seek the cooperation of our hemispheric neighbors to deal comprehensively with the Soviet and Cuban terrorism now afflicting us.

International Organizations

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.62

Americans cannot count on the international organizations to guarantee our security or adequately protect our interests. The United States hosts the headquarters of the United Nations, pays a fourth of its budget, and is proportionally the largest contributor to most international organizations; but many members consistently vote against us. As Soviet influence in these organizations has grown, cynicism and the double standard have become their way of life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.62

This is why President Reagan announced that we will leave the worst of these organizations, UNESCO. He has put the U.N. on notice that the U.S. will strongly oppose the use of the U.N. to foster anti-semitism, Soviet espionage, and hostility to the United States. The President decisively rejected the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea and embarked instead on a dynamic national oceans policy, animated by our traditional [p.63] commitment to freedom of the seas. That pattern will be followed with regard to U.N. meddling in Antarctica and outer space. Enthusiastically endorsing those steps, we will apply the same standards to all international organizations. We will monitor their votes and activities, and particularly the votes of member states which receive U.S. aid. Americans will no longer silently suffer the hypocrisy of many of these organizations.

Human Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.63

The American people believe that United States foreign policy should be animated by the cause of human rights for all the world's peoples.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.63

A well-rounded human rights policy is concerned with specific individuals whose rights are denied by governments of the right or left, and with entire peoples whose Communist governments deny their claim to human rights as individuals and acknowledge only the "rights" derived from membership in an economic class. Republicans support a human rights policy which includes both these concerns.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.63

Republican concern for human rights also extends to the institutions of free societies—political parties, the free press, business and labor organizations—which embody and protect the exercise of individual rights. The National Endowment for Democracy and other instruments of U.S. diplomacy foster the growth of these vital institutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.63

By focusing solely on the shortcomings of non-Communist governments, Democrats have missed the forest for the trees, failing to recognize that the greatest threat to human rights is the Communist system itself.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.63

Republicans understand that the East-West struggle has profound human rights implications. We know that Communist nations, which profess dedication to human rights, actually use their totalitarian systems to violate human rights in an organized, systematic fashion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.63

The Reagan-Bush Administration has worked for positive human rights changes worldwide. Our efforts have ranged from support for the Helsinki Accords to our support of judicial and political reform in El Salvador.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.63

The Republican Party commends President Reagan for accepting the Honorary Chairmanship of the campaign to erect a U.S. Holocaust Memorial in Washington, D.C. and supports the efforts of the U.S. Holocaust Council in erecting such a museum and educational center. The museum will bear witness to the victims and survivors of the Holocaust.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.63

For Republicans, the struggle for human freedom is more than an end in itself. It is part of a policy that builds a foundation for peace. When [p.64] people are free to express themselves and choose democratic governments, their free private institutions and electoral power constitute a constraint against the excesses of autocratic rulers. We agree with President Truman, who said: "In the long run our security and the world's hopes for peace lie not in measures of defense or in the control of weapons, but in the growth and expansion of freedom and self-government."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.64

To this end, we pledge our continued effort to secure for all people the inherent, God-given rights that Americans have been privileged to enjoy for two centuries.

Advocacy for Democracy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.64

To promote and sustain the cause of democracy, America must be an active participant in the political competition between the principles of Communism and of democracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.64

To do this, America needs a strong voice and active instruments of public diplomacy to counter the Communist bloc's massive effort to disinform and deceive world public opinion. Republicans believe that truth is America's most powerful weapon.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.64

The Reagan-Bush Administration has elevated the stature of public diplomacy in the councils of government and increased the United States Information Agency budget by 44 percent in four years. New programs have been launched in television, citizen exchanges, and dissemination of written information. The National Endowment for Democracy has enlisted the talent of private American institutions, including the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, to educate our friends overseas in the ways of democratic institutions. A sustained billion-dollar effort is modernizing and expanding the Voice of America, strengthening the Voice's signal, lengthening its broadcasts, improving its content, adding new language services and replacing antiquated equipment. Radio Marti, the new broadcast service to Cuba, will begin to broadcast the truth about Cuba to the Cuban people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.64

Initial steps have been taken to improve the capabilities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which serve the captive nations of the Soviet bloc. We pledge to carry out a thorough improvement program for these radios, including new transmitters and other means of penetrating the jamming which denies the RFE/RL signal to millions of captive people, including the increasingly discontented Soviet minorities, behind the Iron Curtain.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.64

Because of the importance we place on people-to-people exchange programs, Republicans support the dedicated work of Peace Corps [p.65] volunteers. America must nurture good relations not only with foreign governments but with other peoples as well. By encouraging the free flow of ideas and information, America is helping to build the infrastructure of democracy and demonstrating the strength of our belief in the democratic example. The United States Peace Corps, reflecting traditional American values, will follow the White House initiative promoting free enterprise development overseas in third world countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.65

The tradition of addressing the world's peoples, advocating the principles and goals of democracy and freedom, is as old as our Republic. Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence "with a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." This popular advocacy is even more important today in the global struggle between totalitarianism and freedom.

The Future of Our National Security

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.65

Republicans look to the future with confidence that we have the will, the weapons, and the technology to preserve America as the land of the free and the home of the brave. We stand united with President Reagan in his hope that American scientists and engineers can produce the technology and the hardware to make nuclear war obsolete.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.65

The prospect for peace is excellent because America is strong again. America's defenses have only one purpose: to assure that our people and free institutions survive and flourish.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.65

Our security requires both the capability to defend against aggression and the will to do so. Together, will and capability deter aggression. That is why the danger of war has grown more remote under President Reagan.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.65

When he took office, defense policy was in disarray. The Carter-Mondale Administration had diminished our military capability and had confused the pursuit of peace with accommodating totalitarianism. It could not respond to the determined growth of Soviet military power and a more aggressive Soviet foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.65

We are proud of a strong America. Our military strength exists for the high moral purpose of deterring conflict, not initiating war. The deterrence of aggression is ethically imperative. That is why we have restored America's defense capability and renewed our country's will. Americans are again proud to serve in the Armed Forces and proud of those who serve.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.65

We reaffirm the principle that the national security policy of the United States should be based upon a strategy of peace through strength, a goal of the 1980 Republican Platform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

[p.66] Maintaining a technological superiority, the historical foundation of our policy of deterrence, remains essential. In other areas, such as our maritime forces, we should continue to strive for qualitative superiority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

President Reagan committed our nation to a modernized strategic and theater nuclear force sufficient to deter attack against the United States and our allies, while pursuing negotiations for balanced, verifiable reductions of nuclear weapons under arms control agreements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

In order to deter, we must be sufficiently strong to convince a potential adversary that under no circumstances would it be to its advantage to initiate conflict at any level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

We pledge to do everything necessary so that, in case of conflict, the United States would clearly prevail.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

We will continue to modernize our deterrent capability, while negotiating for verifiable arms control. We will continue the policies that have given fresh confidence and new hope to freedom-loving people everywhere.

Arms Control for the Future

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

Americans, while caring deeply about arms control, realize that it is not an end in itself, but can be a major component of a foreign and defense policy which keeps America free, strong, and independent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

Sharing the American people's realistic view of the Soviet Union, the Reagan Administration has pursued arms control agreements that would reduce the level of nuclear weaponry possessed by the superpowers. President Reagan has negotiated with flexibility, and always from a position of strength.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

In the European theater, President Reagan proposed the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles. In the START talks with the Soviet Union, he proposed the "build-down" which would eliminate from the U.S. and Soviet arsenals two existing nuclear warheads for each new warhead.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.66

The Soviet Union has rejected every invitation by President Reagan to resume talks, refusing to return unless we remove the Pershing II and Cruise missiles which we have placed in Europe at the request of our NATO allies. Soviet intransigence is designed to force concessions from the United States even before negotiations begin. We will not succumb to this strategy. The Soviet Union will return to the bargaining table only when it recognizes that the United States will not make unilateral concessions or allow the Soviet Union to achieve nuclear superiority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.67

[p.67] The Soviet Union, by engaging in a sustained pattern of violations of arms control agreements, has cast severe doubt on its own willingness to negotiate and comply with new agreements in a spirit of good faith. Agreements violated by the Soviet Union include SALT, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, the Helsinki Accords, and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention of 1972. This pattern of Soviet behavior is clearly designed to obtain a Soviet strategic advantage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.67

To deter Soviet violations of arms control agreements, the United States must maintain the capability to verify, display a willingness to respond to Soviet violations which have military significance, and adopt a policy whereby the defense of the United States is not constrained by arms control agreements violated by the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.67

We support the President's efforts to curb the spread of nuclear weapons and to improve international controls and safeguards over sensitive nuclear technologies. The President's non-proliferation policy has emphasized results, rather than rhetoric, as symbolized by the successful meeting of nuclear supplier states in Luxembourg in July of this year. We endorse the President's initiative on comprehensive safeguards and his efforts to encourage other supplier states to support such measures.

Defense Resources

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.67

The first duty of government is to provide for the common defense. That solemn responsibility was neglected during the Carter-Mondale years. At the end of the Eisenhower era, nearly 48 percent of the federal budget was devoted to defense programs, representing 9.1 percent of our gross national product. By 1980, under Carter-Mondale, defense spending had fallen to only 5 percent of gross national product and represented only 24 percent of the federal budget. The Reagan Administration has begun to correct the weaknesses caused by that situation by prudently increasing defense resources. We must continue to devote the resources essential to deter a Soviet threat—a threat which has grown and should be met by an improved and modernized U.S. defense capability. Even so, the percentage of the Reagan Administration budget spent on defense is only about half that of the Eisenhower-Kennedy era.

Readiness

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.67

In 1980, our military forces were not ready to perform their missions in the event of emergency. Many planes could not fly for lack of spare parts; ships could not sail for lack of skilled personnel; supplies were [p.68] insufficient for essential training or sustained combat. Today, readiness and sustainability have improved dramatically. We not only have more equipment, but it is in operating condition. Our military personnel have better training, pride, and confidence. We have improved their pay and benefits. Recruiting and retaining competent personnel is no longer a problem.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.68

Under the Democrats, the All-Volunteer Force was headed for disastrous failure. Because of the Carter-Mondale intransigence on military pay and benefits, we saw the shameful spectacle of patriotic service families being forced below the poverty level, relying on food stamps and other welfare programs. The quality of life for our military has been substantially improved under the Reagan Administration. We wholeheartedly support the all-volunteer armed force and are proud of our historic initiative to bring it to pass.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.68

From the worst levels of retention and recruiting in post-war history in 1979, we have moved to the highest ever recorded. We are meeting 100 percent of our recruiting needs, and 92 percent of our recruits are high school graduates capable of mastering the skills needed in the modern armed services. In 1980, 13 percent of our ships and 25 percent of our aircraft squadrons reported themselves not combat ready because of personnel shortages. Today, those figures have dropped to less than 1 percent and 4 percent respectively.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.68

Today, the United States leads the world in integrating women into the military. They serve in a variety of non-combat assignments. We have made significant strides in numbers of women and their level of responsibility. Female officer strength has grown by 24 percent under the Reagan Administration and is projected to increase, with even greater increases for non-commissioned officers.

Conventional and Strategic Modernization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.68

In 1980, we had a "hollow Army," a Navy half its numbers of a decade earlier, and an Air Force badly in need of upgrading. The Army is now receiving the most modern tanks, fighting vehicles, and artillery. The Navy has grown to 513 ships with 79 more under construction this year, well on its way toward the 600-ship, 15-carrier force necessary for our maritime strategy. The Air Force has procured advanced tactical aircraft. By decade's end, our intertheater lift capacity will have increased by 75 percent. We pledge to rescue a shipbuilding industry consigned to extinction by the Carter-Mondale team.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.68

Since the end of World War II, America's nuclear arsenal has caused the Soviet Union to exercise caution to avoid direct military confrontation with us and our close allies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.69

[p.69] Our nuclear arms are a vital element of the Free World's security system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.69

Throughout the 1970s and up to the present, the Soviet Union has engaged in a vast buildup of nuclear arms. In the naive hope that unilateral restraint by the United States would cause the Soviet Union to reverse course, the Carter-Mondale Administration delayed significant major features of the strategic modernization our country needed. There was no arms race because only the Soviet Union was racing, determined to to achieve an intimidating advantage over the Free World. As a result, in 1980, America was moving toward a position of clear nuclear inferiority to the Soviets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.69

President Reagan moved swiftly to reverse this alarming situation and to reestablish an effective margin of safety before 1990. Despite obstruction from many congressional Democrats, we have restored the credibility of our deterrent.

Reserve and Guard Forces

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.69

We salute the men and women of the National Guard and the Reserves. The Carter-Mondale team completely neglected our vital Reserve and Guard forces, leaving them with obsolete equipment, frozen pay, and thousands of vacancies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.69

The Reagan Administration has transformed our Reserve and National Guard. The Naval Reserve will ultimately operate 40 of the fleet's 600 ships. Navy and Marine Air Reserve units now receive the most modern aircraft, as do the Air Force Reserve and Guard. Army Reserve and Guard units now receive the latest tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, and artillery. Reserve pay has increased 30 percent, and reserve components are having record success in filling their positions. Our country counts on the Reserves and the Guard, and they can count on us.

Management Reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.69

The Republican Party advocates a strong defense and fiscal responsibility at the same time. This Administration has already made major advances in eliminating the deep-rooted procurement problems we inherited. Republicans have changed the way the Pentagon does business, encouraging greater economy and efficiency, stretching the taxpayer's dollar.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.69

Learning nothing from past mistakes, the Carter-Mondale Administration returned to centralized defense management. The predictable [p.70] result: competition fell to only 15 percent of Pentagon procurement; programs were mired in disastrous cost overruns and disputes; outrageous and exorbitant prices were paid for spare parts; and the taxpayers' money was wasted on a grand scale.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.70

We have tackled this problem head-on. We returned management to the Services and began far-reaching reforms. To hold down costs, we more than doubled competition in Pentagon procurement. We appointed Competition Advocate Generals in each Service and an overall Inspector General for the Pentagon. We increased incentives for excellent performance by contractors, and we have applied immediate penalty for poor performance. Our innovative approaches have already saved the taxpayers billions of dollars.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.70

Spare parts acquisition has undergone thorough reform. Improving spare parts management, involving a Department of Defense inventory of almost four million items, is a complex and massive management challenge. The Pentagon's new 10-point program is already working. Old contracts are being revamped to allow competition, high prices are being challenged, and rigorous audits are continuing. As an example, a stool cap for a navigator's chair, once priced at $1,100, was challenged by an alert Air Force Sergeant. It now costs us 31 cents. The Pentagon obtained a full refund and gave the Sergeant a cash reward.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.70

Our men and women in uniform deserve the best and most reliable weapons that this country can offer. We must improve the reliability and performance of our weapons systems, and warranties can be a very positive contribution to defense procurement practices, as can be the independent office of operational testing and evaluation, which was another positive Republican initiative.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.70

The acquisition improvement program now includes program stability, multi-year procurement, economic production rates, realistic budgeting, and increased competition. The B-1B bomber, replacing our aging B-52 force, is ahead of schedule and under cost. We support our anti-submarine warfare effort and urge its funding at its current level. For the last two years, the Navy has received nearly 50 ships more than three years ahead of schedule and nearly $1 billion under budget. The U.S.S. Theodore Roosevelt, our newest aircraft carrier, is 17 months ahead of schedule and almost $74 million under cost.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.70

We have reformed inefficient procurement practices established decades ago, and we will continue to ensure the most gain from each defense dollar. [p.71]

The Tasks Ahead

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.71

The damage to our defenses through unilateral disarmament cannot be repaired quickly. The hollow Army of the Carter-Mondale Administration is hollow no more, and our Navy is moving toward a 600-ship force.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.71

We share President Reagan's determination to restore credible security for our country. Our choice is not between a strong defense or a strong economy; we must succeed in both, or we will succeed in neither.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.71

Our forces must be second to none, and we condemn the notion that one-sided military reduction will induce the Soviets to seek peace. Our military strength not only provides the deterrent necessary for a more peaceful world, but is also the best incentive for the Soviets to agree to arms reduction.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.71

America is free because of its veterans. We owe them more than thanks. After answering the call to arms, they brought leadership and patriotism back to their communities. They are a continuing resource for America. Through their membership in veterans' service activities, they have strongly supported President Reagan's defense policy. Knowing first-hand the sacrifices of war, they have spoken out frequently for a strong national defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.71

Veterans have earned their benefits; these must not be taken away. The help we give them is an investment which pays our nation unlimited dividends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.71

We have accomplished a great deal. We are meeting the needs of women veterans and ensuring them equal treatment. We must prepare to meet the needs of aging veterans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.71

We are addressing the unique readjustment problems of Vietnam veterans by expanding the store-front readjustment counseling program, extending vocational training and job placement assistance, and targeting research toward understanding delayed stress reaction in combat veterans. We have moved to alleviate the uncertainty of veterans exposed to Agent Orange by providing nearly 129,000 medical exams and by launching an all-out, government-wide research effort.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.71

We are making major strides in improving health care for veterans. VA hospital construction has expanded to meet community needs, and benefits for disabled veterans have been improved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.72

[p.72] We will maintain the veterans' preference for federal hiring and will improve health, education, and other benefits. We support the Reagan Administration's actions to make home ownership attainable by more veterans, as well as our program to help veterans in small business compete for government contracts. We will extend to all veterans of recent conflicts, such as Lebanon and Grenada, the same assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.72

In recognition of the unique commitment and personal sacrifices of military spouses, President Reagan has called upon the nation to honor them and proclaimed a day of tribute. We will remember them and advance their interests.

National Intelligence

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.72

Knowing our adversaries' capabilities and intentions is our first line of defense. A strong intelligence community focuses our diplomacy and saves billions of defense dollars. This critical asset was gravely weakened during the Carter-Mondale years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.72

We will continue to strengthen our intelligence services. We will remove statutory obstacles to the effective management, performance, and security of intelligence sources and methods. We will further improve our ability to influence international events in support of our foreign policy objectives, and we will strengthen our counterintelligence facilities.

Strategic Trade

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.72

By encouraging commerce in militarily significant technology, the Carter-Mondale Administration actually improved Soviet military power. Because of that terrible error, we are now exposed to significant risk and must spend billions of defense dollars that would otherwise have been unnecessary.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.72

The Reagan Administration halted the Carter-Mondale folly. We have strengthened cooperative efforts with our allies to restrict diversion of militarily critical technologies. We will increase law-enforcement and counterintelligence efforts to halt Soviet commercial espionage and illegal exploitation of our technology.

Terrorism

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.72

International terrorism is not a random phenomenon but a new form of warfare waged by the forces of totalitarianism against the democracies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.72

In recent years, certain states have sponsored terrorist actions in pursuit of their strategic goals. The international links among terrorist [p.73] groups are now clearly understood; and the Soviet link, direct and indirect, is also clearly understood. The Soviets use terrorist groups to weaken democracy and undermine world stability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.73

Purely passive measures do not deter terrorists. It is time to think about appropriate preventive or pre-emptive actions against terrorist groups before they strike.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.73

Terrorism is an international problem. No one country can successfully combat it. We must lead the free nations in a concerted effort to pressure members of the League of Terror to cease their sponsorship and support of terrorism.

A Secure Future

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.73

During the Carter-Mondale Administration, the Soviets built more weapons, and more modern ones, than the United States. President Reagan has begun to reverse this dangerous trend. More important, he has begun a process that, over time, will gradually but dramatically reduce the Soviet Union's ability to threaten our lives with nuclear arms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.73

His leadership came none too soon. The combined damage of a decade of neglect and of relentless Soviet buildup, despite treaties and our restraint, will not be undone easily.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.73

Today, the Soviet Union possesses over 5,000 intercontinental nuclear warheads powerful and accurate enough to destroy hard military targets, and it is flight-testing a whole new generation of missiles. The Carter-Mondale Administration left this country at a decided disadvantage, without a credible deterrent. That is why President Reagan embarked on a modernization program covering all three legs of the strategic triad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.73

Republicans understand that our nuclear deterrent forces are the ultimate military guarantor of America's security and that of our allies. That is why we will continue to support the programs necessary to modernize our strategic forces and reduce the vulnerabilities. This includes the earliest possible deployment of a new small mobile ICBM.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.73

While the Carter-Mondale team hid beneath an umbrella of wishful thinking, the Soviet Union made every effort to protect itself in case of conflict. It has an operational anti-satellite system; the United States does not. A network of huge ultra-modern radars, new anti-missile interceptors, new surface-to-air missiles, all evidence the Soviet commitment to self-protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.74

[p.74] President Reagan has launched a bold new Strategic Defense Initiative to defend against nuclear attack. We enthusiastically support President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. We enthusiastically support the development of non-nuclear, space-based defensive systems to protect the United States by destroying incoming missiles. Recognizing the need for close consultation with our allies, we support a comprehensive and intensive effort to render obsolete the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). The Democratic Party embraces Mutual Assured Destruction. The Republican Party rejects the strategy of despair and supports instead the strategy of hope and survival.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.74

We will begin to eliminate the threat posed by strategic nuclear missiles as soon as possible. Our only purpose (one all people share) is to reduce the danger of nuclear war. To that end, we will use superior American technology to achieve space-based and ground-based defensive systems as soon as possible to protect the lives of the American people and our allies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1984, p.74

President Reagan has asked, "Would it not be better to save lives than to avenge them?" The Republican Party answers, "Yes!"

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"The Restoration of Competence and the Revival of Hope"

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.3

WE THE PEOPLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.3

In order to initiate the changes necessary to keep America strong and make America better, in order to restore competence, caring and incorruptibility to the Federal Executive Branch and get it working again fairly for all Americans, and in order to secure for our children a future of liberty and opportunity,

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.3

Hereby pledge our Party, our leaders, our elected officials end our every individual effort to fulfilling the following fundamental principles for all members of the American family.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.3

WE BELIEVE that all Americans have a fundamental right to economic justice in a stronger, surer national economy, an economy that must grow steadily without inflation, that can generate a rising standard of living for all and fulfill the desire of all to work in dignity up to their full potential in good health with good jobs at good wages, an economy that is prosperous in every region, from coast to coast, including our rural towns and our older industrial communities, our mining towns, our energy producing areas and the urban areas that have been neglected for the past seven years. We believe that, as a first-rate world power moving into the 21st century, we can have a first-rate full employment economy, with an indexed minimum wage that can help lift and keep families out of poverty, with training and employment programs—including child care and health care—that can help people move from welfare to work, with portable pensions and an adequate Social Security System, safeguarded against emasculation and privatization, that can help assure a comfortable and fulfilling old age, with opportunities for voluntary national public service, above and beyond current services, that can enrich our communities, and with all workers assured the protection of an effective law that guarantees their rights to organize, join the union of their choice, and bargain collectively with their employer, free from anti-union tactics.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.3

WE BELIEVE that the time has come for America to take charge once again of its economic future, to reverse seven years of "voodoo economics," "trickle down" policies, fiscal irresponsibility, and economic violence against poor and working people that have converted this proud country into the world's largest debtor nation, mortgaged our children's future by tripling our national debt, placed home ownership out of reach for most young families, permitted the rise of poverty and homelessness on the streets of America, reduced the buying power of working men and women, and witnessed the decline of our industrial, natural resource and mining base, the unending tragedy of family farm foreclosures, an unhealthy dependence on foreign energy and foreign capital, and the increasing foreign ownership of our land and natural resources.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.3

WE BELIEVE that it is time for America to meet the challenge to change priorities after eight years of devastating Republican policies, to reverse direction and reassert progressive values, to reinvest in its people within a strong commitment to fiscal responsibility. If we are seriously to pursue our commitments to build a secure economic future for all Americans we must provide the resources to care for our newborns, educate our children, house the homeless, heal the sick, wage total war on [p.4] drugs and protect the environment. Investing In America and reducing the deficit requires that the wealthy and corporations pay their fair share and that we restrain Pentagon spending. We further believe that we must invest in new priorities, in life-long education and training, in targeted economic development, in a healthy small business community and in retooled American industry; that it is time for the broad revitalization of home town America, involving financial institutions in the provision of crucial credit by encouraging special commitments in exchange for bailing out those that are failing, reforming and expanding community reinvestment laws, and reversing the trend of financial concentration and deregulation, all combining to reverse the insecurity that has increasingly troubled our workers and their families in this rapidly changing society that has left some communities and regions behind. There is no good reason why the nation we love, the greatest and richest nation on earth, should rank first among the industrialized nations in output per person but nearly 1st in infant mortality, first in the percentage of total expenditures devoted to defense but nearly last in the percentage devoted to education and housing.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.4

WE BELIEVE that Government should set the standard in recognizing that worker productivity is enhanced by the principle of pay equity for working women and no substandard wage competition for public contracts; by family leave policies that no longer force employees to choose between their jobs and their children or ailing parents; by safe and healthy work places, now jeopardized by seven callous years of lowered and unenforced occupational safety standards for American workers; and by major increases in assistance making child care move available and affordable to low and middle income families, helping states build a strong child care infrastructure, setting minimum standards for health, safely, and quality, and thereby enabling parents to work and their Children to get an early start on their education and personal fulfillment. We believe that the strength of our families is enhanced by programs to prevent abuse and malnutrition among children, crime, dropouts and pregnancy among teenagers and violence in the family; by aggressive child support enforcement; and by emphasizing family preservation and quality foster care. We further believe that our nation faces a crisis of under-investment in our children, particularly in the early years of life. Strong, healthy babies with early opportunities that foster intellectual, emotional and physical growth begin school with an enhanced foundation for learning. There are few better investments for this country than prenatal care, infant nutrition and preschool education, and there are few more successful programs than WIC, Head Start, and prenatal care. We know what works; yet these successful programs have been starved for funds. The Democratic Party pledges to meet this urgent need by providing the funding necessary to reach those unserved children who are—and must be—our national priority.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.4

WE BELIEVE that America needs more trade, fair trade, an Administration willing to use all the tools available to better manage our trade in order to export more American goods and fewer American jobs, an Administration willing to recognize in the formulation and enforcement of our trade laws that workers' rights are important human rights abroad as well as at home, and that advance notice of plant Closings and major layoffs is not only fundamentally right but also economically sound. We believe that we can and must improve our competitiveness in the world economy, using our best minds to create the most advanced technology in the world through a greater commitment to civilian research and development and science, engineering and mathematics training, through more public-private and business-labor cooperation and mutual respect, through more intergovernmental partnerships, and through a better balance between fiscal and monetary policy and between military and civilian research and development. We further believe in halting such, irresponsible corporate conduct as unproductive takeovers, monopolistic mergers, insider trading, and golden parachutes for executives by reinvigorating our anti-trust and securities laws, reviewing large mergers, and discouraging short-term speculation taking place at the expense of long-term investment.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.5

[p.5] WE BELIEVE that the education of our citizens, from Head Start to institutions of higher learning, deserves our highest priority; and that history will judge the next administration less by its success in building new weapons of war than by its success in improving young minds. We now spend only two cents of every federal dollar for education. We pledge to better balance our national priorities by significantly increasing federal funding for education. We believe that this nation needs to invest in its children on the front side of life by expanding the availability of pre-school education for children at risk; to invest in its teachers through training and enrichment programs, including a National Teacher Corps to recruit teachers for tomorrow, especially minorities, with scholarships today; to commit itself for the first time to the principle that no one should be denied the opportunity to attend college for financial reasons; to ensure equal access to education by providing incentives and mechanisms for the equalization of financing among local school districts within each state; to reverse cuts made in compensatory reading, math and enrichment services to low income children; and to expand support for bilingual education, historically Black and Hispanic institutions, the education of those with special needs, the arts and humanities, and an aggressive campaign to end illiteracy.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.5

WE BELIEVE that illegal drugs pose a direct threat to the security of our nation from coast to coast, invading our neighborhoods, classrooms, homes and communities large and small; that every arm and agency of government at every federal, state and local level—including every useful diplomatic, military, educational, medical and law enforcement effort necessary—should at long last be mobilized and coordinated with private efforts under the direction of a National Drug "Czar" to halt both the international supply and the domestic demand for illegal drugs now ravaging our country; and that the legalization of illicit drugs would represent a tragic surrender in a war we intend to win. We believe that this effort should include comprehensive programs to educate our children at the earliest ages on the dangers of alcohol and drug abuse, readily available treatment and counseling for those who seek to address their dependency, the strengthening of vital interdiction agencies, such as the U.S. Coast Guard and Customs, a summit of Western hemispheric nations to coordinate efforts to cut off drugs at the source, and foreign development assistance to reform drug-based economies by promoting crop substitution.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.5

WE BELIEVE that the federal government should provide increased assistance to local criminal justice agencies, enforce a ban on "cop killer" bullets that have no purpose other than the killing and maiming of law enforcement officers, reinforce our commitment to help crime victims, and assume a leadership role in securing the safety of our neighborhoods and homes. We further believe that the repeated toleration in Washington of unethical and unlawful greed among too many of those who have been governing our nation, procuring our weapons and polluting our environment has made far more difficult the daily work of the local policemen, teachers and parents who must convey to our children respect for justice and authority.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.5

WE BELIEVE that we honor our multicultural heritage by assuring equal access to government services, employment, housing, business enterprise and education to every citizen regardless of race, sex, national origin, religion, age, handicapping condition or sexual orientation; that these rights are without exception too precious to be jeopardized by Federal Judges and Justice Department officials chosen during the past years—by a political party increasingly monolithic both racially and culturally—more for their unenlightened ideological views than for their respect for the rule of law. We further believe that we must work for the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution; that the fundamental right of reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability to pay; that our machinery for civil rights enforcement and legal services to the poor should be rebuilt and vigorously utilized; and that our immigration policy should be reformed to promote fairness, non-discrimination and family reunification and to reflect our constitutional freedoms of speech, association [p.6] and travel. We further believe that the voting rights of all minorities should be protected, the recent surge in hate violence and negative stereotyping combatted, the discriminatory English-only pressure groups resisted, our treaty commitments with Native Americans enforced by culturally sensitive officials, and the lingering effects of past discrimination eliminated by affirmative action, including goals, timetables, and procurement set-asides.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.6

WE BELIEVE that the housing crisis of the 1980s must be halted—a crisis that has left this country battered by a rising tide of homelessness unprecedented since the Great Depression, by a tightening squeeze on low and moderate income families that is projected to leave seven million people without affordable housing by 1993, and by a bleak outlook for young working families who cannot afford to buy their first home. We believe that steps should be taken to ensure a decent place to live for every American. We believe that homelessness—a national shame—should be ended in America; that the supply of affordable housing should be expanded in order to avoid the projected shortfall; that employer-assisted housing end development by community based non-profit organizations should be encouraged; that the inventory of public and subsidized housing Should be renovated, preserved and increased; that foreclosed government property should be restored to productive use; and that first-time home-buyers should be assisted.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.6

WE BELIEVE that we can rebuild America, creating good jobs at good wages through a national reinvestment strategy to construct new housing, repair our sewers, rebuild our roads and replace our bridges. We believe that we must pursue needed investment through innovative partnerships and creative financing mechanisms such as a voluntary program to invest a portion of public and private pension funds as a steady source of investment capital by guaranteeing security and a fair rate of return and assuring sound project management.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.6

WE BELIEVE that all Americans should enjoy access to affordable, comprehensive health Services for both the physically and mentally ill, from prenatal care for pregnant woman at risk to more adequate care for our Vietnam and other veterans, from well-baby care to childhood immunization to Medicare; that a national health program providing federal coordination and leadership is necessary to retrain health care costs while assuring quality care and advance medical research; that quality, affordable, long-term home and health care should be available to all senior and disabled citizens, allowing them to live with dignity in the most appropriate setting; that an important first step toward comprehensive health services is to ensure that every family should have the security of basic health insurance; and that the HIV/AIDS epidemic is an unprecedented public health emergency requiring increased support for accelerated research on, and expedited FDA approval of, treatments and vaccines, comprehensive education and prevention, compassionate patient care, adoption of the public health community consensus on voluntary and confidential testing and counseling, and protection of the civil rights of those suffering from AIDS or AIDS-Related Complex or testing positive for the HIV antibody.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.6

WE BELIEVE that the last seven years have witnessed an unprecedented assault on our national interest and national security through the poisoning of our air with acid rain, the dumping of toxic wastes into our water, and the destruction of our parks and shores; that pollution must be stopped at the source by shifting to new, environmentally sound manufacturing and farming technologies; that the federal government must promote recycling as the best, least costly way to solve the trash crisis. aggressively enforce toxic waste laws and require polluters to be responsible for future clean-up costs; that this nation must redouble its efforts to provide clean waterways; sound water management and safe drinkable ground water throughout the country; that our national parks, forests, wildlife refuges, and coastal zones must be protected and used only in an environmentally sound manner: [p.7] that all offshore oil drilling in environmentally sensitive areas should be opposed; and that regular world environmental summits should be convened by the United States to address the depletion of the ozone layer, the "greenhouse effect," the destruction of tropical forests and other global threats and to create a global action plan for environmental restoration.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.7

WE BELIEVE that all Americans, producers and consumers alike, benefit when food and fiber are produced not by a few large corporations and conglomerates but by hundreds of thousands of family farmers obtaining a fair price for their product; that the disastrous farm policies of the last seven years. despite record federal spreading, have forced hundreds of thousands of families from their farms while others are struggling to survive; and that a workable agricultural policy should include supply management, reasonable price supports, soil conservation and protection of rural water quality, credit and foreclosure relief, the return of federally held foreclosed lands to minority, beginning ,and restarting farmers, the development of new uses and markets for American farm products, improved disaster relief, and the revitalization of rural America through new sources of capital for rural business and new federal support for rural health care, housing, education, water supply and infrastructure. We further believe that no person should go to bed hungry and that we must renew the fight against hunger at home and abroad, make food available to those nations who need it and want it, and convene an international conference of food producing nations.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.7

WE BELIEVE that a balanced, coherent energy policy, based on dependable supplies at reasonable prices, is necessary to protect our national security, ensure a clean environment. and promote stable economic growth and prosperity, both nationally and in our energy producing regions; that the inevitable transition from our present, nearly total dependence on increasingly scarce and environmentally damaging non-renewable sources to renewable sources should begin now; that such a policy includes increased cooperation with our hemispheric neighbors, filling the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, promoting the use of natural gas, methanol and ethanol as alternative transportation fuels, encouraging the use of our vast natural gas and coal reserves while aggressively developing clean coal technology to combat acid rain, and providing targeted new incentives for new oil and gas drilling and development, for the development of renewable and alternative sources of energy, and for the promotion of energy conservation. We believe that with these changes the country could reduce its reliance on nuclear power while insisting that all plants are safe, environmentally sound and assured of safe waste disposal.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.7

WE BELIEVE that this country's democratic processes must be revitalized: by securing universal, same day and mail-in voter registration as well as registration on the premises of appropriate government agencies; by preventing the misuse of at-large elections, the abuse of election day challenges and registration roll purges, any undercounting in the national census, and any dilution of the one-person, one-vote principle; by ending discrimination against public employees who are denied the right to full political participation; by supporting statehood for the District Of Columbia; by treating the off-shore territories under our flag equitably and sensitively under federal policies, assisting their economic and social development and respecting their right to decide their future in their relationship with the United States; by empowering the commonwealth of Puerto Rico with greater autonomy within its relationship with the United States to achieve the economic, social and political goals of its people, and by giving it just and fair participation in federal programs; by assuring and pledging the full and equal access of women and minorities to elective office and party endorsement; and by minimizing the domination and distortion of our elections by moneyed interests.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.7

WE BELIEVE in a stronger America ready to make the tough choices of leadership in an ever-dangerous world; militarily stronger in our overall defense and anti-terrorist capabilities and in the [p.8] cohesion of our military alliances; economically stronger at home and in the global marketplace; intellectually stronger in the advances of our schools, science and technology; and spiritually stronger in the principles we exemplify to the world.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.8

WE BELIEVE in a clear-headed, tough-minded, decisive American foreign policy that will reflect the changing nature of threats to our security and respond to them in a way that reflects our values and the support of our people, a foreign policy that will respect our Constitution. our Congress and our traditional democratic principles and will in turn be respected for its quiet strength. its bipartisan goals, and its steadfast attention to the concerns and contributions of our allies and international organizations. We believe that we must reassume a role of responsible active international leadership based upon our commitment to democracy, human rights and a more secure world; that this nation, as the world power with the broadest global interests and concerns, has a greater stake than any in building a world at peace and governed by law; that we can neither police the world nor retreat from it; and that to have reliable allies we must be a reliable ally.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.8

WE BELIEVE that our national strength has been sapped by a defense establishment wasting money on duplicative and dubious new weapons instead of investing more in readiness and mobility; that our national strength will be enhanced by more stable defense budgets and by a commitment from our allies to assume a greater share of the costs and responsibilities required to maintain peace and liberty; and that as military spending and priorities change, government should encourage the conversion of affected military facilities and the retraining of workers to facilitate the creation of new forms of communication, space development and new peacetime growth and productivity.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.8

WE BELIEVE in an America that will promote peace and prevent war—not by trading weapons for hostages, not by sending brave Americans to undefined missions in Lebanon and Honduras, not by relaxing our vigilance on the assumption that long-range Soviet interests have permanently changed, not by toasting a tyrant like Marcos as a disciple of democracy, but by maintaining a stable nuclear deterrent sufficient to counter any Soviet threat, by standing up to any American adversaries whenever necessary and sitting down with them whenever possible, by making clear our readiness to use force when force is required to protect our essential security commitments, by testing the intentions of the new Soviet leaders about arms control, emigration, human rights and other issues, and by matching them not merely in rhetoric but in reciprocal initiatives and innovation, which take advantage of what may be the greatest opportunity of our lifetime to establish a new, mutually beneficial relationship with the Soviet Union, in which we engage in joint efforts to combat environmental threats, explore peaceful uses of space and eradicate disease and poverty in the developing world, and in a mutual effort to transform the arms race that neither side can win into a contest for people's minds, a contest we know our side will win.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.8

WE BELIEVE in following up the INF Treaty, a commendable first step, with mutual, verifiable and enforceable agreements that will make significant reductions in strategic weapons in a way that diminishes the risk of nuclear attack by either superpower; reduce conventional forces to lower and equivalent levels in Europe, requiring deeper cuts on the Warsaw Pact side; ban chemical and space weapons in their entirety; promptly initiate a mutual moratorium on missile flight testing and halt all nuclear weapons testing while strengthening our efforts to prevent the spread of these weapons to other nations before the nightmare of nuclear terrorism engulfs us all.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.8

WE BELIEVE in an America that recognizes not only the realities of East-West relations but the challenges and opportunities of the developing world; that will support and strengthen international law and institutions, promote human and political rights and measure them by one yardstick, and work for economic growth and development. We believe that we must provide leadership, compassion [p.9] and economic assistance to those nations stunted by overwhelming debt, deprivation and austerity, and that we must work to promote active agreements between developing and industrial countries, and the major public and commercial lenders, to provide debt relief and rekindle end sustain economic growth and democracy In Latin America, Asia, and the poorest continent, Africa, which deserves special attention. We further believe that we must enlist the trade surplus nations to join with us in supporting new aid initiatives to fuel growth in developing countries that, though economically depressed, are rich in human and natural potential.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.9

WE BELIEVE this country should work harder to stop the supplies of arms, from both East and West, that fuel conflict In regions such as the Persian Gulf and Angola. Deeply disturbed that the current administration has too long abandoned the peace process in the Middle East and consistently undermined if in Central America, we believe that this country, maintaining the special relationship with Israel founded upon mutually shared values and strategic interests, should provide new leadership to deliver the promise of peace and security through negotiations that has been held out to Israel and its neighbors by the Camp David Accords. We support the sovereignty, independent, and territorial integrity of Lebanon with a central government strong enough to unite its people, maintain order and live in peace in the region. We are committed to Persian Gulf security end freedom of navigation of international waters, and to an end to the Iran-Iraq war by promoting United Nations efforts to achieve a cease-fire and a negotiated settlement, through an arms embargo on the combatants. We further believe that the United States must fully support the Arias Peace Plan, which calls for an end to the fighting, national reconciliation, guarantees of justice, freedom, human rights and democracy, an end to support for irregular forces, and a commitment by the Central American governments to prevent the use of their territory to destabilize others in the region. Instead of the current emphasis on military solutions we will use negotiations and incentives to encourage free and fair elections and security for all nations in the region. We will cease dealing with drug smugglers and seek to reconcile our differences with countries in Central America, enabling the United States and other countries to focus on the pressing social and economic needs of the people of that region. We further believe in pursuing a policy of economic cooperation instead of confrontation with Mexico and our other hemispheric friends; in helping all developing countries build their own peaceful democratic institutions free from foreign troops, subversion and domination and free from domestic dictators and aggressors; in honoring our treaty obligations; and in using all the tools at our disposal, including diplomacy, trade, aid, food, ideas, and ideals, to defend and enlarge the horizons of freedom on this planet.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.9

WE BELIEVE in an America that will promote human rights, human dignity and human opportunity in every country on earth; that will fight discrimination, encourage free speech and association and decry oppression in nations friendly and unfriendly. Communist and non-communist, that will encourage our European friends to respect human rights and resolve their long-standing differences over Northern Ireland and Cyprus; that will encourage wherever possible the forces of pluralism and democracy in Eastern Europe and that will support the struggle for human rights in Asia.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.9

WE BELIEVE the apartheid regime in South Africa to be a uniquely repressive regime, ruthlessly deciding every aspect of public and private life by skin color, engaging in unrelenting violence against its citizens at home and promoting naked aggression against its neighbors in Africa. We believe that the time has come to end all vestiges of the failed policy of constructive engagement, to declare South Africa a terrorist state, to impose comprehensive sanctions upon its economy, to lead the international community in participation in these actions, and to determine a date certain by which United States corporations must leave South Africa. We further believe that to achieve regional security in Southern Africa, we must press forcefully for Namibia's independence by calling for the [p.10] end of South Africa's illegal occupation, a cease fire and elections, must end our counterproductive policy in Angola and must offer support and further assistance to Mozambique and other frontline states.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.10

IN SUM, WE BELIEVE it is time for America to change and move forward again in the interest of all its families—to turn away from an era in which too many of America's children have been homeless or hungry and invest in a new era of hope and progress, an era ef secure families in a secure America in a secure world.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.10

WE BELIEVE the American dream of opportunity for every citizen can be a reality for all Americans willing to meet their own responsibilities to help make it come true. We believe that governments at the national, state and local level, in partnerships between those levels and in partnership with the private sector, exist to help us solve our problems instead of adding to them. We believe in competent, pragmatic governments, accountable to the people, led by men and women dedicate not to self interest but to service, motivated not by ideology but by American ideals, governing not in a spirit of power and privilege but with a sense of compassion and community. For many years, in state and local capitals across this nation, Democrats have been successfully solving problems and helping people with exactly this kind of innovative government.

The 1988 Democratic Platform, p.10

THEREFORE, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY in Convention assembled and united, the Party of hope and change and fairness for all, hereby declares its readiness to end the stalemate in Washington by challenging, encouraging and inviting the American people—challenging them to do their patriotic best to meet their community responsibilities, encouraging them to protect and preserve their families, our most precious assets, and inviting them to join with us in leading the land we love to a brighter and still greater future of opportunity and justice for all.

Republican Platform of 1988

An American Vision:

For Our Children and Our Future

Adopted by The Republicn National Convention

August 16, 1988

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.1

An election is about the future, about change. But it is also about the values we will carry with us as we journey into tomorrow and about continuity with the best from our past.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.1

On the threshold of a new century, we live in a time of unprecedented technological, social, and cultural development, and a rapidly emerging global economy. This election will bring change. The question is: Will it be change and progress with the Republicans or change and chaos with the Democrats?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.1

Americans want leadership to direct the forces of change, on America's terms, guided by American values. The next stage of the American experiment will be a new dynamic partnership in which people direct government and government empowers people to solve their own problems and to have more choices in their lives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.1

In 1984, we said, "From freedom comes opportunity; from opportunity comes growth; from growth comes progress,"

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.1

In 1988, we reaffirm that truth. Freedom works. This is not sloganeering, but a verifiable fact. It has been abundantly documented during the Reagan-Bush Administration in terms of real jobs and real progress for individuals, families, and communities urban and rural. Our platform reflects on every page our continuing faith in the creative power of human freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.1

Defending and expanding freedom is our first priority. During the last eight years, the American people joined with the Reagan-Bush Administration in advancing the cause of freedom at home and around the world. Our platform reflects George Bush's belief that military strength, diplomatic resoluteness, and firm leadership are necessary to keep our country and our allies free.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.1

Republicans know the United States is a nation of communities—churches, neighborhoods, social and charitable organizations, professional groups, unions and private and voluntary organizations in city, suburb, and countryside. It is We, the people, building the future in freedom. It is from these innumerable American communities, made up of people with good heads and good hearts, that innovation, creativity, and the works of social justice and mercy naturally flow and flourish. This is why George Bush and all Republicans believe in empowering people and not bureaucracies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.2

At the very heart of this platform is our belief that the strength of [p.2] America is its people: free men and women, with faith in God, working for themselves and their families, believing in the inestimable value of every human being from the very young to the very old, building and sustaining communities, quietly performing those "little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and love" that make up the best portion of our lives, defending freedom, proud of their diverse heritages. They are still eager to grasp the future, to seize life's challenges and, through faith and love and work, to transform them into the valuable, the useful, and the beautiful.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.2

This is what the American people do, quietly, patiently, without headlines, as a nation of communities, every day. This is the continuing American revolution of continuity and change.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.2

This is the American people's true miracle of freedom. It is to them that we dedicate this platform.[p.3]

Jobs, Growth, and Opportunity for All

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

America again leads the world, confident of our abilities, proud of our products, sure of our future, the pacesetter for all mankind. Moving toward the threshold of the 21st century, the American people are poised to fulfill their dreams to a degree unparalleled in human history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

Our nation of communities is prosperous and free. In the sixth year of unprecedented economic expansion, more people are working than ever before; real family income has risen; inflation is tamed. By almost any measure, Americans are better off than they were eight years ago. The Reagan Revolution has become a Republican renaissance. Our country's back—back in business and back on top again.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

Government didn't work this economic wonder. The people did. Republicans got government out of the way, off the backs of households and entrepreneurs, so the people could take charge. Once again our people have the freedom to grow. From that freedom come prosperity and security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

From freedom comes opportunity; from opportunity comes growth; from growth comes progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

Freedom is not an abstract concept. No, freedom is the inescapable essence of the American spirit, the driving force which makes Americans different from any other people on the face of the globe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

The restoration of our country's tradition of democratic capitalism has ushered in a new age of optimistic expansion. Based on free enterprise, free markets, and limited government, that tradition regards people as a resource, not a problem. And it works.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

On every continent, governments are beginning to follow some degree of America's formula to cut tax rates, loosen regulation, free the private sector, and trust the people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

Remember the Carter-Mondale years:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.3

• Taxes skyrocketed every year as the Democrats' inflation pushed everyone into higher tax brackets.

• Prices spiraled, financially strangling those people least able to keep up. This was heightened by the spending mania of a Democrat-controlled Congress. Savings plunged as prices rose. A dollar saved in 1977 was worth only half by 1981.

• 21.5 percent interest rates—levels not seen before or since—placed the basic needs of life beyond the means of many American families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.4

[p.4]• The Democrats threatened workers, investors, and consumers with "industrial policies" that centralized economic planning.

• Joblessness eroded the earnings and dignity of millions under the Democrat Administration.

• The number of poor households grew dramatically during the Democrats' years in power.

• Economic stagnation caused by the Democrats' policies made it harder to find a job, get a promotion, buy a home, raise a family, or plan for old age.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.4

In addition to all of these problems, the Democrats were telling us that there was something wrong with America and something wrong with its people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.4

Family Income

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.4

Something was terribly wrong, but not with the people. A half-century of destructive policies, pitting Americans against one another for the [p.5] benefit of the Democrats' political machine, had come to a dead end. The Democrats couldn't find a way out, so the voters showed them the door.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.5

Now the ideological heirs of Carter and Mondale are trying again to sell the public a false bill of goods. These liberals call America's prosperity an illusion. They fantasize our economy is declining. They claim our future is in the hands of other nations. They aren't operating in the real world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.5

They can't build the future on fear. Americans know that and are constructing their futures on the solid foundation Republicans have already set in place:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.5

• We are in the midst of the longest peacetime expansion in our country's history. Where once we measured new businesses in the thousands, we now count millions. These small businesses have helped create more than 17 million well-paying, high-quality new jobs, more than twice the number of jobs that were created during that time in Japan, Canada, and Western Europe combined! Small business has accounted for 80 percent of the jobs created during the recovery. Who says America has lost its competitive edge?

• More Americans are working than ever before. Because of Republican pro-growth policies, the unemployment rate has plunged to its lowest level in 14 years.

• Since 1983, 3 million people have risen above the government poverty level. The poverty rate is down for the third consecutive year. The Republican economic program has been the most successful war on poverty.

• Under a Republican Administration, family incomes are growing at the fastest pace recorded in 15 years.

• Under Republican leadership, tax reform removed 6 million low-income people from the income tax rolls and brought financial relief to tens of millions more.

• The typical family is now paying almost $2,000 less per year in income taxes than it would if the Democrats' antiquated income tax system of the 1970s were still in place.

• The Carter' "misery index"—the sum of the inflation and unemployment rates—is half of what it was in 1980. Republican economic policies have turned it into a "prosperity index."

• Republicans reduced inflation to one-third of its 1980 level, helping not only average Americans but also low income Americans and elderly Americans on fixed incomes, who spend most of their income on necessities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.6

[p.6]• Interest rates are lower by nearly two-thirds than under the Democrats in 1980.

• Exports are booming. World sales create local jobs!

• Productivity is rising three times as fast under Republican policies as it did during the late 1970s.

• Industrial output increased by one-third during the current expansion.

• Business investment is increasing 20 percent faster, in real terms, than before the Republican economic resurgence.

• The manufacturing sector is now accounting for 23 percent of GNP. U.S. manufacturing jobs have increased overall since 1982. The Democrats are wrong about America losing its industrial base, except in Massachusetts, where the Democrat governor of that State has presided over a net decline of 94,000 manufacturing jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.6

This is not a portrait of a people in decline. It is the profile of a can-do country, hopeful and compassionate, on the move. It is America resurgent, renewed, revitalized by an idea: the belief that free men and women, caring for families and supporting voluntary institutions in a nation of communities, constitute the most powerful force for human progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.6

In 1980, Ronald Reagan and George Bush called upon us all to recover from a failed political system the power tightly belonging to the people. Now we call upon our fellow citizens, at the bicentennial of our Constitution, in the words of its preamble, to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" by opening new vistas of opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.6

These "blessings of liberty"—the chance to make a decent living, provide for the family, buy a home, give children a superior education, build a secure retirement, help a new generation reach farther and build higher than we were able to—these are the goals that George Bush and the Republican Party seek for every American.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.6

But this prosperity is not an end in itself. It is a beginning. It frees us to grow and be better than we are, to develop things of the spirit and heart. This is the direction in which George Bush will lead our country. It is prosperity with a purpose.

Jobs

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.6

The Republican Party puts the creation of jobs and opportunity first. In our 1980 and 1984 platforms, we promised to put Americans back to work by restoring economic growth without inflation. We delivered on our promise:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.7

• Small business entrepreneurs have led the way in creating new job opportunities, particularly for women, minorities, and youths.

• Over 17 million new jobs have been created.

• More than 60 percent of these new jobs since 1982 are held by women.

• More Americans are working now than at any time in our history.

• The unemployment rate is at its lowest level in 14 years.

• Statistics show that the great majority of the jobs we have created are full-time, quality jobs, paying more than $20,000 per year.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.7

Job growth for minority and ethnic Americans has been even more impressive:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.7

• Minority workers have been finding jobs twice as fast as others.

• Black unemployment has been cut almost in half since 1982. Black Americans gained 2.3 million new jobs in the last few years.

• Black teen unemployment is at its lowest level in 15 years.

• Sales from the top 100 black firms rose 15 percent between 1982 and 1986. The 7.9 percent growth rate for all black businesses compares to an overall rate of 5 percent for all business.

• Family incomes of Asian-Americans rank among the highest of all ethnic groups in the United States.

• Hispanic employment increased nearly three times as fast as for all civilian workers. More Hispanics are at work now than at any time since record-keeping began.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.7

We will use new technologies, such as computer data bases and telecommunications, to strengthen and streamline job banks matching people who want to work with available jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.7

We advocate incentives for educating, training, and retraining workers for new and better jobs—through programs like the Job Training Partnership Act, which provides for a public/private partnership—as our country surges ahead.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.7

The best jobs program—the one that created more than 17 million jobs since 1982—is lower taxes on people. We believe that every person who wants a job should have the opportunity to get a job. We reject the notion that putting more Americans to work causes inflation. The failure of government make-work programs proves that jobs are created by people in a free market.

Opportunity for All

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.8

With its message of economic growth and opportunity, the GOP is the natural champion of blacks, minorities, women and ethnic Americans. We urge Republican candidates and officials at all levels to extend to minority Americans everywhere the historic invitation for full participation in our party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.8

A free economy helps defeat discrimination by fostering opportunity for all. That's why real income for black families has risen 14 percent since 1982. It's why members of minority groups have been gaining jobs in the Republican recovery twice as fast as everyone else. Upward mobility for all Americans has come back strong.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.8

We are the party of real social progress. Republicans welcome the millions of forward-looking Americans who want an "opportunity society," not a welfare state. We believe our country's greatest resource is its people—all its people. Their ingenuity and imagination are needed to make the most of our common future. So we will remove disincentives that keep the less fortunate out of the productive economy:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.8

• Families struggling near the poverty line are always hurt most by tax increases. Six million poor have been removed from the tax rolls in the 1986 Tax Reform Act—the largest income transfer to lower-income Americans since the early 1970s. We will continue to reduce their burden.

• We advocate a youth training wage to expand opportunities and enable unskilled young people to enter the work force.

• As an alternative to inflationary—and job-destroying—increases in the minimum wage, we will work to boost the incomes of the working poor through the Earned Income Tax Credit, especially for earners who support children. This will mean higher take-home pay for millions of working families.

• We will reform welfare to encourage work as the ticket that guarantees full participation in American life.

• We will undertake a long overdue reform of the unemployment insurance program to reward workers who find new jobs quickly.

• We insist upon the right of Americans to work at home. The Home Work Rule, banning sale of certain items made at home, must go. It idles willing workers, prevents mothers from working and caring for their children in their own homes, limits the country's output, and penalizes innocent persons to please special interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.9

[p.9]• We will fight to end the Social Security earnings limitation for the elderly. It discourages older persons from reentering or remaining in the work force, where their experience and wisdom are increasingly needed. As a first step, we will remove the earnings limitation for those whose income is from child care.

• We will continue our efforts, already marked with success, to revitalize our cities. We support, on the federal, State and local levels, enterprise zones to promote investment and job creation in beleaguered neighborhoods.

Entrepreneurship

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.9

Our country's 18 million small business entrepreneurs are the superstars of job creation. In the past decade, they created two out of three new jobs. When they are free to invest and innovate, everyone is better off. They are today's pathfinders, the explorers of America's economic future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.9

Republicans encourage the women and men in small businesses to think big. To help them create jobs, we will cut to 15 percent the current counterproductive capital gains tax. This will foster investment in new and untried ventures, which often are the cutting edge of constructive change. It will also build the retirement value of workers' pension funds and raise revenues for the federal government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.9

We will increase, strengthen, and reinvigorate minority business development efforts to afford socially and economically disadvantaged individuals the opportunity for full participation in our free enterprise system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.9

Work place benefits should be freely negotiated by employee-employer bargaining. We oppose government requirements that shrink workers' paychecks by diverting money away from wages to pay for federal requirements. These hidden taxes add to labor costs without paying those who labor. That is the liberals' way of replacing collective bargaining with congressional edicts about what's good for employees. It reduces the number of jobs and dishonestly imposes on others the costs of programs the Congress can't afford.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.9

We call for a reasonable State and federal product liability standard that will be fair to small businesses, including professional and amateur sports, and to all who are in liability contests. We propose to return the fault-based standard to the civil justice system. Jobs are being lost, useful and sometimes lifesaving products are being discontinued, and America's ability to compete is being adversely affected. Reform will lower costs for all and will return fairness to the system for the benefit of everyone. Republicans recognize the basic right of all Americans to seek redress in the courts; however, we strongly oppose frivolous litigation. In addition, we support [p.10] enactment of fair and balanced reforms of the tort system at the State level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.10

The remarkable resurgence of small business under the Republican renaissance of the 1980s highlights the key to the future: plant openings, thousands of them in every part of this land, as small businesses lead the way toward yet another decade of compassionate prosperity.

Reducing the Burden of Taxes

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.10

The Republican Party restates the unequivocal promise we made in 1984: We oppose any attempts to increase taxes. Tax increases harm the economic expansion and reverse the trend to restoring control of the economy to individual Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.10

We reject calls for higher taxes from all quarters—including "bipartisan commissions." The decisions of our government should not be left to a body of unelected officials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.10

The American people deserve to know, before the election, where all candidates stand on the question of tax increases. Republicans unequivocally reiterate the no-tax pledge we have proudly taken. While we wouldn't believe the Democrats even if they took the pledge, they haven't taken it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.10

The crowning economic achievement of the Republican Party under Ronald Reagan and George Bush has been the dramatic reduction in personal income taxes. The Reagan-Bush Administration has cut the top marginal tax rate from 70 percent to 28 percent. We got government's heavy hand out of the wallets and purses of all our people. That single step has sparked the longest peacetime expansion in our history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.10

We not only lowered tax rates for all. We tied them to the cost of living so congressional Democrats couldn't secretly boost taxes by pushing people into higher brackets through inflation. We took millions of low-income families off the tax rolls, and we doubled the personal exemption for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.10

As a result, by 1986 the income tax bill of a typical middle-income family had declined by one-quarter. If the Democrats had defeated our economic recovery program, that family would have paid nearly $6,000 more in taxes between 1982 and 1987. Meanwhile, average Americans and the working poor carry substantially less of the burden. Upper income Americans now pay a larger share of federal taxes than they did in 1980.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.10

Our policies have become the model for much of the world. Through the power of capitalism, governments are rushing to reduce tax rates to save their stagnating economies. This is good for America, for their recovery will make them better trading partners for our own exuberant economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.11

[p.11] Many economists advising the Democrat Party have publicly called for a national sales tax or European-style Value-Added Tax (VAT) which would take billions of dollars out of the hands of American consumers. Such a tax has been imposed on many nations in Europe and has resulted in higher prices, fewer jobs, and higher levels of government spending. We reject the idea of putting a VAT on the backs of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.11

Republicans know that sustaining the American economic miracle requires a growing pool of private savings. From bank accounts, small stock purchases, and piggy banks, the streams of thrift must flow together and form a mighty tide of capital. That rushing force pushes our society ahead, lifting everyone as it goes. To keep it going:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.11

• We support incentives for private savings, such as our deductibility for IRA contributions.

• We oppose tax withholding on savings.

• To protect savings by ensuring the soundness of our financial system, the federal government must continue to play an active role through its regulatory responsibilities and supervisory duties. We demand stern punishment for those persons, whether in financial institutions or in Congress, whose wheeling and dealing have betrayed the public trust.

Republican Platform, An American Vision: For Our Children and Our Future, 1988, 11

Income Taxes Slashed for Typical Families

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.12

[p.12]• We will reduce to 15 percent the tax rates for long-term capital gains to promote investment in jobs and to raise revenue for the federal government by touching off another surge of economic expansion. In 1978, we cut the capital gains tax from 49.1 percent to 28 percent; in 1981, it was slashed again to 20 percent. The cuts injected a new vitality into the economy, with the results that revenues from this tax rose 184 percent from 1978 to 1985.

• We call for a taxpayers' bill of rights to give everyone simple and inexpensive means to resolve disputes with government. Democrats, using the Massachusetts Revenue Department as a model, intend to squeeze more out of the public by making the IRS more intrusive. Republicans will not tolerate tax cheating by anyone, but we know most Americans responsibly pay their fair share. By restoring their confidence in frugal, limited government, we will enhance compliance with tax laws that are simple and fair.

Beating Inflation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.12

Today, the dollar is sound again. The Republican economic program brought inflation under control and lowered interest rates. Ten million more American families have bought homes for the first time. Inflation has been forced down from over 13 percent to 4 percent. Interest rates are only half of what they were at the end of the Carter years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.12

If the Democrats' inflation rates had continued all these years, a family of four would now be paying an average of $200 a month more for food and over $300 a month more for housing. That's the real cost of the Democrats' bad policies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.12

The Democrats would drag us back to those dreadful years when inflation was robbing workers of their earnings, consumers of their spending power, and families of their savings. Skyrocketing interest rates were stalling the economy and pushing decent housing out of reach for millions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.12

We can't let them do it again. To sustain the country's economic expansion, confidence in American monetary policy is vital. The possibility of imprudent action by government breeds fear, and that fear can shake the stock and commodity markets worldwide. To keep markets on an even keel, we urge objective Federal Reserve policies to achieve long-run price stability.

Regulatory Reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.12

This is a success story for the entire nation. Eight years ago, the country was strangling in red tape. Decades of rules and regulations from official Washington smothered enterprise, hindered job creation, and crippled small businesses. Even worse, the federal bureaucracy was spreading its intrusion into schools, religious institutions, and neighborhoods.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.13

[p.13] At the outset of his Administration, President Reagan asked Vice President Bush to take charge of an unprecedented exercise in liberty: relieving Americans from oppressive and unnecessary regulations and controls. With George Bush's leadership, Republicans turned the tables on the regulators.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.13

We saved consumers tens of billions of dollars in needless regulatory costs that had been added to the price of virtually every product and service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.13

• In banking, we ensured that savers would get a fair return on their savings through market interest rates in place of artificially low rates capped by government.

• In energy, transportation, telecommunications, and financial services, we made fundamental changes in the way Americans could do business. We trusted them. We hacked away at artificial rules that stifled innovation, thwarted competition, and drove up consumer prices. Indeed, telecommunications and computer technology innovations have improved economic performance in nearly every American industry and business.

• In education, housing, and health care, we reduced the chilling effect of regulation upon the private sector and communities. Despite opposition from liberals in the Congress, we have at least slowed the expansion of federal control.

• We turned dozens of narrow programs, full of strings attached, into a few block grants with leeway for State and local administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.13

The job isn't over yet. We will resist the calls of Democrats to turn back or eliminate the benefits that reducing regulations has brought to Americans from every walk of life in transportation, finance, energy and many other areas. We want to reduce further the intrusion of government into the lives of our citizens. Consistent with the maintenance of a competitive market place, we are committed to breaking down unnecessary barriers to entry created by regulations, statutes, and judicial decisions, to free up capital for productive investment. Let Democrats trust the federal bureaucracy. Republicans trust the creative energy of workers and investors in a free market.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.13

We are committed to further return power from the federal government to State and local governments, which are more responsive to the public and better able to administer critical public services.

Competition in Public Services

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.14

Republicans recognize that the American people, in their families, [p.14] communities, places of work, and voluntary associations, solve problems better and faster than government. That's why the Republican Party trusts people to deal with the needs of individuals and communities, as they have done for centuries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.14

In recent decades, however, big government elbowed aside the private sector. In the process, it made public services both expensive and inefficient. The federal government should follow the lead of those cities and States which are contracting out for a wide range of activities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.14

We resolve to defederalize, denationalize, and decentralize government monopolies that poorly serve the public and waste the taxpayers' dollars. To that end, we will foster competition wherever possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.14

We advocate privatizing those government assets that would be more productive and better maintained in private ownership. This is especially true of those public properties that have deteriorated under government control, and of public housing, where residents should have the option of managing their own project. In other areas as well, citizens and employees should be able to become stockholders and managers of government enterprises that would be more efficiently operated by private enterprise. We will not initiate production of goods and delivery of services by the federal government if they can be procured from the private sector.

Housing

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.14

The best housing policy is sound economic policy. Low interest rates, low inflation rates, and the availability of a job with a good paycheck that makes a mortgage affordable are the best housing programs of all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.14

That has been the key to the rebirth of housing during the Reagan-Bush Administration. If things had continued the way they were in 1980, the average family today would have to pay over $300 more for housing every month. Instead, we curbed inflation, pulled down interest rates, and made housing affordable to more Americans than ever before. We promoted homeownership by stoking the engines of economic growth. The results have been spectacular.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.14

• Mortgage rates have fallen from 17.5 percent to single digits today.

• Homeownership has become affordable for more than 10 million additional families.

• Our regulatory reform campaign, in cooperation with local government and the housing industry, has pointed the way to lower housing costs through removal of needless rules that inflate prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.15

[p.15] That's only the beginning. We want to foster greater choice in housing for all:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.15

• First and foremost, Republicans stand united in defense of the homeowner's deduction for mortgage interest. That separates us from the Democrats who are already planning to raise taxes by limiting its deductibility.

• We will continue our successful drive for lower interest rates.

• We support the efforts of those in the States who fight to lower property taxes, which strike hardest at the poor, the elderly, families with children, and family farmers.

• We support programs to allow low-income families to earn possession of their homes through urban and rural homesteading, cooperative ventures in construction and rehabilitation, and other pioneering projects that demonstrate the vitality of the private sector and individual initiative.

• We support the FHA mortgage insurance program, the Government National Mortgage Association, the VA guarantee program, and other programs that enhance housing choices for all Americans.

• We pledge to continue to expand opportunities for homeownership and to maintain the strength of savings institutions, including thrifts.

• We call on the Departments of Treasury, Housing and Urban Development, Agriculture, and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to develop incentives for the private sector to bring housing stock foreclosed on by federal agencies back into service for low- and moderate-income citizens.

• We call for repeal of rent control laws, which always cause a shortage of decent housing by favoring the affluent with low rents, denying persons with modest incomes access to the housing market.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.15

In public housing, we have turned away from the disasters of the past, when whole neighborhoods became instant slums through federal meddling. We have promoted a long-range program of tenant management with encouraging results already. We pledge to continue that drive and to move toward resident ownership of public housing units, which was initiated under Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.15

We are determined to replace hand-out housing with vouchers that will make low-income families neighbors in communities, not strangers in projects.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.15

To ensure that federal housing funds assist communities, rather than disrupt them, we advocate merging programs into a block grant at the disposal of States and localities for a wide range of needs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.16

[p.16] We reaffirm our commitment to open housing as an essential part of the opportunity we seek for all, The Reagan-Bush Administration sponsored a major strengthening of the federal fair housing law. We will enforce it vigorously and will not allow its distortion into quotas or controls.

Controlling Federal Spending

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.16

The Reagan-Bush policies of economic growth have finally turned around the deficit problem. Through Republican-initiated constraints on spending, the federal budget deficit dropped by over 25 percent last year. With the help of the Gramm-Rudman law and a flexible budget freeze, a balanced budget can be expected by 1993.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.16

But the relentless spending of congressional Democrats can undo our best efforts. No president can cause deficits; Congress votes to spend money. The American people must prevent big-spending congressional Democrats from bringing back big budget deficits; we must return both the Senate and the House of Representatives to Republican control for the first time in 36 years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.16

In 1981, we inherited a federal spending machine that was out of control. During the Carter-Mondale years, spending grew by 13.6 percent annually. We cut that growth rate in half, but the cancer still expands, as it has in some States such as Massachusetts where the budget has increased more than twice as fast as the federal budget. We will not be content until government establishes a balanced budget and reduces its demands upon the productivity and earnings of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.16

We categorically reject the notion that Congress knows how to spend money better than the American people do. Tax hikes are like addictive drugs. Every shot makes Congress want to spend more. Even with the Republican tax cuts of 1981, revenues have increased by about $50 billion every year. But congressional spending has increased even more! For every $1 Congress takes in in new taxes, it spends $1.25.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.16

That's why congressional Democrats have sabotaged the Republican program to control the federal budget. They refuse to put any reasonable restraints on appropriations. They smuggle through pork barrel deals in huge "continuing resolutions" larded for the special interests. They oppose the balanced budget amendment and all reforms in the bankrupt process. They mock the restraints legally mandated by our Gramm-Rudman budget plan.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.16

Enough is enough. It's time to push through the Republican agenda for budget reform to teach the Congress the kind of financial responsibility that characterizes the American family:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.17

[p.17]• We call for structural changes to control government waste, including a two-year budget cycle, a super-majority requirement for raising taxes, a legislatively enacted line-item veto, individual transmission of spending bills, greater rescission authority for the chief executive and other reforms.

• We call for a flexible freeze on current government spending. We insist on the discipline to provide stable funding for important government programs, increasing spending only for true national priorities. We oppose any increase in taxes, so that the economy will continue to expand and so revenues from a growing tax base will reduce the deficit.

• We believe the Grace Commission report to eliminate waste, inefficiency, and mismanagement in the federal government must be re-examined; its recommendations should be given a high profile by public policy officials.

• We call for a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. If congressional Democrats continue to block it, we urge the States to renew their calls for a constitutional convention limited to consideration of such an amendment.

• We will use all constitutional authority to control congressional spending. This will include consideration of the inherent line-item veto power of the president.

Opening Markets Abroad

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.17

America's best years lie ahead. Because Republicans have faith in individuals, we welcome the challenge of world competition with confidence in our country's ability to out-produce, out-manage, out-think, and out-sell anyone.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.17

This is the voters' choice in 1988: compete or retreat. The American people and the Republican Party are not about to retreat.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.17

To make the 1990s America's decade in international trade, Republicans will advance trade through strength. We will not accept the loss of American jobs to nationalized, subsidized, protected foreign industries and will continue to negotiate assertively the destruction of trade barriers:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.17

• We negotiated a sweeping free trade agreement with Canada, our largest trading partner. Under this agreement, Americans will be able to trade, invest, and prosper, with no barriers to competition and economic growth.

• We have sought enforcement of U.S. international trade rights more [p.18] vigorously than any previous Administration. The Reagan-Bush Administration was the first to self-initiate formal trade actions against unfair foreign market barriers.

• We launched the "Uruguay Round" of trade talks to promote a more open trading system and to address new trade problems that stifle world economic progress.

• We negotiated long and hard to beat back the most protectionist provisions in trade legislation and produced a bill that focuses on opening markets around the world.

• We support multilateral actions to open up foreign markets to U.S. products through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. We will use GATT as well to deal with problems involving agricultural subsidies, trade in services, intellectual property rights, and economic relations with countries that mismanage their economies by suppressing market forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.18

We will not tolerate unfair trade and will use free trade as a weapon against it. To ensure that rapid progress is forthcoming from our work in GATT, we stand ready to pursue bilateral arrangements with nations which share our commitment to free trade. We have begun with the U.S.-Israel and U.S.-Canada free trade agreements. These agreements should be used as a model by the entire Western Hemisphere as it moves toward becoming a free trade zone, a powerhouse of productivity that can spur economic growth throughout the continents. We are prepared to negotiate free trade agreements with partners like the Republic of China on Taiwan and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries if they are willing to open their markets to U.S. products.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.18

The emerging global economy has required American workers and consumers to adapt to far-reaching transformations on every continent. These changes will accelerate in the years ahead as nations with free economic systems rush toward a future of incredible promise. International trade among market economies is the driving force behind an unprecedented expansion of opportunity and income.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.18

Unfortunately, international markets are still restricted by antiquated policies: protective tariffs, quotas, and subsidies. These hinder world trade and hurt everyone, producers and consumers alike. It is the politicians and special interests who use protectionism to cover up their failures and enrich themselves at the expense of the country as a whole.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.18

We propose that the General Accounting Office be required to issue regular statistics on the costs of U.S. trade restrictions to American workers, consumers, and businesses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.19

[p.19] The bosses of the Democrat Party have thrown in the towel and abandoned the American worker and producer. They have begun a full-scale retreat into protectionism, an economic narcotic that saps the life out of commerce, closes foreign markets to U.S. producers and growers, and costs American consumers billions of dollars. The Democrats' plans would endanger 200,000 jobs and $8 billion in economic activity in agriculture alone! Over the past year, U.S. exports have expanded by 30 percent. The Democrats would reverse that growth by cowering behind trade barriers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.19

The bottom line in international trade must be American excellence. Every part of our economy is challenged to renew its commitment to quality. We must redouble our efforts to cut regulation, keep taxes low, and promote capital formation to sustain the advance of science and technology. Changes in both the managing of business and our approach to work, together with a new emphasis on quality and pleasing the customer, are creating a new work place ethic in our country. We will meet the challenges of international competition by know-how and cooperation, enterprise and daring, and trust in a well-trained work force to achieve more than government can even attempt.

International Economic Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.19

Eight years ago, Ronald Reagan and George Bush offered visionary leadership to make a clean break with the failed past of international economics.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.19

Our economic success is now acknowledged worldwide. Countries all over the world, even the Soviet Union, are abandoning worn out industrial policy planning by government in favor of the market-oriented policies underlying what foreign leaders call the "American Miracle."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.19

We encouraged the major economic powers to draw greater guidance for their monetary policies from commodity prices. This was an important step toward ensuring price stability, eliminating volatility of exchange rates, and removing excessive trade imbalances.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.19

We support the Administration's efforts to improve coordination among the industrialized nations regarding their basic economic policies as a means of sustaining non-inflationary growth. It is important that we continue and refine efforts to dampen the volatility of exchange rate fluctuations, which have at times impeded improvements in investment and trade. Further, it is important to guard against the possibility of inflation in all currencies by comparing them with a basket of commodities, including gold.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.20

[p.20] International price stability will set the stage for developing countries to participate in the transforming process of economic growth. We will not turn our backs on the Third World, where Soviet imperialism preys upon stagnation and poverty. The massive debt of some emerging nations not only cripples their progress but also disrupts world trade and finance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.20

We will use U.S. economic aid, whether bilateral or through international organizations, to promote free market reforms: lower marginal tax rates, less regulation, reduced trade barriers. We will work with developing nations to make their economies attractive to private investment—both domestic and foreign—as the only lasting way to ensure that these nations can secure capital for growth. We support innovations to facilitate repayment of loans, including "debt for equity" swaps. We urge our representatives in all multilateral organizations such as the World Bank to support conditionality with all loans to encourage democracy, private sector development, and individual enterprise. As part of our commitment to the family as the building block of economic progress, we believe decisions on family size should be made freely by each family, and we remain opposed to U.S. funding for organizations involved in abortion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.20

To dig their way out of debt, those nations must do more than take out additional loans. They need America's greatest export: capitalism. While sharing the pie of prosperity with others, we will teach its recipe. It is this simple: Where democracy and free markets take root, people live better. Where people live better, they produce and trade more. As capitalism spreads throughout the world, more nations are prospering, international commerce is booming, and U.S. trade is breaking records.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.20

But even more important than economic progress is the advance of freedom. Republicans want not only a better life for the people of developing lands; we want a freer and more peaceful future for them, too. Those goals are inextricably linked. It is a case of all or nothing, and we believe that free people can have it all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.20

From all over the world, capital flows into the United States because of confidence in our future. Direct investment in America creates important economy-wide benefits: jobs, growth, and lower interest rates. We oppose shortsighted attempts to restrict or overly regulate this investment in America that helps our people work, earn, and live better.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.20

Most important, we will lead by example. We will keep the United States a shining model of individual freedom and economic liberty to encourage other peoples of the world to assert their own economic rights and secure opportunity for all.[p.21]

Strong Families and Strong Communities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.21

Strong families build strong communities. They make us a confident, caring society by fostering the values and character—integrity, responsibility, sharing and altruism—essential for the survival of democracy. America's place in the 21st century will be determined by the family's place in public policy today.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.21

Republicans believe, as did the framers of the Constitution, that the God-given rights of the family come before those of government. That separates us from liberal Democrats. We seek to strengthen the family. Democrats try to supplant it. In the 1960s and 1970s, the family bore the brunt of liberal attacks on everything the American people cherished. Our whole society paid dearly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.21

It's time to put things together again. Republicans have started this critical task:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.21

• We brought fairness to the tax code, removed millions of low income families from the rolls, and cut tax rates dramatically.

• We reestablished a pro-family tax system. We doubled the exemption for dependents and protected families from backdoor tax hikes by indexing the exemption to inflation.

• We tamed inflation to lower interest rates, protected the savings of the elderly, and made housing more affordable for millions of households.

• We fought to reverse crime rates and launched the nation's first all-out war on drug abuse, though there is still much more to do.

• We appointed judges who respect family rights, family values, and the rights of victims of crime.

• We brought education back to basics, back to parents, and strengthened the principle of local control.

• Through President Reagan's historic executive order on the family, we set standards in law for determining whether policies help or hurt the American family.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.21

Republicans have brought hope to families on the front lines of America's social reconstruction. We pledge to fulfill that hope and to keep the family at its proper place at the center of public policy.

Caring for Children

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.21

The family's most important function is to raise the next generation of Americans, handing on to them the Judeo-Christian values of Western [p.22] civilization and our ideals of liberty. More than anything else, the ability of America's families to accomplish those goals will determine the course our country takes in the century ahead.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.22

Our society is in an era of sweeping change. In this era of unprecedented opportunity, more women than ever before have entered the work force. As a result, many households depend upon some form of non-parental care for their youngsters. Relatives, neighbors, churches and synagogues, employers and others in the private sector, are helping to meet the demand for quality care. In the process, we are learning more about the needs of children and about the impact of various forms of care. That knowledge should guide public policy and private options on many issues affecting the way we work and raise our families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.22

Republicans affirm these commonsense principles of child care:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.22

• The more options families have in child care, the better. Government must not constrain their decisions. Individual choice should determine child care arrangements for the family.

• The best care for most children, especially in the early years, is parental. Government must never hinder it.

• Public policy must acknowledge the full range of family situations. Mothers or fathers who stay at home, who work part-time, or who work full-time, should all receive the same respect and consideration in public policy.

• Child care by close relatives, religious organizations, and other community groups should never be inhibited by government programs or policies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.22

In sum, this is a perfect example of the difference between the two parties. Republicans want to empower individuals, not bureaucrats. We seek to minimize the financial burdens imposed by government upon families, ensure their options, and preserve the role of our traditional voluntary institutions. Democrats propose a new federal program that negates parental choice and disdains religious participation. Republicans would never bar aid to any family for choosing child care that includes a simple prayer.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.22

In returning to our traditional commitment to children, the Republican Party proposes a radically different approach:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.22

• Establish a toddler tax credit for pre-school children as proposed by Vice President Bush, available to all families of modest means, to help them support and care for their children in a manner best suited to their families' values and traditions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.23

[p.23]• Establishment of a plan that does not discriminate against single-earner families with one parent in the home.

• Continue to reverse the Democrats' 30-year erosion of the dependent tax exemption. That exemption has been doubled under Republican leadership. This will empower parents to care for their families in a way that public services can never do.

• Make the dependent care tax credit available to low-income families with young children.

• Eliminate disincentives for grandparents and other seniors to care for children by repealing the earnings limitation for Social Security recipients.

• Encourage States to promote child care programs which allow teenage mothers to remain in school.

• Promote in-home care—preferred by almost all parents—by allowing annual, instead of quarterly, payments of income taxes by employees and withholding taxes by employers.

• Encourage employers, including government agencies, to voluntarily address their employees' child care needs and use more flexible work schedules and job sharing to recognize the household demands upon their work force.

• Reform the tort liability system to prevent excessive litigation that discourages child care by groups who stand ready to meet the needs of working parents.

• Reform Federal Home Mortgage Association rules to retain mortgage eligibility for homeowners who offer family child care.

Adoption

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.23

Adoption is a special form of caring for children. We recognize the tremendous contributions of adoptive parents and foster parents. The Reagan-Bush Administration has given unprecedented attention to adoption through a presidential task force, whose recommendations point the way toward vastly expanding opportunities for children in need.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.23

Republicans are determined to cut through red tape to facilitate the adoption process for those who can offer strong family life based on traditional values. Trapping minority and special needs children in the foster care system, when there are families ready to adopt these youngsters, is a national disgrace. We urge States to remove obstacles to the permanent placement of foster children and to reform antiquated regulations that make adoption needlessly difficult.[p.24]

Pornography

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.24

America's children deserve to be free from pornography. We applaud Republicans in the 100th Congress who took the lead to ban interstate dial-a-porn. We endorse legislative and regulatory efforts to anchor more securely a standard of decency in telecommunications and to prohibit the sale of sexually explicit materials in outlets operated on federal property. We commend those who refuse to sell pornographic material. We support the rigorous enforcement of "community standards" against pornography.

Health

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.24

Americans are accustomed to miracles in health care. The relentless advance of science, boosted by space age technology, has transformed the quality of health care and broadened the exercise of our compassion. By the year 2000, more than 100,000 Americans will be more than 100 years old. Yesterday's science fiction regularly becomes today's medical routine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.24

The American people almost lost all that in the 1960s and 1970s, when political demagogues offered quack cures for the ills of our health care system. They tried to impose here the nationalized medicine that was disastrous in other countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.24

Republicans believe in reduced government control of health care while maintaining an unequivocal commitment to quality health care:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.24

• We fostered competition and consumer choice as the only way to hold down the medical price spiral generated by government's open-ended spending on health programs.

• We gave the hospice movement its important role in federal programs.

• We launched a national campaign to ensure quality treatment and to prevent abuse in nursing homes.

• We led the way to enacting landmark legislation for catastrophic health insurance under Medicare.

• We speeded up the regulatory process for experimental drugs for life-threatening illness and loosened import controls to allow greater choice by patients.

• We promoted health care through pilot projects in the States. We took extraordinary steps to ensure home health care so that chronically ill children under Medicaid would not have to stay in the hospital.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.24

Republicans will continue the recovery of America's health care system from the Democrats' mistakes of the past:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.25

[p.25]• We will promote continuing innovation to ensure that tomorrow's miracles are affordable and accessible to all. We are encouraged by advances in communications which enable small or isolated facilities to tap the resources of the world' s greatest centers of healing. Many breakthroughs in recent years have dramatically reduced the incidence of surgery and replaced lengthy hospital stays with out-patient treatment.

• We will work for continuing progress in providing the most cost-effective, high-quality care.

• We will lead the fight for reform of medical malpractice laws to stop the intolerable escalation of malpractice insurance. It has artificially boosted costs for patients, driven many good doctors out of fields such as obstetrics and other high-risk specialties, and made care unavailable for many patients.

• We are opposed to the establishment of government mandated professional practice fees and services requirements as a condition of professional licensure or license renewal.

• We are committed to avoiding the medical crisis facing Massachusetts—a State for which the American Medical Association observed a "moment of silence" at its annual meeting—a State where the decline in the availability of medical care has reached a dangerous level.

• We will continue to seek opportunities for private and public cooperation in support of hospices.

• We are committed to improving the quality and financing of long-term care. We will remove regulatory and tax burdens to encourage private health insurance policies for acute or long term care. We will work for convertibility of savings, IRAs, life insurance, and pensions to pay for long term care.

• We will encourage the trend in the private sector to expand opportunities for home health care to protect the integrity of the family and to provide a less expensive alternative to hospital stays. We want to ensure flexibility for both Medicare and Medicaid in the provision of services to those who need them at home or elsewhere.

• We will foster employee choice in selecting health plans to promote personal responsibility for wellness.

• Recognizing that medical catastrophes can strike regardless of age, we empathize with the plight of the thousands of American families with catastrophically ill children and will work toward making catastrophic health care coverage available to our youngest citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.26

[p.26]• Recognizing that inequities may exist in the current treatment of health insurance costs for those who are self-employed, including farmers, we will study ways to more appropriately balance such costs.

• We will continue to promote alternative forms of group health care that foster competition and lower costs.

• We will make special provision for relief of rural hospitals and health care providers who have been unduly burdened by federal cost containment efforts. The availability of health services, especially during a crisis like the current drought, is essential for rural America.

• We will continue generous funding for the National Institutes of Health.

• We will hold down Medicaid costs by promoting State pilot programs to give low-income persons the opportunity to secure health insurance. We demand tough penalties against providers who defraud this and other health programs.

• We will work to assure access to health care for all Americans through public and private initiatives.

• We will promote wellness, especially for the nation's youth. Personal responsibility in behavior and diet will dramatically reduce the incidence of avoidable disease and curb health care costs in decades ahead.

• We will call on the Food and Drug Administration to accelerate its certification of technically sound alternatives to animal testing of drugs and cosmetics when considering data regarding product safety and efficacy.

AIDS

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.26

Those who suffer from AIDS, their families, and the men and women of medicine who care for the afflicted deserve our compassion and help. The Reagan-Bush Administration launched the nation's fight against AIDS, committing more than $5 billion in the last five years. For 1989, the President's budget recommends a 42 percent increase in current funding.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.26

We will vigorously fight against AIDS, recognizing that the enemy is one of the deadliest diseases to challenge medical research. Continued research on the virus is vital. We will continue as well to provide experimental drugs that may prolong life. We will establish within the Food and Drug Administration a process for expedited review of drugs which may benefit AIDS patients. We will allow supervised usage of experimental treatments.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.27

[p.27] We must not only marshal our scientific resources against AIDS, but must also protect those who do not have the disease. In this regard, education plays a critical role. AIDS education should emphasize that abstinence from drug abuse and sexual activity outside of marriage is the safest way to avoid infection with the AIDS virus. It is extremely important that testing and contact tracing measures be carried out and be appropriately confidential, as is the case with the long-standing public health measures to control other communicable diseases that are less dangerous than AIDS.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.27

We will remove barriers to making use of one's own (autologous) blood or blood from a designated donor, and we call for penalties for knowingly donating tainted blood or otherwise deliberately endangering others.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.27

The latency period between infection with the virus and onset of AIDS can be lengthy. People should be encouraged to seek early diagnosis and to remain on the job or in school as long as they are functionally capable.

Healthy Children, Healthy Families

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.27

As we strengthen the American family, we improve the health of the nation. From prenatal care to old age, strong family life is the lynchpin of wellness and compassion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.27

This is especially important with regard to babies. We have reduced infant mortality, but it remains a serious problem in areas where alcohol, drugs, and neglect take a fearful toll on newborns. We will target federal health programs to help mothers and infants get a good start in life. We will assist neighborhood institutions, including religious groups, in reaching out to those on the margins of society to save their children, especially from fetal alcohol syndrome, the major cause of birth defects in this country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.27

Inadequate prenatal care for expectant mothers is the cause of untold numbers of premature and low birth-weight babies. These newborns start life at severe disadvantage and often require massive health care investments to have a chance for normal childhood. We continue to endorse the provision of adequate prenatal care for all expectant mothers, especially the poor and young.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.27

We hail the way fetal medicine is revolutionizing care of children and dramatically expanding our knowledge of human development. Accordingly, we call for fetal protection, both in the work place and in scientific research.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.28

[p.28] Many of the health problems of young people today stem from poverty, moral confusion, and family disruption. Republicans are ready to address the root causes of today's youth crisis:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.28

• We will assert absolutes of right and wrong concerning drug abuse and other forms of self-destructive behavior.

• We will require parental consent for unemancipated minors to receive contraceptives from federally funded family planning clinics.

• We support efforts like the Adolescent Family Life program to teach teens the traditional values of restraint and the sanctity of marriage.

• We urge all branches of the entertainment and communications industry to exercise greater responsibility in addressing the youth market.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.28

To prepare for tomorrow's expanding opportunities, today's young Americans must be challenged by high values with the support that comes from strong families. That is the surest way to guide them to their own affirmation of life.

Older Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.28

Older Americans are both our bridge to all that is precious in our history and the enduring foundation on which we build the future. Young Americans see most clearly when they stand on the shoulders of the past.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.28

After eight years of President Reagan's youthful leadership, older Americans are safer and more secure. In 1980, we promised to put Social Security back on a sound financial footing. We delivered. We established the national commission that developed the plan to restore the system and led the way in enacting its recommendations into law.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.28

Now that Social Security is in healthy shape, congressional Democrats are plotting ways to use its short-term revenue surplus for their own purposes. We make this promise: They shall not do so. We pledge to preserve the integrity of the Social Security trust funds. We encourage public officials at all levels to safeguard the integrity of public and private pension funds against raiding by anyone, in labor, business, or government, such as in Massachusetts where the current Democrat governor has raided $29 million from the State pension reserves to fund his enormous deficit in the State budget.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.28

We will not allow liberal Democrats to imperil the other gains the elderly have made during the Reagan-Bush Administration:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.29

[p.29]• Inflation, the despoiler of household budgets for the aged, has been reduced to less than one-third its peak rate under the last Democrat Administration.

• Passage of our anti-crime legislation has helped target resources to fight crime against the elderly, many of whom have been prisoners in their own homes.

• As a result of the Republican economic program, the poverty rate for older Americans has declined by 20 percent during the Republican Administration. When the value of non-cash benefits is counted, the poverty rate is the lowest in history: 3 percent.

• We dramatically cut estate taxes so surviving spouses will not have to sell off the property they worked a lifetime to enjoy just to pay the IRS.

• President Reagan led the Congress in expanding Medicare coverage to include catastrophic health costs.

• Effective spending on Medicare has more than doubled. We have, however, saved money for both taxpayers and beneficiaries through reforms in Medicare procedures.

• Congressional Republicans have supported reauthorization of the broad range of programs under the Older Americans Act.

• The Republican Party reaffirms its long-standing opposition to the earnings test for Social Security recipients. Industrious older persons should not be penalized for continuing to contribute their skills and experience to society.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.29

The 1990s should be the best decade ever for America's older worker. Older Americans will be our natural teachers. In a civilization headed for the stars, they will help us keep our feet on the ground.

The Homeless

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.29

Republicans are determined to help the homeless as a matter of ethical commitment, as well as sound public policy. The Reagan-Bush Administration has been at the forefront of the effort:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.29

• In 1987, President Reagan signed a $1 billion aid package to help local governments aid the homeless.

• In 1988, the federal government will spend $400 million on emergency shelters and medical care alone. Today, a total of 45 federally assisted programs are potentially available to the homeless.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.30

[p.30]• In 1983, we launched an Emergency Food and Shelter Program under the Federal Emergency Management Administration.

• The General Services Administration has donated both buildings and equipment for shelters.

• In 1985, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) began to lease single-family homes at a nominal rent for use as shelters.

• The Department of Agriculture has provided hundreds of millions of dollars worth of surplus food—more than 1.1 billion pounds to soup kitchens and shelters.

• The Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration gives the States about a half-billion dollars a year to offset the lack of outpatient services.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.30

Homelessness demonstrates the failure of liberalism. It is the result of Democrat policies in the 1960s and 1970s that disrupted mental health care, family stability, low-cost housing, and the authority of towns and cities to deal with people in need. Republicans are ready to deal with the root causes of the problem:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.30

• Our top priority must be homeless families. As part of an overall emphasis on family responsibility, we will strongly enforce child support laws. We call for development of a model divorce reform law that will adequately safeguard the economic and social interests of mothers and children while securing fairness to fathers in decisions concerning child custody and support.

• We will improve safety in federally assisted shelters for the good of all, particularly families.

• We will work with State and local governments to ensure that education is available to homeless children. All appropriate federal education and health programs must make provision for the special needs of these youngsters.

• We will create, as a national emergency effort, a regulatory reform task force drawn from all levels of government to break through the restrictions that keep 1.7 million housing units unrehabilitated and out of use. We will explore incentives for the private sector to put these housing units back into service.

• As detailed elsewhere in this platform, we will advance tenant management and resident ownership of public housing as a proven means of upgrading the living environment of low-income families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.31

[p.31] • We favor expanding Community Development Block Grants for acquiring or rehabilitating buildings for shelters. We urge work requirements, no matter how modest, for shelter residents so they can retain skills and a sense of responsibility for their future.

• Rent controls promise housing below its market cost, but inevitably result in a shortage of decent homes. Our people should not have to underwrite any community which erodes its own housing supply by rent control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.31

We call upon the courts to cooperate with local officials and police departments in arranging for treatment for persons whose actions disrupt the community or endanger their own or others' safety.

Constitutional Government and Individual Rights

Equal Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.31

Since its inception, the Republican Party has stood for the worth of every person. On that ground, we support the pluralism and diversity that have been part of our country's greatness. "Deep in our hearts, we do believe":

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.31

• That bigotry has no place in American life. We denounce those persons, organizations, publications and movements which practice or promote racism, anti-Semitism or religious intolerance.

• That the Pledge of Allegiance should be recited daily in schools in all States. Students who learn we are "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all" will shun the politics of fear.

• In equal fights for all. The Reagan-Bush Administration has taken to court a record number of civil fights and employment discrimination cases. We will continue our vigorous enforcement of statutes to prevent illegal discrimination on account of sex, race, creed, or national origin.

• In guaranteeing opportunity, not dictating the results of fair competition. We will resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment. Quotas are the most insidious form of reverse discrimination against the innocent.

• In defending religious freedom. Mindful of our religious diversity, we firmly support the fight of students to engage in voluntary prayer in schools. We call for full enforcement of the Republican legislation that now guarantees equal access to school facilities by student religious groups.

• That the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We therefore reaffirm our support for a human life [p.32] amendment to the Constitution, and we endorse legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to unborn children. We oppose the use of public revenues for abortion and will eliminate funding for organizations which advocate or support abortion. We commend the efforts of those individuals and religious and private organizations that are providing positive alternatives to abortion by meeting the physical, emotional, and financial needs of pregnant women and offering adoption services where needed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.32

• We applaud President Reagan's fine record of judicial appointments, and we reaffirm our support for the appointment of judges at all levels of the judiciary who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life.

• That churches, religious schools and any other religious institution should not be taxed. We reject as wrong, bigoted, and a massive violation of the First Amendment the current attempt by the American Civil Liberties Union to tax the Roman Catholic Church or any other religious institutions it targets in the future.

Private Property

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.32

We believe the right of private property is the cornerstone of liberty. It safeguards for citizens everything of value, including their right of contract to produce and sell goods and services. We want to expand ownership to all Americans, for that is the key for individuals to control their own future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.32

To advance private stewardship of natural resources, we call for a reduction in the amount of land controlled by government, especially in our western States. Private ownership is best for our economy, best for our environment, and best for our communities. We likewise consider water rights a State issue, not a federal one.

Women's Rights

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.32

We renew our historic commitment to equal rights for women. The Republican Party pioneered the right of women to vote and initiated the rights now embodied in the Equal Pay Act, requiring equal pay for equal work. But legal rights mean nothing without opportunity, and that has been the hallmark of Republican policy. In government, the Reagan-Bush team has broken all records for the advancement of women to the most important positions: 28 percent of the top policy-level appointments went to women. But far more important than what we've done in government is what women have accomplished with the economic freedom and incentives our policies have provided them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.33

[p.33] We must remove remaining obstacles to women's achieving their full potential and full reward. That does not include the notion of federally mandated comparable worth, which would substitute the decisions of bureaucrats for the judgment of individuals. It does include equal rights for women who work for the Congress. We call upon the Democrat leadership of the House and Senate to join Republican Members in applying to Congress the civil rights laws that apply to the rest of the nation. Women should not be second-class citizens anywhere in our country, but least of all beneath the dome of the Capitol.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.33

• Recognizing that women represent less than 5 percent of the U.S. Congress, only 12 percent of the nation's statewide offices, plus 15 percent of State legislative positions, the Republican Party strongly supports the achievements of women in seeking an equal role in the governing of our country and is committed to the vigorous recruitment, training, and campaign support of women candidates at all levels.

Americans with Disabilities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.33

One measure of our country's greatness is the way it treats its disabled citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.33

Our citizens are the nation's most precious resource. As Republicans, we are committed to ensuring increased opportunities for every individual to reach his or her maximum potential. This commitment includes providing opportunities for individuals with disabilities. The 1980s have been a revolution, a declaration of independence for persons with disabilities, and Republicans have initiated policies which remove barriers so that such persons are more independent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.33

The most effective way to increase opportunities for such persons is to remove intentional and unintentional barriers to education, employment, housing, transportation, health care, and other basic services. Republicans have played an important role in removing such barriers:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.33

• Republicans supported the creation of a new program to provide early intervention services to infants and toddlers with disabilities.

• Republicans initiated a supported employment program that allows individuals with severe disabilities to earn competitive wages in integrated work settings, thus, in many instances, creating first-time taxpayers.

• Republicans initiated changes in the Social Security Act that now permit individuals with disabilities to work without losing health insurance coverage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.34

[p.34] • Republicans developed legislation to increase the availability of technology-related assistance for individuals with disabilities, thereby increasing their ability to do things for themselves, others, and their communities.

• Republicans have made a sustained commitment to policies that create opportunities for individuals with disabilities to lead productive and creative lives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.34

Republicans will continue to support such policies:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.34

• We recognize the great potential of disabled persons and support efforts to remove artificial barriers that inhibit them from reaching their potential, and making their contributions, in education, employment and recreation. This includes the removal, insofar as practicable, of architectural, transportation, communication and attitudinal barriers.

• We support efforts to provide disabled voters full access to the polls and opportunity to participate in all aspects of the political process.

• By promoting vigorous economic growth, we will provide incentives for the scientific and technological research that may reverse or compensate for many disabilities.

• We pledge to fight discrimination in health care. Following the example of President Reagan, we insist upon full treatment for disabled infants. We find no basis, whether in law or medicine or ethics, for denying care or treatment to any medically dependent or disabled person because of handicap, age, or infirmity.

• We will strongly enforce statutory prohibitions barring discrimination because of handicap in any program receiving federal financial assistance.

• We will protect the rights established under the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act. We will balance those rights against the public's right to be protected against diseases and conditions which directly threaten the health and safety of others.

• We recognize the need to procedural due process rights of persons with disabilities both to prevent their placement into inappropriate programs or settings and to ensure that their rights are represented by guardians or other advocates when necessary.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.34

We endorse policies that give individuals with disabilities the right to participate in decisions related to their education, the right to affect how and where they live and the right to choose or change a job or career.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.35

[p.35] To further promote the independence and productivity of people with disabilities and their integration into the mainstream of life, the Republican Party supports legislation to remove the bias in the Medicaid program toward serving disabled individuals in isolated institutional settings and ensure that appropriate, community-based services are reimbursable through Medicaid.

Native Americans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.35

We support self-determination for Indian Tribes in managing their own affairs and resources. Recognizing the government-to-government trust responsibility, we will work to end dependency fostered by federal controls. Reservations should be free to become enterprise zones so their people can fully share in America's prosperity. We will work with tribal governments to improve environmental conditions and will ensure equitable participation by Native Americans in federal programs in health, housing, job training and education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.35

We endorse efforts to preserve the culture of native Hawaiians and to ensure their equitable participation in federal programs that can recognize and preserve their unique place in the life of our nation.

The Right of Gun Ownership

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.35

Republicans defend the constitutional right to keep and bear arms. When this right is abused by an individual who uses a gun in the commission of a crime, we call for stiff, mandatory penalties.

The Rights of Workers

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.35

We affirm the right of all freely to form, join or assist labor organizations to bargain collectively, consistent with State laws. Labor relations must be based on fairness and mutual respect. We renew our long-standing support for the right of States to enact "Right-to-Work" laws. To protect the political rights of every worker, we oppose the use of compulsory dues or fees for partisan purposes. Workers should not have to pay for political activity they oppose, and no worker should be coerced by violence or intimidation by any party to a labor dispute.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.35

The Republican Party supports legislation to mend the Hobbs Act, so that union officials, like all other Americans, are once again subject to the law's prohibition against extortion and violence in labor disputes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.35

We also support amendments to the National Labor Relations Act to provide greater protection from labor violence for workers who choose to work during strikes. [p.36]

The Right to Political Participation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.36

Republicans want to broaden involvement in the political process. We oppose government controls that make it harder for average citizens to be politically active. We especially condemn the congressional Democrats' scheme to force taxpayer funding of campaigns.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.36

Because we support citizen participation in politics, we continue to favor whatever legislation may be necessary to permit American citizens residing in Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, the Northern Marianas Islands, and Puerto Rico to vote for president and vice president in national elections and permit their elected federal delegate to have the rights and privileges—except for voting on the floor—of other Members of Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.36

Puerto Rico has been a territory of the United States since 1898. The Republican Party vigorously supports the right of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico to be admitted into the Union as a fully sovereign State after they freely so determine. Therefore, we support the establishment of a presidential task force to prepare the necessary legislation to ensure that the people of Puerto Rico have the opportunity to exercise at the earliest possible date their right to apply for admission into the Union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.36

We also pledge that a decision of the people of Puerto Rico in favor of statehood will be implemented through an admission bill that would provide for a smooth fiscal transition, recognize the concept of a multi-cultural society for its citizens, and ensure the right to retain their Spanish language and traditions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.36

We recognize that the people of Guam have voted for a closer relationship with the United States of America, and we reaffirm our support of their right to improve their political relationship through a commonwealth status.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.36

The Republican Party welcomes, as the newest member of the American family, the people of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands, who became U.S. citizens with President Reagan's 1986 presidential proclamation.

Immigration

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.36

We welcome those from other lands who bring to America their ideals and industry. At the same time, we insist upon our country's absolute right to control its borders. We call upon our allies to join us in the responsibility shared by all democratic nations for resettlement of refugees, especially those fleeing communism in Southeast Asia. [p.37]

Restoring the Constitution

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.37

We reassert adherence to the Tenth Amendment, reserving to the States and to the people all powers not expressly delegated to the national government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.37

Our Constitution provides for a separation of powers among the three branches of government. In that system, judicial power must be exercised with deference toward State and local authority; it must not expand at the expense of our representative institutions. When the courts try to reorder the priorities of the American people, they undermine the stature of the judiciary and erode respect for the rule of law. That is why we commend the Reagan-Bush team for naming to the federal courts distinguished women and men committed to judicial restraint, the rights of law-abiding citizens, and traditional family values. We pledge to continue their record. Where appropriate, we support congressional use of Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution to restrict the jurisdiction of federal courts.

Government Ethics and Congressional Reform

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.37

As the United States celebrates the bicentennial of the U.S. Congress, many Americans are becoming painfully aware that they are being dis-enfranchised and inadequately represented by their elected officials.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.37

Indeed, the process of government has broken down on Capitol Hill. The Founding Fathers of the United States Constitution would be shocked by congressional behavior:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.37

• The Democrat congressional leaders exempt themselves from the laws they impose on the people in areas like health, safety and civil rights.

• Salaries and staff keep growing. Lavish free mailing privileges and other power perks help most incumbents hold onto their offices, election after election.

• Out of 91 appropriations bills in the past seven years, only seven made it to the president's desk on time.

• A catch-all bill to fund the government for 1988 was 2,100 pages long, lumping together 13 money bills that should have been separately subject to presidential review.

• $44 billion is currently being spent for programs not authorized by legislation.

• Special interest spending and pork barrel deals are larded throughout massive bills passed in chaotic late-night sessions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.38

[p.38] • Vetoed bills are not dealt with directly by the Congress but are buried in other pending legislation.

• Phony numbers are used to estimate budgets and to cover up the true costs of legislation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.38

Even worse, outright offenses against ethical standards and public laws are treated lightly. National security leaks go unpunished. In the House of Representatives, the Ethics Committee has become a shield for Democrats who get caught but don't get punished.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.38

After 36 years of one-party rule, the House of Representatives is no longer the people's branch of government. It is the broken branch. It is an arrogant oligarchy that has subverted the Constitution. The Democrat congressional leaders:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.38

• Stole a congressional seat from the people of Indiana by barring a duly elected, and officially certified, Republican Member.

• Flagrantly abuse every standard of accepted procedure by adjourning and, contrary to 200 years of House tradition, immediately reconvening in order to create a "new day" and pass legislation previously defeated.

• Deny the century-old right of the minority party to offer its final alternatives to bills.

• Change House rules to prevent debate and thwart the offering of amendments.

• Rig adoption of substantive legislation on mere procedural votes, so their followers won't be accountable on controversial votes to the people back home.

• Protect their cronies charged with personal misconduct or criminal activities.

• Refuse to allow the House to vote on issues of tremendous concern to the American people and viciously penalize independent Democrats who vote their conscience.

• Rig the subcommittee system to give themselves artificial majorities and additional staff members.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.38

Republicans want to hold accountable to the people, the Congress and every other element of government. We will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.38

• Extend the independent counsel law to Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.38

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.39

[p.39] • Apply health and safety laws and civil rights statutes to the Congress.

• Give to whistle-blowers on Capitol Hill the same legal protection they have in the executive branch, to encourage employees to report illegalities, corruption and sexual harassment.

• Implement the budget reform agenda outlined elsewhere in this platform—a balanced budget amendment, line-item veto, and other steps—to restore accountability, order, and truth in government to the way Congress spends the people's money.

• Support citizen efforts in the Senate to defeat the gerrymanders that steal seats for Democrat congressmen by denying fair representation to the voters.

• Force democracy into the committee system of the House so that committees and staffs reflect the overall composition of the House.

• We favor a constitutional amendment which would place some restriction on the number of consecutive terms a man or woman may serve in the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate. [p.40]

Education for the Future

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.40

Republican leadership has launched a new era in American education. Our vision of excellence has brought education back to parents, back to basics, and back on a track of excellence leading to a brighter and stronger future for America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.40

Because education is the key to opportunity, we must make America a nation of learners, ready to compete in the rapidly changing world of the future. Our goal is to combine traditional values and enduring truths with the most modern techniques and technology for teaching and learning.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.40

This challenge will be immense. For two decades before 1981, poor public policies had led to an alarming decline in performance in our schools. Unfocused federal spending seemed to worsen the situation, hamstringing education with regulations and wasting resources in faddish programs top-heavy with administrative overhead.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.40

Then President Reagan and Vice President Bush rallied our "nation at risk." The response was in the best tradition of the American people. In every State, indeed, in every community, individuals and organizations have launched a neighborhood movement for education reform. It has brought together Americans of every race and creed in a crusade for our children's future. Since 1980, average salaries for elementary and secondary teachers have increased to over $28,000, an increase of 20 percent after inflation. We can enhance this record of accomplishment by committing ourselves to these principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.40

• Parents have the primary right and responsibility for education. Private institutions, communities, States, and the federal government must support and stimulate that parental role. We support the right of parents to educate their children at home.

• Choice and competition in education foster quality and protect consumers' rights.

• Accountability and evaluation of performance at all levels of education is the key to continuing reform in education. We must reward excellence in learning, in teaching, and in administration.

• Values are the core of good education. A free society needs a moral foundation for its learning. We oppose any programs in public schools which provide birth control or abortion services or referrals. Our "first line of defense" to protect our youth from contracting AIDS and other sexually communicable diseases, from teen pregnancy, and from illegal drug use must be abstinence education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.41

[p.41] • Quality in education should be available to all our children within their communities and neighborhoods. Federal policy should empower low-income families to choose quality and demand accountability in their children's schooling.

• Throughout all levels of education we must initiate action to reduce the deplorable dropout rate which deprives young people of their full potential.

• Federal programs must focus on students at special risk, especially those with physical disabilities or language deficits, to increase their chance at a productive future in the mainstream of American life.

• Because America's future will require increasingly competent leadership in all walks of life, national policy should emphasize the need to provide our most talented students with special programs to challenge their abilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.41

Based on those principles, the Republican agenda for better education looks first to home and family, then to communities and States. In States and localities, we support practical, down-to-earth reforms that have made a proven difference in actual operation:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.41

• Choice in education, especially for poor families, fosters the parental involvement that is essential for student success, and States should consider enacting voucher systems or other means of encouraging competition among public schools.

• Performance testing, both for students and teachers, measures progress, assures accountability to parents and the public, and keeps standards high.

• Merit pay, career ladders, or other rewards for superior teachers acknowledge our esteem for them and encourage others to follow their example of dedication to a profession that is critical to our nation's future.

• Making use of volunteerism from the private sector and providing opportunity for accelerated accreditation for those with needed expertise broadens the classroom experience and encourages excellence.

• Expansions of curriculum to include the teaching of the history, culture, geography and, particularly, the languages of key nations of the world is a necessity. To compete successfully throughout the world, we must acquire the ability to speak the languages of our customers.

• Excellence in the teaching of geography is essential to equipping our people with the ability to capture new markets in all parts of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.42

[p.42] • Discipline is a prerequisite for learning. Our schools must be models of order and decorum, not jungles of drugs and violence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.42

On the federal level, Republicans have worked to facilitate State and local reform movements:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.42

• We kept the spotlight on the reform movement through White House leadership, and we refocused the Department of Education to recognize and foster excellence.

• We enacted legislation to ensure equal access to schools for student religious groups and led congressional efforts to restore voluntary school prayer.

• We led a national crusade against illiteracy, following the example of Barbara Bush.

• We put into law protection for pupils in federally funded programs, to shield students and their families from intrusive research and offensive psychological testing.

• We strengthened education programs by proposing to replace federal aid to schools with direct assistance that would give choice to low-income parents.

• We broke new ground in early childhood development programs, such as Even Start, that emphasize the involvement of parents in the learning process and address adult illiteracy and school readiness education holistically.

• We intervened in court cases to defend the right of students to learn in a safe, drug-free environment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.42

We will continue to advance that agenda and to expand horizons for learning, teaching, and mastering the future:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.42

• We will protect the Pledge of Allegiance in all schools as a reminder of the values which must be at the core of learning for a free society.

• We will use federal programs to foster excellence, rewarding "Merit Schools" which significantly improve education for their students.

• We will urge our local school districts to recognize the value of kindergarten and pre-kindergarten programs.

• We will direct federal matching funds to promote magnet schools that turn students toward the challenges of the future rather than the failures of the past.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.43

• We will support laboratories of educational excellence in every State by refocusing federal funds for educational research.

• We will increase funding for the Head Start program to help children get a fair chance at learning, right from the beginning.

• We will work with local schools and the private sector to develop models For evaluating teachers and other school officials.

• We will continue to support tuition tax credits for parents who choose to educate their children in private educational institutions.

• We would establish a public-private partnership using the Department of Labor's Job Training Partnership Act funds to encourage youth to stay in school and graduate. The Labor Department funds would be made available to local employers and business groups to hire high school students after school and during the summer with the requirement that they keep their grades at a "C" average or above until graduation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.43

In higher education, Republicans want to promote both opportunity and responsibility:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.43

• We will keep resources focused on low-income students and address the barriers that discourage minority students from entering and succeeding in institutions of higher education.

• We are determined to reverse the intolerable rates of default in the guaranteed student loan program to make more money available to those who really need to borrow it.

• We will keep the spotlight of public attention on the college cost spiral—running far ahead of inflation overall—and challenge administrators to exercise more fiscal responsibility.

• We will create a College Savings Bond program, with tax-exempt interest, to help families save for their children's higher education.

• We will condition federal aid to post-secondary institutions upon their good faith effort to maintain safe and drug-free campuses.

• We will insist that freedom of speech is not only a fundamental right, it is one of the first lines of education. This freedom should be afforded to all speakers with a minimum of harassment.

• We will continue education benefits for veterans of military service and advance the principle that those who serve their country in the armed forces have first call on federal education assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.44

• We will continue the Reagan-Bush policy of emphasizing vocational-technical education. A large number of jobs in our society require secondary and post-secondary vocational-technical education. Federal programs and policies must recognize and enhance vocational-technical students.

• We will support educational programs in federal prisons that will allow prisoners the opportunity to become literate and to learn an employable skill. We encourage similar programs at the state level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.44

To compete globally, our society must prepare our children for the world of work. We cannot allow one of every eight 17-year-olds to remain functionally illiterate. We cannot allow 1 million students to drop out of high school every year, most of them without basic skills; therefore, we must teach them reading, writing, and mathematics. We must reestablish their obligation to learn.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.44

Education for the future means more than formal schooling in classrooms. About 75 percent of our current work force will need some degree of retraining by the year 2000. More than half of all jobs we will create in the 1990s will require some education beyond high school, and much of that will be obtained outside of regular educational institutions. Unprecedented flexibility in working arrangements, career changes, and a stampede of technological advance are ushering us into a era of lifelong learning. Therefore, we support employment training programs at all levels of government such as the Job Training Partnership Act and the recently restructured Worker Adjustment Program for dislocated workers. The placement success of these programs can be directly traced to their public/private sector partnerships and local involvement in their program development and implementation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.44

In the 1960s and 1970s, we learned what doesn't solve the problems of education: federal financing and regimentation of our schools. In the 1980s, we asserted what works: parental responsibility, community support and local control, good teachers and determined administrators, and a return to the basic values and content of Western civilization. That combination gave generations of Americans the world's greatest opportunities for learning. It can guarantee the same for future generations.

Arts and Humanities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.44

Republicans consider the resurgence of the arts and humanities a vital part of getting back to basics in education. Our young people must acquire more than information and skills. They must learn to reason and to [p.45] appreciate the intellectual achievements that express the enduring values of our civilization. To that end, we will:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.45

• Continue the Republican economic renaissance which has made possible a tremendous outpouring of support for the arts and humanities.

• Support full deductibility for donations to tax-exempt cultural institutions in order to encourage the private support of arts and humanities.

• Support the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities and the Institute of Museum Services in their effort to support America's cultural institutions, artists, and scholars.

• Guard against the misuse of governmental grants by those who attack or derogate any race or creed and oppose the politicization of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.45

While recognizing the diversity of our people, we encourage educational institutions to emphasize in the arts and humanities those ideas and cultural accomplishments that address the ethical foundations of our culture.

Science and Technology

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.45

Our nation's continuing progress depends on scientific and technological innovation. It is America's economic fountain of youth. Republicans advocate a creative partnership between government and the private sector to ensure the dynamism and creativity of scientific research and technology:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.45

• We recognize that excellence in education, and especially scientific literacy, is a precondition for progress, and that economic growth makes possible the nation's continuing advancement in scientific research.

• We consider a key priority in any increased funding for the National Science Foundation the retooling of science and engineering labs at colleges and universities.

• We endorse major national projects like the superconducting Super Collider.

• We will ensure that tax policy gives optimum incentives for the private sector to fund a high level of advanced research. Toward that end, we will make permanent the current tax credit for research and development and extend it to cooperative research ventures.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.46

[p.46] • We will strengthen the role of science and engineering in national policy by reinforcing the Office of the President's Science Adviser with the addition of a Science Advisory Council.

• We will encourage exchange of scientific information, especially between business and academic institutions, to speed up the application of research to benefit the public.

• We will improve the acquisition of scientific and technical information from other countries through expedited translation services and more aggressive outreach by federal agencies.

• We will include international technology flows as part of U.S. trade negotiations to ensure that the benefits of foreign advances are available to Americans.

• We will encourage innovation by strengthening protection for intellectual property at home and abroad. We will promote the public benefits that come from commercialization of research conducted under federal sponsorship by allowing private ownership of intellectual property developed in that manner.

• We will oppose regulation which stifles competition and hinders breakthroughs that can transform life for the better in areas like biotechnology.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.46

This is an agenda for more than science and technology. It will broaden economic opportunity, sustain our ability to compete globally, and enhance the quality of life for all.

Space

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.46

The Republican Party will reestablish U.S. preeminence in space. It is our nation's frontier, our manifest destiny. President Reagan has set ambitious goals for a space comeback. We are determined to meet them and move on to even greater challenges.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.46

We support further development of the space station, the National Aerospace Plane, Project Pathfinder, a replacement shuttle, and the development of alternate launch vehicles. We endorse Mission to Planet Earth for space science to advance our understanding of environmental and climatic forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.47

A resurgent America, renewed economically and in spirit, must get on [p.47] with its business of greatness. We must commit to a manned flight to Mars around the year 2000 and to continue exploration of the moon.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.47

These goals will be achievable only with full participation by private initiative. We welcome the Reagan-Bush initiative to increase the role of the private sector in transport, particularly in the launch of commercial satellites. The Reagan-Bush Administration's proposed space station will allow the private sector additional opportunities in the area of research and manufacturing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.47

Our program for freedom in space will allow millions of American investors to put their money on the future. That's one of the ways to lift the conquest of space out of the congressional budget logjam. Republicans believe that America must have a clear vision for the future of the space program, well-defined goals, and streamlined implementation, as we reach for the stars.

Strong Communities and Neighborhoods

Crime

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.47

Republicans want a free and open society for every American. That means more than economic advancement alone. It requires the safety and security of persons and their property. It demands an end to crime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.47

Republicans stand with the men and women who put their lives on the line every day, in State and local police forces and in federal law enforcement agencies. We are determined to reestablish safety in the streets of those Communities where the poor, the hard-working, and the elderly now live in fear. Despite opposition from liberal Democrats, we've made a start:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.47

• The rate of violent crime has fallen 20 percent since 1981. Personal thefts fell 21 percent, robberies fell 31 percent, assaults fell 17 percent, and household burglaries fell 30 percent.

• In 1986, crimes against individuals reached their lowest level in 14 years.

• The Reagan-Bush Administration has crusaded for victims' rights in trials and sentencing procedures and has advocated restitution by felons to their victims.

• We have been tough on white-collar crime, too. We have filed more criminal anti-trust cases than the previous Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.48

[p.48] • We pushed a historic reform of toughened sentencing procedures for federal courts to make the punishment fit the crime.

• We appointed to the courts judges who have been sensitive to the rights of victims and law abiding citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.48

We will forge ahead with the Republican anti-crime agenda:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.48

• We must never allow the presidency and the Department of Justice to fall into the hands of those who coddle hardened criminals. Republicans oppose furloughs for those criminals convicted of first degree murder and others who are serving a life sentence without possibility of parole. We believe that victims' rights should not be accorded less importance than those of convicted felons.

• We will reestablish the federal death penalty.

• We will reform the exclusionary rule, to prevent the release of guilty felons on technicalities.

• We will reform cumbersome habeas corpus procedures, used to delay cases and prevent punishment of the guilty.

• We support State laws implementing preventive detention to allow courts to deny bail to those considered dangerous and likely to commit additional crimes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.48

The election of 1988 will determine which way our country deals with crime. A Republican President and a Republican Congress can lay the foundation for a safer future.

Drug-Free America

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.48

The Republican Party is committed to a drug-free America. Our policy is strict accountability, for users of illegal drugs as well as for those who profit by that usage.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.48

The drug epidemic didn't just happen. It was fueled by the liberal attitudes of the 1960s and 1970s that tolerated drug usage. Drug abuse directly threatens the fabric of our society. It is part of a worldwide narcotics empire whose $300 billion business makes it one of the largest industries on earth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.48

The Reagan-Bush Administration has set out to destroy it. In the past six years, federal drug arrests have increased by two-thirds. Compared to 1980, two and a half times as many drug offenders were sent to prison in [p.49] 1987. Federal spending for drug enforcement programs more than tripled in the last seven years. And we have broken new ground by enlisting U.S. intelligence agencies in the fight against drug trafficking.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.49

Drug usage in our armed forces has plummeted as a direct result of an aggressive education and random testing program. In 1983, we instituted random drug testing in the Coast Guard. At that time, 10.3 percent of the tests showed positive drug usage. As a result of this testing program, the positive usage rate fell dramatically to 2.9 percent in 1987. The Reagan-Bush Administration has also undertaken efforts to insure that all those in safety related positions in our transportation system are covered by similar drug testing requirements. We commend this effort.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.49

We are determined to finish the job:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.49

• The Republican Party unequivocally opposes legalizing or de-criminalizing any illicit drug.

• We support strong penalties, including the death penalty for major drug traffickers.

• User accountability for drug usage is long overdue. Conviction for any drug crime should make the offender ineligible for discretionary federal assistance, grants, loans, and contracts for a period of time.

• To impress young Americans with the seriousness of our fight against drugs, we urge States to suspend eligibility for a driver's license to anyone convicted of a drug offense.

• We urge school districts to get tough on illegal drug use by notifying parents and police whenever it is discovered.

• We will encourage tougher penalties for those who use children in illegal narcotics operations.

• We will require federal contractors and grantees to establish a drug-free work place with the goal that no American will have to work around drug abuse.

• We will suspend passports from those convicted of major drug offenses.

• To protect residents of public housing, we will evict persons dealing in drugs. We will foster resident review committees to screen out drug abusers and dealers. We will promote tenant management as the surest cure for the drug plague in public projects.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.50

[p.50] • We will strengthen interdiction of foreign drugs and expand the military's role in stopping traffickers.

• We will work with foreign governments to eradicate drug crops in their countries.

• In a summit of Western Hemisphere nations, we will seek total cooperation from other governments in wiping out the international drug empire.

• In addition to our enforcement activities, we encourage drug education in our schools. These programs should begin as early as the elementary school years, before children are subjected to peer pressure to experiment with drugs, and should continue through high school. Cutting down on the demand for drugs will be of great assistance as we increase our enforcement efforts to reduce drug supply.

• We will encourage seizure and forfeiture programs by the Department of the Treasury and each State to take the profits out of illicit drug sales.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.50

We commend our fellow citizens who are actively joining the war against drugs. Drug dealers are domestic terrorists, and we salute the heroic residents of poor neighborhoods who have boldly shut down crack houses and run traffickers out of their communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.50

We recognize the need to improve the availability of drug rehabilitation and treatment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.50

There's a bright side to the picture. We know the most powerful deterrent to drug abuse: strong, stable family life, along with the absolute approach summed up in "Just Say No." Nancy Reagan has made that phrase the battle-cry of the war against drugs, and it is echoed by more than 10,000 Just Say No clubs. We salute her for pointing the way to our nation's drug-free future.

Opportunity and Assistance

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.50

Our country's economic miracle of the last eight years has been the most successful assault on poverty in our era. Millions of families have worked their way into the mainstream of national life. The poverty rate continues to decline. However, many remain in poverty, and we pledge to help them in their straggle for self-sufficiency and independence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.51

For most of our country's history, helping those less fortunate was a [p.51] community responsibility. Strong families pulled together, and strong communities cared for those in need. That is more than a description of the past. It is a prescription for the future, pointing the way toward real reform of today's welfare mess through these Republican principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.51

• We support the maintenance of income assistance programs for those who cannot work. In particular, we recognize our responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for the aged, the disabled, and children dependent upon the community.

• Poverty can be addressed by income assistance or in-kind services. Dependency, on the other hand, requires a comprehensive strategy to change patterns of attitude and behavior. We will work to address both poverty and dependency.

• Work is an essential component of welfare reform, and education is an essential component of employability. Welfare reform must require participation in education and work, and provide day care assistance and continued access to Medicaid during the transition to full independence.

• Fathers of welfare dependent children must be held accountable by mandating paternity determinations and requiring the participation of unemployed fathers in education and work programs.

• State and local administration of education, work, and welfare programs is best for both the taxpayers and those in need.

• State and local pilot programs in welfare are the cutting edge of welfare reform. States should be granted the authority by the federal government to pursue innovative programs which return teen mothers to school and welfare recipients to work. Congressional Democrats are blocking the expansion of this vital process. A Republican Congress will give the States authority to meet local needs.

• Welfare fraud is an offense against both the taxpayers and the poor. Whether perpetrated by participants or providers of services its eradication is an essential component of a compassionate welfare policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.51

We are committed to assisting those in need. We are equally committed to addressing the root causes of poverty. Divorce, desertion, and illegitimacy have been responsible for almost all the increase in child poverty in [p.52] the last 15 years. Because strong family life is the most remarkable anti-poverty force in history, Republicans will make the reinforcement of family rights and responsibilities an essential component of public policy. Stronger enforcement of child support laws must be an important part of that effort, along with the revision of State laws which have left many women and children vulnerable to economic distress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.52

Children in poverty deserve our strongest support. We are committed to safer neighborhoods and full prosecution for child abuse and exploitation. We will reach out to these children through Head Start and targeted education, basic health and nutrition assistance, local community efforts and individual concern. But something more is required to fulfill the hope for self-sufficiency: a job in an expanding economy. The compassionate policy for children in need is the chance for families to stand on their own feet in a society filled with opportunity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.52

Fighting poverty means much more than distributing cash. It includes education and work programs. It means reducing illiteracy, the single greatest indicator of life-long poverty. It involves combatting crime so that the homes and earnings of the poor are secure. It includes Republican reforms in public housing, like resident management and ownership. It requires regulatory reforms to open up opportunities for those on the margins of the work force. It means streamlining adoption rules and ensuring poor parents a real say in their children's education. Above all, it means maintaining a strong, healthy economy that creates jobs.

Urban Revitalization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.52

Urban America is center stage of our country's future. That is why we address its problems and potential throughout this platform, rather than limiting our concern to a particular section. In doing so, Republicans follow three broad principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.52

• Economic growth is the most important urban program. Because we cut taxes, a new prosperity has transformed many towns and cities. Because we forced down inflation, cities pay much lower bond rates. Because we created 17.5 million new jobs through a thriving economy, millions of urban residents have seized the opportunity to escape welfare and unemployment. Because we slashed regulatory burdens, enterprise is transforming areas untouched by government programs of past years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.53

[p.53] • Local control is the best form of administration. That's why we merged federal programs into block grants for community development and housing.

• Citizen choice is the key to successful government. Options in education empower parents and attract new residents. Options in public housing transform slums into real communities, bustling with enterprise and hope.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.53

Building on those principles, Republicans will advance our urban opportunity agenda which includes:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.53

• Enterprise zones, where tax incentives and regulatory reforms open the way for creating jobs and rebuilding neighborhoods from the ground up which have been blocked by the Democrats in Congress.

• Resident control—both management and ownership—of public housing, with a goal of transferring one-third of the country's public housing space to tenants by 1995.

• Urban homesteading and other programs to ensure affordable housing opportunities in our cities.

• Emergency waiver of Davis-Bacon wage requirements for cities with severe deterioration of the public infrastructure.

• Contracting out public services to workers in the private sector.

• Education assistance directed to low-income households instead of aid to institutions that fail to meet their needs.

• Continued reduction in crime rates, especially street crime and the violence that destroys community life.

• Unrelenting war on drugs.

• Greater control by local government in federally assisted programs, especially transportation and housing.

• Steady environmental progress to ensure clean air and clean water to our cities and assist local governments in solving their solid waste disposal problems in order to make our cities safe and healthy places to live.

• Special attention to urban residents in the national census, to ensure that cities are not shortchanged in federal representation or in federal programs based upon population.[p.54]

Rural Community Development and the Family Farm

Introduction

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.54

Republicans see a robust future for American agriculture. Rural America is our country's heartland and pillar of economic and moral strength. From its small towns and communities comes more than the world's greatest bounty of food. From them also comes a commitment to the land by a proud and independent people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.54

For much of this century, the first line of defense against world hunger has been the American farmer and rancher. In the future as in the past, the enterprise of rural Americans will be crucial to the progress of our country and of mankind. The entire nation—and indeed, the world—benefits from their unsurpassed productivity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.54

When farmers and ranchers face adversity, the communities that depend on them do, too. When farmers' income falls, the earnings of others follow. When agriculture suffers, the tax base and public services of whole regions decline.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.54

That is why the current drought is an emergency for our entire country. It will affect every American: the way we live, the food we eat, the land we cherish. We cannot promise to bring rain, but we can bend every arm of government to provide for the expeditious relief of farmers and ranchers in trouble. We pledge to do so. We will focus assistance on those most seriously hurt by the drought. With strong Republican support in the House and Senate, a major relief bill has been signed by President Reagan.

The Record

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.54

Some disasters are man-made. In the late 1970s, American agriculture bore the brunt of bad public policy. Long thereafter, farmers suffered the consequences of those four years of devastating Democrat mismanagement. Inflation drove production costs and farm debt to their highest levels in history. To top it off, the Democrats' embargo of grain and other agricultural products dealt a blow to the nation's heartland from which many farmers never recovered.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.54

NEVER AGAIN!

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.54

For eight years, Ronald Reagan and George Bush have provided the leadership to turn that situation around. Despite strong Democrat [p.55] opposition, Republicans have made a good beginning. Because of Republican policies, America's farm and rural sector is coming alive again:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.55

• Inflation, unemployment, and interest rates are at their lowest levels in years. Our dollar exchange rate is more competitive.

• Land values, the best indicator of farm prospects, have stabilized and are rising in many areas.

• Farm credit institutions, both public and private, are back on their feet.

• Farm debt has been reduced from $193 billion in 1983 to a projected $137 billion in 1988.

• Net farm income increased to its highest level ever in 1987, reaching $46 billion, while net cash income was also a record at $57 billion.

• We have reduced price-depressing surpluses to their lowest levels in many years. Total grain surpluses have been cut in half from their high in 1986.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.55

In summary, increased agricultural exports, higher commodity and livestock prices, increased profits and land values, declining farm debt and surpluses, all these point to a healthier outlook for the rural economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.55

The recovery is no accident. Republicans have acted decisively in the interest of rural America. Look at the record:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.55

• In 1981, we immediately halted the Democrats' embargo on grain and other agricultural products and kept our pledge always to be a reliable supplier. We now reaffirm our promise never to use food as a weapon as was done by the last Democrat Administration.

• We have successfully opened more markets for our agricultural commodities and value-added products around the world through competitive pricing, aggressive use of the Export Enhancement Program, the Targeted Export Assistance Program, marketing loans, and generic commodity certificates.

• Through tough trade negotiations, we have opened markets abroad, including the Japanese beef and citrus markets. Numerous markets for specialty products have also been opened.

• We ended the notorious "widow's tax" so surviving spouses don't have to sell family farms and ranches to meet inheritance taxes. We also reduced other burdensome inheritance taxes for farm and ranch families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.56

[p.56] • In 1985, President Reagan signed one of the most successful farm bills in modern history. The dual goals of protecting farm income while gaining back our lost markets are being achieved.

• We have given farmers the opportunity to profitably retire millions of acres of erodible and generally less productive land through the Conservation Reserve Program, and we enacted legislation to ensure that taxpayers' dollars will not be used to subsidize soil erosion or otherwise damage the environment that makes rural America a place where people want to live.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.56

The Democrats offer nothing for the future of farming. Their plan for mandatory production controls would make productive and efficient American farmers beat a full-scale retreat from the world market:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.56

• It would be a boon to family farms—in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, the European Community, Australia, and other competitor nations.

• It would pull the plug on rural Americans. It would sound a death-knell for rural towns and cities as land is taken from production. According to a United States Department of Agriculture study, it would reduce Gross National Product by $64 billion and wipe out 2.1 million jobs in the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.56

In short, Democrats want to put farmers on welfare while Republicans want to look after the welfare of all rural Americans.

Our Global Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.56

Better than most people, agriculturists know we live in a global economy. America's farmers, ranchers, foresters, and fishermen can compete against anyone in the world if trade rules are fair.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.56

We recognize the historical contribution of agricultural exports to a positive national trade balance and will work on all fronts to improve agricultural trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.56

Republicans will aggressively pursue fair and free trade for all U.S. products:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.56

• We will insist that production-, consumption-, and trade-distorting agricultural subsidies of the European Economic Community and others be phased out simultaneously with the phasing out of our farm and export assistance programs.

• We will continue to put free and fair trade for farmers and ranchers on the agenda of every international conference on trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.57

[p.57] • We will use free trade agreements with good trading partners as leverage to open markets elsewhere.

• We will be a reliable supplier of agricultural products to world markets and will not use food as a weapon of foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.57

In short, instead of retreat, Republicans promise a full-scale assault on foreign markets.

The Future

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.57

Republicans will work to improve agricultural income through market returns at home and abroad, not government controls and subsidies:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.57

• We pledge early action to renew and improve the successful farm programs set to expire in 1990.

• We pledge to continue international food assistance, including programs through the Eisenhower Food for Peace program, to feed the world's hungry and develop markets abroad.

• We will continue to provide leadership in the effort to improve standards of quality for grain and other agricultural products in order to meet international competition.

• We call for greater planting flexibility in federal programs to allow more diversity in fanning and more freedom for farmers to grow what they want to grow and to sell their products to whoever will buy them.

• We recognize the need for appropriate multiple-use policy on federal range lands and retention of a fair and equitable grazing fee policy as has been established by the Reagan Administration.

• We support a States' review of the adequacy of crop irrigation capacity under severe water shortage conditions, such as the 1988 drought, to identify areas of potential need and development.

• Water use policy formulation belongs to the States without federal interference; we recognize traditional State supremacy in water law, which is the best bulwark against future water crises.

• We resolve to lower tax rates for long-term capital gains and to work for fairer preproductive expense capitalization laws, including the so-called "heifer tax" as just one example, to promote investment in the production of food and fiber.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.58

[p.58] • We stand with the nation's foresters and the communities that depend on the forest products industry in supporting an annual timber harvest and multiple-use policy that meets national needs both for a sustained yield of wood products and for sound environmental management.

• We will continue our strong support for agricultural research, including increased emphasis on developing new uses for farm products, such as alternative fuels, food, non-food and industrial products. The agricultural industry is, and always has been, on the leading edge of the technological revolution, and it must continue this tradition in order to be internationally competitive.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.58

Net Cash Farm Income

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.58

• We will encourage public and private research and technical assistance to ensure that the resource base of American agriculture is preserved. Sound stewardship of our land and water resources is important for this and future generations. The soil and water resources of our nation must provide profit for farmers and ranchers and a safe and wholesome food [p.59] supply. Our Land Grant institutions, working with the private sector, can provide more environmentally safe and biodegradable agrichemicals and improved farming techniques that will help preserve the quality of our underground and surface water supplies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.59

• We pledge that State farm home exemption and redemption rights shall remain inviolate from federal interference.

Rural Economic Development

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.59

Republicans realize that rural communities face challenges that go beyond agricultural concerns. Rural economic development is about more than jobs; it is also about the quality of life. We are ready to address the needs of rural America with creativity and compassion:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.59

• The best jobs program for rural Americans is a good farm program.

• The key to rural development is effective local leadership working in partnership with private business and federal, State, and local governments. We will advance, in Congress and at the State level, rural enterprise zones to attract investment and create jobs geared to the opportunities of the century ahead.

• Education is the crucial element in ensuring that rural Americans will be in the mainstream of our national future. We must assure rural youngsters quality education and good schools.

• The roads, bridges, schools, sewer and water systems, and other public works of many rural communities have deteriorated. We will ensure that those communities receive their fair share of aid under federal assistance programs.

• Discrimination against rural hospitals and medical practices in federal reimbursement of health care costs has contributed to reduced medical services in rural America. We pledge to help rural Americans meet their health care needs and will ensure fair treatment for their health care institutions under federal health programs.

• To have full participation in our country's unbounded future, rural people will need access to modern telecommunications and satellite communications systems including commercial decryption devices. Adequate supplies of reasonably priced electric power are also a necessity. We continue to support a strong rural electrification and telephone program. We believe the network of local rural electric and [p.60] telephone cooperatives that provide these services represents a vital public/private partnership necessary to assure growth and development of the rural economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.60

• We will energetically use the Job Training Partnership Act and a newly enacted worker retraining program to ensure that rural workers are fully integrated into the work force of the future.

• We will continue to support programs that enhance housing, business, and industry opportunities for rural Americans; and we will adapt urban homesteading programs to rural communities.

• Sound agricultural policy for rural America demands sound economic policy for all America. We will continue to stabilize fiscal and monetary policies in order to keep inflation in check and interest rates stable. This foundation of economic stability must underlie all rural initiatives by levels of government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.60

This is our pledge for the continuing renewal of a prosperous rural America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.60

Agricultural Interest Rates

Energy, Environment, and Transportation

Energy for the Future

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.61

To make real their vision for the future, the American people need adequate, safe, and reliable supplies of energy. Both the security of our nation and the prosperity of our households will depend upon clean and affordable power to light the way ahead and speed a daring society toward its goals. We recognize that energy is a security issue as well as an economic issue. We cannot have a strong nation if we are not energy independent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.61

We are part way there. In 1981, Republican leadership replaced the Democrats' energy crisis with energy consensus. We rejected scarcity, fostered growth, and set course for an expansive future. We left behind the days of gasoline lines, building-temperature controls, the multi-billion dollar boondoggle of the Synfuels Corporation, and the cancellation of night baseball games.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.61

The Carter-Mondale years of crippling regulation and exorbitant costs are a thing of the past. We returned the country to policies that encourage rather than discourage domestic production of energy. With a free, more competitive system of producing and marketing energy, American consumers gained a wider range of energy choices at lower prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.61

Cumulative Strategic Petroleum Reserve Oil Fill

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.62

During the Reagan-Bush years, we loosened OPEC's hold on the world's petroleum markets. The United States built up its Strategic Petroleum Reserve and persuaded its allies to increase their emergency petroleum stocks as both a deterrent and a cushion against supply disruptions. When President Reagan and Vice President Bush took office, the Strategic Petroleum Reserve held only 79 million barrels. Now it contains almost 550 million, a three-month cushion in the event of a crisis.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.62

Conservation and energy efficiency, stimulated by the oil shocks of the 1970s, made impressive gains. The nation now consumes less oil, and no more energy in total, then it did in 1977, even with the remarkable growth in our economy under the Reagan-Bush Administration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.62

Despite these gains, much hard work remains. A strong energy policy is required to assure that the needs of our society are met. Because of low prices, domestic oil and gas production has declined significantly. New initiatives will be required to halt the erosion of the domestic oil reserve base, to restore the vitality of the domestic oil and gas industry, to slow the rise in oil imports, and to prevent a return to the vulnerabilities of the 1970s. We must maintain the progress made in conservation and rely more heavily on secure American fuels: domestic oil, natural gas, coal, nuclear energy, alternative sources and renewables.

Oil

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.62

The United States is heavily dependent on oil, which represents 40 percent of our total energy consumption. We must have a healthy domestic industry to assure the availability of this fuel to meet our needs. The decline in oil prices has brought exploratory drilling in the country to a virtual standstill, and continuing low prices threaten the hundreds of thousands of small wells that make up the most of U.S. production.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.62

We will set an energy policy for the United States to maintain a viable core industry and to ensure greater energy self-sufficiency through private initiatives. We will adopt forceful initiatives to reverse the decline of our domestic oil production. Republicans support:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.62

• Repeal of the counterproductive Windfall Profits Tax.

• Maintenance of our schedule for filling the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to reach 750 million barrels by 1993 and encouragement of our allies to maintain similar reserves.

• Tax incentives to save marginal wells, to encourage exploration for new oil, and to improve the recovery of oil still in place.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.63

[p.63] • Repeal of the Transfer Rule prohibiting independent producers from using certain tax provisions on acquired properties.

• Elimination of 80 percent of intangible drilling costs as an alternative minimum tax preference item.

• Exploration and development in promising areas, including federal lands and waters, particularly in the Arctic, in a manner that is protective of our environment and is in the best national interest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.63

Such continued exploration and development of new domestic oil and gas reserves are essential to keep our nation from becoming more dependent on foreign energy sources. Indeed, tax incentives can make our investment in U.S. oil and gas exploration competitive with other countries. They can stimulate drilling, put people back to work, and help maintain our leadership in oil field technology and services. Incentives and opportunities for increased domestic exploration can also help limit the rise in imports, discourage oil price shocks, and enhance energy security.

Natural Gas

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.63

Natural gas is a clean, abundant, and reasonably priced fuel secure within the borders of the nation. Increased reliance on natural gas can have significant national security and environmental benefits. While U.S. gas resources are plentiful and recoverable at competitive prices, regulatory burdens and price controls still impede development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.63

More progress must be made in deregulation of natural gas:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.63

• We support fully decontrolling prices and providing more open access to transportation.

• We also support the flexible use of natural gas to fuel automobiles and boilers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.63

Over the longer term, natural gas as an alternative fuel could significantly reduce overdependence on imported oil, while also improving air quality. We should support cost effective development and greater use of this fuel.

Coal

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.63

The United States enjoys a rich national endowment of enormous supplies of coal which can provide a secure source of energy for hundreds of years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.64

[p.64] • We should aggressively pursue the clean-coal technology initiative successfully launched by the Reagan-Bush Administration as part of the solution to coal's environmental problems.

• A major effort should be made to encourage coal exports, which could improve the trade balance, put Americans to work, and provide reliable energy supplies to our allies.

Nuclear Power

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.64

We must preserve nuclear power as a safe and economic option to meet future electricity needs. It generates 20 percent of our electricity, and we anticipate the continued expansion of renewable energy and environmentally safe nuclear power. We will promote the adoption of standardized, cost-effective, and environmentally safe nuclear plant designs. We should enhance our efforts to manage nuclear waste and will insist on the highest standards of safety.

Technology, Alternatives, Conservation, and Regulation

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.64

Technology is America's competitive edge, and it should be encouraged in finding new solutions to our energy problems. Energy efficiency improvements such as more efficient cars, better insulated homes, and more efficient industrial processes, have resulted in substantial savings, making the U.S. economy more competitive.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.64

• We support funding for research and development, particularly where current market economics preclude private initiative.

• We will set priorities and, where cost effective, support research and development for alternative fuels such as ethanol, methanol, and compressed natural gas, particularly for use in transportation.

• We will also support research and development for energy efficiency, conservation, renewables, fusion and superconductivity.

• We encourage the improvements of our national electricity transportation network, to achieve the economic and environmental efficiencies and reliability of linking electricity-exporting regions with importers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.64

Substantial progress has been made in eliminating the intrusive and costly regulatory functions of the Department of Energy and should be continued. Efforts should be made to streamline the department's functions and evaluate its long-term institutional role in setting national energy policy, in discouraging a return to regulation, and in promoting long-term scientific research.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.65

[p.65] We believe continued economic progress requires an adequate and secure supply of electricity from every possible source in addition to energy conservation. Conservation alone cannot meet the energy needs of a growing economy. Witness the case of Massachusetts, where the State government's energy policy of stopping construction of any significant electric generating plants of all kinds has caused a dangerous shortage.

Preserving and Protecting the Environment

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.65

The Republican Party has a long and honored tradition of preserving our nation's natural resources and environment. We recognize that the preservation, conservation, and protection of our environment contribute to our health and well-being and that, as citizens, we all share in the responsibility to safeguard our God-given resources. A great Republican President, Teddy Roosevelt, once characterized our environmental challenge as "the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us." Satisfying this imperative requires dedication and a commitment both to the protection of our environment and to the development of economic opportunities for all through a growing economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.65

Republicans have led the efforts to protect the environment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.65

• We have dramatically reduced airborne lead contamination. This reduction has been perhaps the most important contribution to the health of Americans living in urban areas.

• By almost any measure, the air is vastly improved from the 1970s. Carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide, ozone, nitrogen dioxide, and other emissions have declined substantially.

• We brought record numbers of enforcement cases against toxic polluters based on the principle that polluters should pay for the damages they cause.

• We pioneered an international accord for the protection of the stratospheric ozone layer, the first such international agreement.

• Dramatic progress has been made in protecting coastal barrier islands, in reducing coastal erosion, and in protecting estuaries.

• We have led the fight to clean up our Great Lakes and the Chesapeake and Narragansett Bays, some of the most unique and productive ecosystems on earth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.66

[p.66] • We encouraged agricultural conservation, enhanced our wetlands, and preserved and restored our National Parks, which had suffered tragic neglect in the years preceding the Reagan-Bush Administration.

• Under Republican leadership, the most important soil conservation measure of the last half-century became law as the Conservation Title of the 1985 Farm Bill.

• We established 34 national wildlife refuges in 21 States and territories.

• We reformed U.S. and international aid programs to assist developing nations to assure environmental protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.66

Republicans look to the environmental future with confidence in the American people and with a renewed commitment to world leadership in environmental protection. We recognize the necessary role of the federal government only in matters that cannot be managed by regional cooperation or by levels of government closer to the people. Cooperative action by all is needed to advance the nation's agenda for a cleaner, safer environment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.66

The toughest challenges lie ahead of us. Republicans propose the following program for the environment in the 1990s:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.66

• We will work for further reductions in air and water pollution and effective actions against the threats posed by acid rain. These goals can and must be achieved without harmful economic dislocation.

• We are committed to minimizing the release of toxins into the environment.

• We will continue to lead the effort to develop new clean-coal technologies and to remove the barriers that prevent cleaner, alternative fuels from being used.

• We support a comprehensive plan of action to fight coastal erosion and to protect and restore the nation's beaches, coral reefs, bodies of water, wetlands and estuaries such as the Louisiana coast, Chesapeake Bay, the Great Lakes, San Francisco Bay, Puget Sound, Narragansett Bay, and other environmentally sensitive areas. The restoration of these areas will continue to be a priority.

• A top priority of our country must be the continued improvement of our National Parks and wildlife areas. We must upgrade our recreation, fisheries, and wildlife programs in parks, wildlife refuges, forests, and other public lands. We support efforts, including innovative public-private partnerships, to restore declining waterfowl populations and enhance recreational fisheries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.67

[p.67] • We will fight to protect endangered species and to sustain biological diversity wordwide.

• We support federal, State, and local policies, including tax code provisions, which lead to the renewal and revitalization of our environment through restoration and which encourage scenic easements designed to preserve farmland and open spaces.

• We believe public lands should not be transferred to any special group in a manner inconsistent with current Reagan-Bush Administration policy. To the extent possible, consistent with current policy, we should keep public lands open and accessible.

• We will protect the productive capacity of our lands by minimizing erosion.

• We are committed to the historic preservation of our American heritage, including our architectural, archeological, and maritime resources.

• We support strong enforcement of our environmental laws and will accelerate the pace of our national effort to clean up hazardous waste sites and to protect our groundwater. We will promote proper use of fertilizers and pesticides to minimize pollution of groundwater.

• Republicans recognize that toxic and hazardous waste production is increasing. Therefore, we will utilize the nation's scientific community to develop solutions to this waste disposal dilemma as an alternative to the continued burying, exporting, and ocean dumping of these dangerous substances, as they are no more than stop-gap measures with extremely tragic potential.

• We are committed to solving our country's increasing problem of waste disposal. By 1995, half of our existing landfills will be closed, and municipalities will have increased difficulty finding new sites. This is an issue which will require the dedication and resolve of our local communities, the private sector, and all of us as citizens. Resource recovery, recycling, and waste minimization are critical elements of our solution, and we will work to ensure that innovative approaches to the problem are encouraged.

• We are determined to prevent dumping off our coasts and in international waters. Ocean dumping poses a hazard not only to marine life, but also to those who live along our coasts and to those who use them for recreation. Where federal laws have been violated, we will [p.68] prosecute polluters to the full extent of the law, including adherence to the 1991 federal ban on ocean dumping of sewage sludge. Where laws need to be strengthened, we will work at the federal, State, and local levels to do so.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.68

• We will support all serious efforts to cope with the special problems of illegal dumping of hospital and medical waste. We pledge close cooperation by the Environmental Protection Agency with States and industry groups to develop new approaches to the most cost-effective means for the safe disposal by responsible medical facilities. Those who continue to dump illegally threaten the very life and health of our communities, and we call for enactment by the States of tough new felony laws that will permit swift prosecution of these criminals.

• We will require that federal departments and agencies meet or exceed the environmental standards set for citizens in the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.68

Many of the most serious environmental problems that will confront us in the years ahead are global in scope. For example, degradation of the stratospheric ozone layer poses a health hazard not only to Americans, but to all peoples around the globe. The Reagan-Bush Administration successfully pioneered an agreement to attack this problem through world-wide action. In addition, we will continue to lead this effort by promoting private sector initiatives to develop new technologies and adopt processes which protect the ozone layer. A similar ability to develop international agreements to solve complex global problems such as tropical forest destruction, ocean dumping, climate change, and earthquakes will be increasingly vital in the years ahead. All of these efforts will require strong and experienced leadership to lead the other nations of the world in a common effort to combat ecological dangers that threaten all peoples. The Republican Party believes that, toward this end, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration should be joined with the Environmental Protection Agency.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.68

We all have a stake in maintaining the environmental balance and ecological health of our planet and our country. As Republicans, we hold that it is of critical importance to preserve our national heritage. We must assure that programs for economic growth and opportunity sustain the natural abundance of our land and waters and protect the health and well-being of our citizens. As a nation, we should take pride in our accomplishments and look forward to fulfilling our obligation of leaving this land an even better place for our children and future generations. [p.69]

Transportation for America

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.69

Republican leadership has revitalized America's transportation system. Through regulatory reform, we increased efficiency in all major modes of transportation. By making our national transportation system safer, more convenient, and less expensive, we have both strengthened our economy and served the interests of all the American people:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.69

• Aviation deregulation now saves consumers $11 billion annually through improved productivity and lower air fares. Millions more Americans can now afford to fly. Even though more people are flying, the overall safety record for commercial aviation during the past four years has been the best in history.

• The National Airspace System (NAS) Plan is upgrading virtually all the equipment in the air traffic control system to meet safety and capacity needs into the next century.

• Rail freight service has been rescued from the brink of insolvency and revitalized. Railroads have lowered rates for many shippers, helping to keep the transportation cost of coal-generated electric power down and making America's farmers more competitive abroad.

• The creation of regional and short-line railroads has been encouraged by the Reagan-Bush Administration. The development of these small businesses has been a welcomed alternative to railroad abandonments, and we will continue to encourage their growth.

• The Reagan-Bush Administration achieved new rail safety legislation which expands federal jurisdiction over drug, alcohol, and safety violations.

• America's trucking industry has also been improved. The number of motor carriers has more than doubled since regulatory barriers to competition were removed. Many of these new carriers are small or minority-owned businesses. Private enterprise has thus been able to restructure routes, reduce empty backhauls, and simplify rates. Reduced regulation saves the American consumer $37 billion annually in lower freight bills, making businesses in every part of America more competitive.

• The successful sale of Conrail through a public offering recouped nearly $2 billion dollars of the taxpayers' investment in bankrupt railroads from the 1970s.

• The Reagan-Bush Administration has undertaken a comprehensive program to upgrade federal interstate highways and bridges.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.70

[p.70] • Through highway improvements, education, and federal encouragement of tougher State laws against drunk driving, highway safety has vastly improved.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.70

As we look to the future, the Republican Party will continue to press for improved transportation safety, reduced costs, and greater availability and convenience of transportation through more open markets and other mechanisms. The Republican Party believes that:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.70

• Americans demand that those entrusted with their safety while operating commercial motor vehicles, railroads, or aircraft not use drugs or alcohol. While we will protect individual rights, the Republican Party supports comprehensive efforts to curb drug and alcohol abuse in transportation, including drug and alcohol testing of all those in safety-related positions.

• Our transportation system is based upon a vast public and private investment in infrastructure, which must continue to grow and to be maintained to meet America's needs. We advocate greater local autonomy in decision-making concerning the Highway Trust Fund and the Airport and Airway Trust Fund, and we oppose diversion of their resources to other purposes.

• Research should be developed for new technologies to deal with urban gridlock and congested highways.

• The travel and tourism industry is a positive force in enhancing cultural understanding and sustaining economic prosperity. We recognize its important contributions and should work to encourage its continued growth.

• The federal government and local communities must work together to develop additional airport capacity of all types. At the same time, we support timely completion of the National Airspace System plan and continuing augmentation of air traffic control and aircraft inspection personnel.

• We will further increase American jobs and trade opportunities by assuring that American air carriers are afforded full and fair access to international route authorities.

• We will not abandon the economic flexibility that has so enormously strengthened the health of our railroads and so powerfully benefited the American economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.71

[p.71] • Development of high speed rail systems to meet the needs of inter-city travel should be encouraged.

• Year by year since 1981, Amtrak operations have shown improvement. Amtrak's ratio of revenues to costs stood at 48 percent in 1981. Last year, 65 percent of the costs were covered by revenues. Fiscal year 1988 will see the ratio pushing 70 percent. We recognize that inter-city rail passenger service plays an important role in our transportation system. At the same time, we support continued reductions in public subsidies.

• A new spirit of competitive enterprise in transportation throughout all levels of government should be encouraged. We will encourage both States and cities to utilize private companies, where effective, to operate commuter bus and transit services at substantial savings over what publicly funded systems cost.

• The engines of innovation powered by regulatory reform have brought forth exciting advances in the technology of trucking, rail, and shipping, particularly as they work together as an integrated system for the movement of goods domestically and abroad. Alternative fuels that are clean and efficient will both improve air quality and reduce our dependence on imported oil in meeting transportation needs. These technological approaches are far preferable to outmoded regulation, such as the current design of Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards, which create substantial advantages for foreign auto manufacturers and actually promote the export of U.S. jobs.

• We consider a privately owned merchant fleet and domestic shipbuilding capacity necessary to carry our nation's commerce in peace and to support our defense responsibilities. We will support programs to give the American maritime industry greater flexibility and freedom in meeting foreign competition.

• We are committed to continuing the Reagan-Bush Administration efforts to stop foreign protectionism that inhibits U.S. flag vessels from fairly competing abroad.

• Maritime safety, search and rescue, military preparedness, environmental and fisheries enforcement, and drug interdiction have long been the responsibility of the U.S. Coast Guard. The Republican Party supports all of these vital roles, and we will support funding and manpower adequate to enable the Coast Guard to carry out its responsibilities. [p.72]

America Leading The World

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.72

Under the leadership of President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush, America has led the world through eight years of peace and prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.72

In the years since 1980, our nation has become in fact what it has always been in principle, "the last best hope of mankind on earth."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.72

Republicans know that free nations are peace loving and do not threaten other democracies. To the extent, therefore, that democracies are established in the world, America will be safer. Consequently, our nation has a compelling interest to encourage and help actively to build the conditions of democracy wherever people strive for freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.72

In 1961, President John Kennedy said, "We shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty." Seeds sown by the Reagan-Bush Administration to make good on that promise are now bearing fruit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.72

Today's Republican Party has the only legitimate claim to this legacy, for our opposition to totalitarianism is resolute. For those Democrats who came of age politically under the party of Truman and Kennedy, the message is clear: The old Democrat world view of realistic anti-communism, with real freedom as its goal, has been abandoned by today's national Democrat Party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.72

In the tradition of the Republican Party, we have long-term foreign policy goals and objectives which provide vision and leadership. We also have a realistic, long-term strategy to match those goals. The primary objectives of foreign policy must be defending the United States of America and its people; protecting America's vital national interests abroad; and fostering peace, stability and security throughout the world through democratic self-determination and economic prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.72

To accomplish these goals, we believe our policies must be built upon three basic pillars: strength, realism, and dialogue.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.72

Republican foreign policy, based on a peace preserved by steadfastly providing for our own security, brought us the INF treaty, which eliminated an entire class of nuclear weapons. America's determination and will, coupled with our European allies' staunch cooperation, brought the Soviets to the bargaining table and won meaningful reductions in nuclear weapons. The INF treaty was not won by unilateral concessions or the unilateral cancelling of weapons programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.73

Today's Republican foreign policy has been tested and validated. Our [p.73] formula for success is based on a realistic assessment of the world as it is, not as some would like it to be. The Soviet retreat from Afghanistan is not the result of luck or the need of the Kremlin to save a few rubles. It is a direct result of a Republican policy known as the Reagan Doctrine: our determination to provide meaningful aid to people who would rather die on their feet than live on their knees under the yoke of Soviet-supported oppression. Support for freedom-fighters, coupled with an openness to negotiate, will be the model for our resistance to Marxist expansionism elsewhere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.73

The world expects the United States to lead. Republicans believe it is in our country's best interest to continue to do so. For this reason, we will engage both our adversaries and friends. We share a common interest in survival and peaceful competition. However, the Reagan-Bush Administration has shown that dialogue and engagement can be successful only if undertaken from a position of strength. We know something the national Democrats seem to have forgotten: If a foreign policy is based upon weakness or unrealistic assumptions about the world, it is doomed to failure. If it is based upon naivete, it will be doomed to disaster.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.73

Under our constitutional system, the execution of foreign policy is the prime responsibility of the executive branch. We therefore denounce the excessive interference in this function by the current Democrat majority in the Congress, as it creates the appearance of weakness and confusion and endangers the successful conduct of American foreign policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.73

The world in 1988 shows the success of peace through strength and the Reagan Doctrine advancing America's national interests. Our relations with the Soviets are now based on these determined and realistic policies. Results such as the INF treaty are a concrete example of the soundness of this approach:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.73

• The Afghan people are on the verge of ridding their country of Soviet occupation, and with our continued support they can secure true liberty.

• In Southeast Asia, our policies of isolation toward Vietnam and our support for the Cambodian resistance have contributed to Vietnam's decision to get out of Cambodia.

• In southern Africa, Cuban troops may soon be leaving Angola; Namibia may soon enjoy independence.

• The Iran-Iraq war is closer to a settlement due to the strong leadership of the Reagan-Bush Administration in the United Nations and the American presence in the Persian Gulf.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.74

[p.74] The party Abraham Lincoln helped to establish—the party of Teddy Roosevelt, Dwight Eisenhower, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush—today offers the United States of America continued leadership, strong and effective. The President of the United States must be a good Commander-in-Chief; the Oval Office is no place for on-the-job training. The Republican Party, tempered by real-world experience, accustomed to making tough choices, is prepared to lead America forward into the 1990s.

The Americas

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.74

Our future is intimately tied to the future of the Americas. Family, language, culture, environment, and trade link us closely with both Canada and Mexico. Our relations with both of these friends will be based upon continuing cooperation and our mutually shared interests. Our attention to trade and environmental issues will contribute to strong economic growth and prosperity throughout the Americas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.74

Today, more Latin Americans than ever before live free because of their partnership with the United States to promote self-determination, democracy, and an end to subversion. The Republican Party reaffirms its strong support of the Monroe Doctrine as the foundation for our policy throughout the Hemisphere, and pledges to conduct foreign policy in accord with its principles. We thereby seek not only to provide for our own security, but also to create a climate for democracy and self-determination throughout the Americas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.74

Central America has always been a region of strategic importance to the United States. There, Nicaragua has become a Soviet client state like Cuba. Democratic progress in the region is threatened directly by the Sandinista military machine and armed subversion exported from Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Soviet Union. The Sandinistas are now equipped with Soviet arms which, in quality and quantity, are far in excess of their own defense requirements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.74

The people of Nicaragua are denied basic human, religious, and political rights by the Sandinista junta. Today, thousands of Nicaraguans are united in a struggle to free their homeland from a totalitarian regime. The Republican Party stands shoulder to shoulder with them in this struggle and is committed to assist them with both humanitarian and military aid. Peace without freedom for the Nicaraguan people is not good enough.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.74

If democracy does not prevail, if Nicaragua remains a communist dictatorship dedicated to exporting revolution, the fragile democracies in Central America will be jeopardized. The Republican Party stands with them in their struggle for peace, freedom, and economic growth. We express our emphatic support for the people and government of [p.75] El Salvador, a target of foreign-directed insurgency. Under Republican leadership, the United States should respond to requests from our Central American neighbors for security assistance to protect their emerging democracies against insurgencies sponsored by the Soviets, Cuba, or others.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.75

Democracy continues to prosper in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and in Costa Rica, the region's oldest democracy. However, economic growth in these countries has not matched their political progress. The United States must take the lead in strengthening democratic institutions through economic development based on free market principles. We pledge our continued support to the peoples of the Americas who embrace and sustain democratic principles in their self-government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.75

A Republican Administration will continue to promote policy reforms to free the private sector in Central America, such as deregulation of enterprise and privatization of government operations. We will assist friendly democracies in reviving the institutions of regional economic cooperation and integration, and will allow Nicaragua to participate when it enjoys a free, pluralist society and respects free-market principles.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.75

The growth of democracy and freedom throughout Latin America is one of the most positive foreign policy developments of the 1980s. Republican leadership has created the environment necessary for this growth. Over the past decade, Latin Americans have moved boldly toward democracy, with 26 of 33 nations now democratic or in transition toward democracy. Mexico has a special strategic and economic importance to the United States, and we encourage close cooperation across a wide variety of fronts in order to strengthen further this critical relationship.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.75

We believe the governments of Latin America must band together to defeat the drug trade which now flourishes in the region. We must pledge our full cooperation and support for efforts to induce producers of illicit drug crops to substitute other methods of generating income.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.75

Republicans will continue to oppose any normalization of relations with the government of Cuba as long as Fidel Castro continues to oppress the Cuban people at home and to support international terrorism and drug trafficking abroad. We will vigorously continue our support for establishment of a genuinely representative government directly elected by the Cuban people. We reiterate our support of Radio Marti and urge the creation of TV Marti to better reach the oppressed people of Cuba.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.75

Panama now poses a different challenge to the regional progress made over the past eight years. Our policy must be as firm with respect to military authoritarianism and narco-terrorism as it is with communist tyranny and guerrilla subversion. That policy must include a determined [p.76] effort to bring to justice any identified narco-terrorist or drug dealer within his or her country of residence or in the courts of the United States of America. Republicans view the Panama Canal as a critical, strategic artery connecting the Atlantic and Pacific. We believe that U.S. access to the Panama Canal must remain free and unencumbered consistent with the foremost principle of the Canal Treaty. We acknowledge, however, the historical partnership and friendship between the American and Panamanian people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.76

Republicans believe that an active, engaged America, clear of purpose and steady in action, is essential to continued progress in Latin America. Passivity and neglect are a sure prescription for the reversal of freedom and peace in Latin America.

The Soviet Union: New Challenges and Enduring Realities

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.76

Steady American leadership is needed now more than ever to deal with the challenges posed by a rapidly changing Soviet Union. Americans cannot afford a future administration which eagerly attempts to embrace perceived, but as yet unproven, changes in Soviet policy. Nor can we indulge naive inexperience or an overly enthusiastic endorsement of current Soviet rhetoric.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.76

The current leaders in the Soviet Union came to power while the United States was undergoing an unsurpassed political, economic, and military resurgence. The Reagan-Bush success story—new jobs and unprecedented economic growth combined with reasserted leadership of the free world—was not lost on the new Soviet regime. It had inherited a bankrupt economy, a society with a Third World standard of living, and military power based upon the sweat of the Soviet worker. Confronted by the failure of their system, the new Soviet leaders have been forced to search for new solutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.76

Republicans are proud that it was a Republican President who extended freedom's hand and message to the Soviet Union. It will be a new Republican President who can best build on that progress, ever cautious of communism's long history of expansionism and false promises. We are prepared to embrace real reform, but we will not leave America unprepared should reform prove illusory.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.76

Soviet calls for global peace and harmony ring hollow when compared with ongoing Soviet support for communist guerrillas and governments throughout the Third World. Even in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union is in retreat not as a result of a more benevolent Soviet world view, but because of the courage of determined Mujahidin freedom-fighters fully supported by the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.77

[p.77] The Soviet military continues to grow. Tanks and aircraft continue to roll off Soviet production lines at a rate two to three times that of the United States. Soviet military doctrine remains offensive in nature, as illustrated by the intimidating presence of massed Soviet tank divisions in Eastern Europe. This is the reality of Soviet military posture.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.77

With a realistic view of the Soviet Union and the appropriate role of arms reductions in the U.S.-Soviet relationship, the Reagan-Bush Administration concluded the historic INF agreement with the Soviet Union. Ongoing negotiations with the Soviet Union to reduce strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent are possible because the American people trust Republican leadership. The American people know that, for Republicans, no agreement is better than an agreement detrimental to the security of the free world. To pursue arms control for its own sake or at any cost is naive and dangerous.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.77

Republicans will continue to work with the new Soviet leadership. But the terms of the relationship will be based upon persistent and steady attention to certain fundamental principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.77

• Human and religious rights in the Soviet Union.

• Economic reform in the Soviet Union.

• Cessation of Soviet support for communist regimes, radical groups, and terrorists.

• Verified full compliance with all arms control agreements. The right of free emigration for all Soviet citizens.

• Reduction in the Soviets' massive offensive strategic and conventional capability. In other words, Soviet military doctrine must match its rhetoric.

• An end to untied credits, particularly general purpose loans which provide the Soviet Union with desperately needed hard currency to bolster its weak economy and facilitate illicit Soviet purchase of U.S. technology.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.77

Republicans proudly reaffirm the Reagan Doctrine: America's commitment to aid freedom-fighters against the communist oppression which destroys freedom and the human spirit. We salute the liberation of Grenada. We affirm our support for the heroic fighters in the Afghan resistance and pledge to see them through to the end of their struggle. We pledge political and material support to democratic liberation movements around the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.78

[p.78] Republicans believe human rights are advanced most where freedom is advanced first. We call on the Soviet government to release political prisoners, allow free emigration for "refuseniks" and others, and introduce full religious tolerance. Soviet Jews, Christians, Armenians, and other ethnic and religious groups are systematically persecuted, denied the right to emigrate, and prevented from freely practicing their religious beliefs. This situation is intolerable, and Republicans demand an end to all of these discriminatory practices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.78

We support the desire for freedom and self-determination of all those living in Captive Nations. The Republican Party denounces the oppression of the national free will of Poles, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, East Germans, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Albanians. We support the desire for freedom of Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, the people of the Caucasus, and other peoples held captive in the Soviet Union. We support the Solidarity free trade union movement in Poland.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.78

We find the violation of human rights on the basis of religion or culture to be morally repugnant to the values we hold. Historical tragedies—like the Holocaust or the terrible persecution suffered by the Armenian people —vividly remind us of the need for vigilance in protecting and promoting human rights. We and others must ensure that such tragedies occur never again.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.78

The Republican Party commends the Reagan-Bush Administration for its far-sighted efforts to modernize our electronic tools of public diplomacy to reach the Captive Nations. The Voice of America, Worldnet, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are on the leading edge of our public diplomacy efforts. These electronic means of communication are force-multipliers of truth. They attack one of the darkest pillars of totalitarianism: the oppression of people through the control of information. We urge the further use of advanced technologies such as Direct Broadcast Satellites and videotape, as well as continuing use of television and radio broadcasting, to articulate the values of individual liberty throughout the world.

Combatting Narcotics: Defending Our Children

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.78

By eradication at the source, interdiction in transit, education and deterrence against use, prompt extradition of drug kingpins, or rehabilitation, America must be drug free. No nation can remain free when its children are enslaved by drugs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.78

We consider drugs a major national security threat to the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.78

We urge all nations to unite against this evil. Although we salute our hemispheric neighbors who are fighting the war on drugs, we expect all [p.79] nations to help stop this deadly commerce. We pledge aggressive interdiction and eradication, with strong penalties against countries which shield or condone the narcotics traffic.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.79

Republicans are proud of the fact that we have dramatically increased the interdiction of dangerous drugs. For example, over the past 6 years, our annual seizure of cocaine has increased by over 1,500 percent. While much has been accomplished in eradicating drugs at the source and in transit, much more remains to be done.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.79

We will use our armed forces in the war on drugs to the maximum extent possible. We must emphasize their special capabilities in surveillance and command and control for interdiction and in special operations for eradication of drugs at the source.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.79

To fight international drug trade, we will stress the swift extradition of traffickers. We support a comprehensive use of America's resources to apprehend and convict drug dealers. To enforce anti-drug policy, we pledge to enhance eradication efforts with increased herbicide use; regulate exports of "precursor chemicals" used in the manufacture of illicit drugs; train and equip cooperating government law-enforcement agencies; emphasize a strategy to "choke off" drug supply routes; and impose the death penalty for drug kingpins and those who kill federal law enforcement agents.

Europe and the Defense of the West

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.79

The United States and Europe share a wide array of political, economic, and military relationships, all vitally important to the United States. Together they represent a growing, multifaceted bond between America and the European democracies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.79

Culturally, as well as militarily, we share common goals with Western Europe. The preservation of liberty is first among these. We will not allow the cultural, economic, or political domination of Western Europe by the Soviet Union. Our own national security requires it, for our democracy cannot flourish in isolation. The United States, led by the Reagan-Bush Administration, and our European allies have successfully reasserted democracy's ideological appeal. This formula is without equal for political and economic progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.79

Republicans believe that the continued growth of trade between Europe and the United States is in the best interest of both the American people and their European friends. However, this economic relationship must be based upon the principle of free and fair trade. Protectionism and other barriers to American products will not be tolerated. The American people demand economic fair play in U. S.-European trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.80

[p.80] The recently signed INF treaty has proven that NATO's dual track policy of improving NATO nuclear forces in Europe, while negotiating arms reductions with the Soviet Union, was the only way to make the Soviet leadership accept meaningful nuclear arms reductions. NATO's cohesion as an alliance, when assaulted by Soviet propaganda attacks during the 1980s, proved its resilience. Bolstered by the strong leadership of the United States, Europe stood firm in opposing Soviet demands for a nuclear freeze and unilateral disarmament.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.80

American aid and European industriousness have restored West Europe to a position of global strength. In accord with this, the Republican Party believes that all members of NATO should bear their fair share of the defense burden.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.80

Republicans consider consultation and cooperation with our allies and friends to stop the proliferation of ballistic missile technology a crucial allied goal. We believe that continued support for the Strategic Defense Initiative will yield the type of defensive insurance policy the American people want for themselves and their allies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.80

We share a deep concern for peace and justice in Northern Ireland and condemn all violence and terrorism in that strife-torn land. We support the process of peace and reconciliation established by the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and we encourage new investment and economic reconstruction in Northern Ireland on the basis of strict equality of opportunity and non-discrimination in employment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.80

The Republican Party strongly encourages the peaceful settlement of the long-standing dispute on Cyprus.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.80

The future of U.S. relations with Europe is one of endless opportunity and potential. Increased cooperation and consultation will necessarily lead to greater economic, political and military integration, thus strengthening the natural bonds between the democratic peoples on both sides of the Atlantic. This will require a seasoned American leadership, able to build on the achievements of the Reagan-Bush Administration and prepared to lead the alliance into the 1990s and beyond.

Asia and the Pacific

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.80

Democratic capitalism is transforming Asia. Nations of the Pacific Rim have become colleagues in the enterprise of freedom. They have shown a strong capacity for economic growth and capital development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.80

The Asia-Pacific arena continues to be a vital strategic interest for the U.S. and is an area of increased military, economic, and diplomatic activity for the Soviet Union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.81

[p.81] Japan has assumed the role earned by her people as a world economic power. The GOP believes that our relations can only be strengthened by attacking trade barriers, both tariff and non-tariff, which not only hurt the U.S. now but also will eventually distort Japan's own economy. We believe that it is time for Japan to assume a greater role in this region and elsewhere. This should include a greater commitment to its own defense, commitment to leading the way in alleviating Third World debt, and fostering economic growth in fragile democracies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.81

Today, democracy is renewed on Taiwan, the Philippines, and South Korea and is emerging elsewhere in the area. We pledge full cooperation in mutual defense of the Philippines and South Korea and the maintenance of our troops and bases vital for deterring aggression. The United States, with its friends and allies, will strengthen democratic institutions in the Philippines by assisting in its economic development and growth. We reaffirm our commitment to the security of Taiwan and other key friends and allies in the region. We regard any attempt to alter Taiwan's status by force as a threat to the entire region. We adhere to the Taiwan Relations Act, the basis for our continuing cooperation with those who have loyally stood with us, and fought at our side, for half a century.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.81

Today, the communist regime of the People's Republic of China looks to free market practices to salvage its future from stagnant Marxism. We welcome this development. As we draw closer in our relationship, the Republican Party believes that we must continue to encourage the abandonment of political repression in the People's Republic of China and movement toward a free market. We also look toward continued improvement in mutually beneficial trade between our two nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.81

We recognize the significant progress made by the Reagan-Bush Administration to assure the end of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. We will continue to press for self-determination and the establishment of a genuinely representative government directly elected by the Afghan people. We pledge to continue full military and humanitarian support and supplies for the resistance until complete Soviet withdrawal is realized.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.81

We commend the government of Pakistan for its opposition to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and its support of the Afghan people, particularly its refugees. We reaffirm our friendship and will continue the strong security assistance relationship between the United States and Pakistan.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.81

We will press for the withdrawal of Vietnamese occupation of Laos and Cambodia and will continue support for the efforts of the non-communist resistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.82

Republicans insist that Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia must provide [p.82] adequate information on American POWs and MIAs. The grief of the POW and MIA families is a constant reminder to all Americans of the patriotic sacrifice made by their missing loved ones. Republicans will not rest until we know the fate of those missing in Indochina. We will continue to press relentlessly for a full accounting of America's POWs and MIAs. We put the government of Vietnam on notice that there will be no improvement in U.S.-Vietnam relations until such a satisfactory full accounting has been provided by the government of Vietnam.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.82

Republicans are committed to providing assistance for refugees fleeing Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Republicans strongly believe that the promise of asylum for these refugees must be met by adequate resources and vigorous administration of refugee programs. We will increase efforts to resettle Vietnamese refugees under the orderly departure program. We are particularly committed to assisting the resettlement of Amerasian children against whom brutal discrimination is practiced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.82

We recognize the close and special ties we have maintained with Thailand since the days of Abraham Lincoln. Thailand stands tall against the imperialist aggression of Vietnam and the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.82

Republicans strongly support our traditional close bilateral relations with our ally Australia. We also look forward to a rejuvenation of the ANZUS alliance with its benefits and responsibilities to all partners.

The Middle East

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.82

The foundation of our policy in the Middle East has been and must remain the promotion of a stable and lasting peace, recognizing our moral and strategic relationship with Israel. More than any of its predecessors, the Reagan-Bush Administration solidified this partnership. As a result, the relations between the United States and Israel are closer than ever before.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.82

We will continue to maintain Israel's qualitative advantage over any adversary or coalition of adversaries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.82

We will continue to solidify our strategic relationship with Israel by taking additional concrete steps to further institutionalize the partnership. This will include maintaining adequate levels of security and economic assistance; continuing our meetings on military, political and economic cooperation and coordination; prepositioning military equipment; developing joint contingency plans; and increasing joint naval and air exercises. The growth of the Soviets military presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and along NATO's southern flank has demonstrated the importance of developing and expanding the U. S.-Israel strategic relationship.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.83

[p.83] We oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state; its establishment is inimical to the security interests of Israel, Jordan and the U.S. We will not support the creation of any Palestinian entity that could place Israel's security in jeopardy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.83

Republicans will build upon the efforts of the Reagan-Bush Administration and work for peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors based upon the following principles:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.83

• A just and lasting peace is essential, urgent, and can be reached only through direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab nations.

• Peace treaties must be reached through direct negotiations and must never be imposed upon unwilling partners.

• The PLO should have no role in the peace process unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, renounces terrorism, and removes language from its charter demanding Israel's destruction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.83

Under Republican leadership, the United States will explore every opportunity to move forward the peace process toward direct negotiations as long as the security of Israel is not compromised. Much work remains to establish a climate in the Middle East where the legitimate rights of all parties, including the Palestinians, can be equitably addressed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.83

We recognize that Israel votes with the United States at the United Nations more frequently than any other nation. The Reagan-Bush Administration supported legislation mandating that if the U.N. and its agencies were to deny Israel's right to participate, the United States would withhold financial support and withdraw from those bodies until their action was rectified. The Republican Party reaffirms its support for the recision of U.N. Resolution 3379, which equates Zionism with racism. Failure to repeal that resolution will justify attenuation of our support for the U.N.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.83

We believe that Jerusalem should remain an undivided city, with free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.83

Republicans see Egypt as a catalyst in the Arab world for advancing the cause of regional peace and security. For this reason, we believe that the United States has a significant stake in Egypt's continuing economic development and growth. As the only Arab nation to have formally made peace with Israel, it is reaping the benefits. Egypt's support of the Camp David Accords demonstrates that an Arab nation can make peace with Israel, be an ally of the United States, and remain in good standing in the Arab world. Republicans support the Reagan-Bush Administration's formal designation of Egypt as a major non-NATO ally.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.84

[p.84] Our continued support of Egypt and other pro-Western Arab states is an essential component of Republican policy. In support of that policy, we deployed a naval task force to join with allies to keep the sea lanes open during the Iran-Iraq war. We also recognize the important role the moderate Arab states play in supporting U.S. security interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.84

Republicans will continue to build on the Reagan-Bush achievement of increased security cooperation with the pro-Western Arab states. We recognize that these Arab nations maintain friendly relations with the United States in the face of potential retaliation attempts by radical elements in the Middle East.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.84

Continuing strife in Lebanon is not in the interest of the U.S. Until order is established, Lebanon will be a source of international terrorism and regional instability. To reestablish normalcy in Lebanon, the U.S. must strengthen the hand of the overwhelming majority of Lebanese, who are committed to an independent, peaceful, and democratic Lebanon.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.84

In order to achieve this goal, we will base the policy of the United States on the principles of the unity of Lebanon; the withdrawal of all foreign forces; the territorial integrity of Lebanon; the reestablishment of its government's authority; and the reassertion of Lebanese sovereignty throughout the nation, with recognition that its safekeeping must be the responsibility of the Lebanese government. We will strive to help Lebanon restore its society so that, in the future as in the past, religious groups will live in harmony, international commerce will flourish and international terrorism will not exist.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.84

For nearly four decades, U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf has reflected American strategic, economic, and political interests in the area. Republican policy has three fundamental objectives:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.84

• Maintaining the free flow of oil.

• Preventing the expansion of Soviet influence.

• Supporting the independence and stability of the states in the region.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.84

By pursuing these goals, we have created the political leverage to begin the process of ending the Iran-Iraq war. Our re-flagging of Kuwaiti ships limited the expansion of both Iranian and Soviet influence in the region.

Africa

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.84

Republicans have three priorities in our country' s relations with Africa. The first is to oppose the forces of Marxist imperialism, which sustain the march of tyranny in Africa. This priority includes giving strong assistance to groups which oppose Soviet and Cuban-sponsored oppression in Africa.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.85

[p.85] Our second priority is the need to develop and sustain democracies in Africa. Democrats have often taken the view that democracy is unattainable because of Africa's economic condition, yet at the same time they refuse to promote the conditions in which democracies can flourish. Economic freedom and market-based economies are the key to the development of democracy throughout Africa.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.85

Our third area of concern is humanitarian assistance, especially food aid, to African nations. The Reagan-Bush Administration has always provided this assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.85

Republicans salute the Reagan-Bush Administration for responding with characteristic American compassion to famine conditions in Africa by providing record amounts of food, medical supplies, and other lifesaving assistance. In spite of our efforts, the people of Africa continue to suffer. Republicans condemn the cynical Marxist governments, especially in Ethiopia, which used planned starvation as a weapon of war and a tool for forced migration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.85

The recent African drought and resulting famine were not just natural disasters. They were made worse by poorly conceived development projects which stripped lands of their productive capacity. Republicans recognize that protecting the natural resource base of developing nations is essential to protecting future economic opportunities and assuring stable societies. We are leading the fight worldwide to require sound environmental planning as part of foreign development programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.85

We believe that peace in southern Africa can best be achieved by the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola, complete independence and self-determination for the people of Namibia, a rapid process of internal reconciliation, and free and fair elections in both places. The Reagan-Bush Administration has worked tirelessly to achieve this outcome; and while obstacles remain, we are closer than ever to a comprehensive settlement of these interrelated conflicts. America's strong support for Angolan freedom-fighters has helped make this progress possible. We also oppose the maintenance of communist forces and influence in Mozambique.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.85

Republicans deplore the apartheid system of South Africa and consider it morally repugnant. All who value human liberty understand the evil of apartheid, and we will not rest until apartheid is eliminated from South Africa. That will remain our goal. Republicans call for an effective and coordinated policy that will promote equal rights and a peaceful transition to a truly representative constitutional form of government for all South Africans and the citizens of all nations throughout Africa. We deplore violence employed against innocent blacks and whites from whatever source.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.86

[p.86] We believe firmly that one element in the evolution of black political progress must be black economic progress; actions designed to pressure the government of South Africa must not have the effect of adversely affecting the rising aspirations and achievements of black South African entrepreneurs and workers and their families. We should also encourage the development of strong democratic black political institutions to aid in the peaceful transition to majority rule. Republicans believe that it is wrong to punish innocent black South Africans for the policies of the apartheid government of South Africa.

Child Survival Program

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.86

The health of children in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, the Near East, Latin America and the Caribbean has been a priority of the Reagan-Bush Administration. Republicans have designated the Child Survival Program as one of our highest foreign assistance priorities. With the creation of the Child Survival Fund in early 1985, we have helped to ensure that children in developing countries worldwide get a decent start in life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.86

Our commitment to the Child Survival Program is more than a compassionate response to this challenge. It is in part an indication of the success of the program. Child Survival funding has been put to good use, and it is making a difference. Experience has shown that a few dollars go a long way in saving a child's life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.86

Republican efforts have seen results. The pilot studies begun by the Reagan-Bush Administration a few years ago have resulted in child survival programs that today are reaching hundreds of thousands of women and children in the developing world. Policies are in place, health workers are trained, and host governments throughout the world are committed to child survival programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.86

Republicans are committed to continuing our contribution to this vital program. As we look forward to the 1990s, many countries will have achieved what only a few years ago seemed like unattainable goals. Those countries need to find ways to sustain those achievements. It will not be easy. For other countries, the road to these goals will be longer as they strive to give every child what should be his or her birthright, a chance to thrive.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.86

We can help them. We can provide leadership and support. We are committed to sustaining this effort to save and improve the lives of the world's children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.86

We commend the Reagan-Bush Administration for its courageous defense of human life in population programs around the world. We support its refusal to fund international organizations involved in abortion. [p.87]

Stopping International Terrorism and Dealing with Low Intensity Conflict

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.87

The nature of warfare itself has changed. Terrorism is a unique form of warfare that attacks and threatens security and stability around the world. Ranging from the attempted assassination of the Pope and car-bomb attacks on American USO clubs, to narco-subversion in the nations of the West, terrorism seeks to silence freedom as an inalienable right of Man.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.87

The world of totalitarianism and anti-Western fanatics have joined forces in this campaign of terror. The goals of their undeclared war against the democracies are the withdrawal of our presence internationally and the retraction of our freedoms domestically.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.87

The Republican Party believes that, in order to prevent terrorist attacks, the United States must maintain an unsurpassed intelligence capability. In cases of terrorism where prevention and deterrence are not enough, we believe that the United States must be prepared to use an appropriate mix of diplomatic, political, and military pressure and action to defeat the terrorist attack. The United States must continue to push for a Western commitment to a "no-concessions" policy on terrorism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.87

The Republican Party understands that many problems facing our country are centered on "Low Intensity Conflicts." These include insurgencies, organized terrorism, paramilitary actions, sabotage, and other forms of violence in the gray area between peace and declared conventional warfare. Unlike the Democrat Party, Republicans understand that the threat, against the vital interests of the United States covers a broad spectrum of conflict. We are committed to defending the people of the United States at all levels. To implement that commitment, we will rely on the planning and strategy of the U.S. Special Operations Command, the recently established Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict and other Department of Defense offices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.87

We commend the Reagan-Bush Administration for its willingness to provide a measured response to terrorists such as Libya's Colonel Qadhafi. We affirm our determination to continue isolating his outlaw regime. We applaud the Reagan-Bush Administration's dispatch in implementing the Omnibus Diplomatic Security and Anti-Terrorism Act of 1986. We are strongly committed to obtaining the freedom of all Americans held captive by terrorist elements in the Middle East. Where possible, we will hold accountable those responsible for such heinous acts. We also support foreign military assistance that enables friendly nations to provide for their own defense, including defense against terrorism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.88

[p.88] We recognize the increasing threat of terrorism to our overall security. We will pursue a forward-leaning posture toward terrorism, and are prepared to act in concert with other nations or unilaterally, as necessary, to prevent or respond to terrorist attacks. Our policy will emphasize pre-emptive anti-terrorist measures; allied and international cooperation; negotiation toward an international agreement to facilitate pre-emptive and proactive measures against terrorists and narco-terrorists; and creation of a multi-national strike force, on the authority granted in a multi-national agreement, specializing in counterterrorism, intelligence and narcotics control.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.88

Republicans believe that, when necessary, our own armed forces must have the capability to meet terrorist crises. Our support for defense forces specifically equipped and trained to conduct unconventional warfare has resulted in important improvements in this critical area. Under the Reagan-Bush Administration, major improvements have been made in the special operations force's readiness, manning, and modernization.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.88

The Republican Party is strongly committed to increased support of unconventional forces by streamlining the bureaucracy which supports them, building the weapons and platforms which are a minimal requirement for their success, and funding the research and development needed for their future vigor. We wholeheartedly support greater international cooperation to counter terrorism and to ensure the safety of innocent citizens travelling abroad.

State Department Organization

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.88

The United States depends upon effective diplomacy to protect and advance its interests abroad. Modern diplomacy requires an institution capable of integrating the international dimension of our national values and concerns into a coherent foreign policy. That institution must be made fully responsive to the guidance and direction provided by our country's political leadership.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.88

This requires a truly hierarchical decision-making structure in the Department of State to assure that issues not directly decided by the Secretary of State are not out of reach of politically accountable authority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.88

Republicans commend the efforts initiated by the Reagan Administration, and in particular the Secretary of State, to restructure and streamline management of the department in order to provide for greater flexibility, efficiency and accountability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.88

We will continue these efforts in the areas of organization, personnel, and responsiveness as part of a long-term program to make the Department of State more immediately responsive to a complex and changing world. [p.89]

Peace Through Strength—A Proven Policy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.89

Peace through strength is now a proven policy. We have modernized our forces, revitalized our military infrastructure, recruited and trained the most capable fighting force in American history. And we have used these tools with care, responsibility, and restraint.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.89

The Reagan-Bush national security program has restored America's credibility in the world. Our security and that of our allies have been dramatically enhanced; the opportunities for the United States to be a positive force for freedom and democracy throughout the world have expanded, and the chances for new breakthroughs for peace have risen dramatically.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.89

Republicans will build upon this record and advance the cause of world freedom and world peace by using our military credibility as a vehicle for security at home and peace abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.89

These new opportunities for peace and world freedom pose new challenges to America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.89

The INF Treaty, the first treaty to actually reduce the number of nuclear weapons, was made possible by our commitment to peace through strength. It will impose new demands on our armed forces. We will redouble our commitment to correct a dangerous imbalance of conventional forces both through negotiation and through force improvements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.89

The Carter administration left our armed forces in a dangerously weakened position. Ten of the Army's 16 divisions were rated as "not combat ready" due to shortages of skilled manpower, spare parts, fuel, ammunition, and training. For the same reasons, more than 40 percent of the U.S. Air Force and Navy combat aircraft were not fully mission-capable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.89

The vacillating, ineffectual defense policies of the Democrat presidential nominee would similarly weaken our national security. His ideas about strategic weapons are not only out of step with the thinking of the vast majority of Americans, but also in direct conflict with those of his vice presidential running mate and most of the leading Democrats on the Senate and House Armed Services Committees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.89

Republicans will support U.S. defense capabilities by keeping our economy strong and inflation rates low. Continued economic growth will allow more dollars to be available for defense without consuming a larger portion of the GNP or the federal budget; continued efficiency and economy will assure those dollars are well-spent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.90

[p.90] Even as we engage in dialogue with our adversaries to reduce the risks of war, we must continue to rely on nuclear weapons as our chief form of deterrence. This reliance will, however, move toward non-nuclear defensive weapon systems as we deploy the Strategic Defense System. We will greatly enhance security by making the transition from an all-offensive balance of nuclear terror to a deterrent that emphasizes non-nuclear defense against attack.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.90

We must improve conventional deterrence that would prevent our adversaries from being able to advance successfully into allied territory. We stand in unity with our European allies in the conviction that neither a nuclear war nor a conventional war should be fought. Nonetheless, we must stay on the cutting edge of weapon system development and deployment to deter Soviet aggression in Europe and throughout the free world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.90

Only by maintaining our strength and resolve can we secure peace in the years ahead. Republicans will provide the steady leadership needed to move our nation effectively into the 21st century.

America Defended

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.90

We have begun a historic transition from an America threatened by nuclear weapons to an America defended against the possibility of a devastating nuclear attack.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.90

We understand the ominous implications of the proliferation of ballistic missile technology in the Third World. The Reagan-Bush Administration has succeeded in negotiating an agreement among the seven leading industrial countries to stop the spread of this technology. This underscores the need for deployment of the Strategic Defense System commonly known as SDI. SDI represents America's single most important defense program and is the most significant investment we can make in our nation's future security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.90

SDI is already working for America. It brought the Soviets back to the bargaining table, and it has energized and challenged our research and technology community as never before. It has started to reverse the trend of unmatched heavy Soviet investment in strategic defense. Republicans insist it is unacceptable that today the citizens of Moscow are protected against ballistic missile attack while Americans have no such protection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.90

The SDI program has been structured to facilitate a smooth transition to a safer world. It emphasizes deployments based upon the following objectives:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.90

• Providing protection against an accidental or unauthorized launch of a nuclear missile or an attack by a rogue nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.91

[p.91] • Changing the emphasis of our deterrent from nuclear offense to non-nuclear defensive weapons and providing the only real safeguard against cheating on offensive arms control agreements.

• Ultimately, providing a comprehensive defense against all ballistic missile attacks.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.91

We are committed to rapid and certain deployment of SDI as technologies permit, and we will determine the exact architecture of the system as technologies are tested and proven.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.91

In response to the dangerous proliferation of ballistic missiles, a joint U.S.-Israel effort is now underway to produce the free world's first anti-tactical ballistic missile system, "Project Arrow." We will support this use of SDI research funds.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.91

The Democrat nominee for president opposes deployment of any SDI system. He opposes deployment of even a limited ballistic missile defense system to protect Americans against missile attacks that might be launched accidentally or by an outlaw ruler with access to a few nuclear weapons. His position contradicts the sponsorship by certain Democrats in Congress of a system to protect Americans from such missile attacks.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.91

In recognition of our responsibility to provide optimum protection for the American people from terrorists, accidents and—should deterrence fail—from war, we also believe that a high priority should be given to Civil Defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.91

Republicans want to begin with protection and add to deterrence. We applaud the leaders of the scientific community for their confidence in the ability of U.S. technology to enhance deterrence and to provide effective defenses. We urge the universities of our country to continue to cooperate with the government and the private sector in establishing the SDI system.

A Strategy for Deterrence

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.91

Republicans will implement a strategic modernization program, emphasizing offensive and defensive strategic forces that are affordable and credible and that provide for a more stable balance. In contrast with the Democrat nominee and his party, we will not jeopardize America's security and undermine the advances we have made for peace and freedom by permitting erosion of our nuclear deterrent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.91

Over the past 30 years, every administration—Democrat and Republican alike—has understood the importance of maintaining a strategic triad: a mix of ground, air and sea retaliatory forces. Republicans know our country needs a survivable land-based leg of the triad. The current [p.92] Democrat leadership rejects this integral element of our strategic force posture. This will destroy the triad by neglecting necessary modernization and foregoing the strategic forces essential for preserving deterrence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.92

The most critical element in enabling the President to preserve peace is to assure his ability to communicate with foreign leaders and our armed forces under the most adverse circumstances. The Democrat nominee has acted to prevent a future President from having this ability by denying the federal government the needed approval to deploy key elements of the Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) in Massachusetts. By doing so, he has demonstrated a shocking disregard for the security of all Americans. This nation cannot afford such irresponsible leadership from one who aspires to be our Commander-in-Chief.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.92

To end our historic reliance on massive nuclear retaliation, we need to develop a comprehensive strategic defense system. This system will deter and protect us against deliberate or accidental ballistic missile attack, from whatever source.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.92

In the conventional area, we need to ensure that our ground, naval, and air forces are outfitted with the finest equipment and weapons that modern technology can provide; we must also assure that they are fully capable of meeting any threats they may face. We put special emphasis on integrating the guard and reserves into effective combat forces. We must sustain and accelerate the progress we have already made to ensure that all of our forces are prepared for special operations warfare. In addition, advances in conventional weapons technology, specifically, "smart," highly accurate weaponry, must be accelerated. These new weapons will deter our adversaries by threatening significant targets with very precise conventional weapons. We must provide sealift and airlift capability needed to project and support U.S. forces anywhere in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.92

We must also deal with the reality of chemical and biological weapons. We must have a deterrent capability; that requires modernization of our own chemical weapons. But we must also strengthen our efforts to achieve a verifiable agreement to eliminate all chemical and biological weapons. Getting a completely verifiable agreement will be difficult, requiring tough, on-site, on-demand verification. It is, however, essential that we press ahead, particularly given the growing proclivity in some quarters to use chemical and biological weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.92

In each aspect of our deterrent force, Republicans propose to foster and take advantage of our technology and our democratic alliance systems to develop competing strategies for most effectively defending freedom around the world.

An Arms Reduction Strategy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.93

[p.93] Arms reduction can be an important aspect of our national policy only when agreements enhance the security of the United States and its allies. This is the Reagan-Bush legacy; true arms reductions as a means to improve U.S. security, not just the perception of East-West detente. Clear objectives, steady purpose, and tough negotiating, backed up by the Republican defense program, produced the INF Treaty. This is the first real nuclear arms reduction treaty in history. Until 1981, we had accepted arms "control" as simply a "managed" arms build-up, always waiting for the next agreement to reverse the trend. Republicans insist on mutual arms reductions. We have proven that there are no barriers to mutual reductions except a lack of will and strength to safely achieve them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.93

We cannot afford to return to failed Democrat approaches to arms control. Democrats treat arms control as an end in itself, over-emphasizing the atmospherics of East-West relations, making unilateral concessions, and reneging on the traditional U.S. commitment to those forces essential to U.S. and allied security. Notwithstanding their stated intentions, the Democrats' approach—particularly a nuclear freeze—would make nuclear war more, not less, likely.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.93

Republicans are committed to completing the work the Reagan-Bush Administration has begun on an unprecedented 50 percent cut in strategic nuclear weapons. We will achieve verifiable and stable reductions by implementing the Republican agenda for a secure America:

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.93

• We will consistently undertake necessary improvements in our forces to maintain the effectiveness of our deterrent.

• We will not negotiate in areas which jeopardize our security. In particular, we will not compromise plans for the research, testing, or the rapid and certain deployment of SDI.

• We will insist on effective verification of compliance with any and all treaties and will take proportional, compensatory actions in cases of non-compliance. Specifically, the Soviet ABM radar at Krasnoyarsk poses a clear violation of the ABM Treaty and, if not corrected, would constitute a "material breach" of the Treaty.

• We will place special emphasis on negotiating asymmetrical Soviet cutbacks in those areas where a dangerous imbalance exists. For example, during the three-year regime of Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet military has added more new conventional weapons than currently exist in the entire armed forces of France and West Germany.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.94

• We will reject naive and dangerous proposals such as those offered by [p.94] the Democrat nominee to ban the testing of weapons and delivery systems. Those simplistic and destabilizing proposals are designed only for domestic political appeal and would actually jeopardize achievement of stable arms reductions. The accuracies and efficiencies achieved by testing have in fact resulted in 25 percent fewer warheads and 75 percent less megatonnage than 20 years ago. Our more accurate weapons of today enhance stability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.94

We must always remember—and ever remind our fellow citizens—that, when the future of our country is at stake, no treaty at all is preferable to a bad treaty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.94

The Space Challenge

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.94

The Republican Party is determined to lead our country and the world into the 21st century with a revitalized space program. The American people have never turned back from a frontier.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.94

Our exploration of space has kept this country on the leading edge of science, research, and technology. Our access to space is essential to our national security. In the coming decade, nations around the world will compete for the economic and military advantages afforded by space.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.94

The free and unchallenged use of space offers to the free world, and the Soviet bloc as well, unprecedented strategic, scientific, and economic advantages. The Soviets openly seek these advantages, which must not be denied to the United States and other free nations. Our goal is for the United States to acquire the means to assure that we can enforce a stable and secure space environment for all peoples.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.95

[p.95] We must establish a permanent manned space station in orbit during the 1990s for a commercial and governmental space presence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.95

U.S. satellites currently act as the "eyes and ears" for our strategic forces. The survivability of U.S. space assets is vital to American interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.95

We believe the U.S. needs an Anti-Satellite (ASAT) capability to protect our space assets from an operational Soviet threat, and we intend to deploy it rapidly. Furthermore, we encourage the responsible Democrat Members of Congress to join us in this effort. Our country's advance in space is essential to achieve the economic transformations which await us in the new century ahead.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.95

Two powerful engines that can reenergize the space program will be competitive free enterprise and SDI. The United States must regain assured access to space through a balanced mix of space shuttles and unmanned vehicles. We must also expand the role—in investment, operation, and control—of the private sector. Republicans believe that this nation can and must develop a private sector capability to compete effectively in the world marketplace as a provider of launches and other services.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.95

We applaud those who have pioneered America's rendezvous with the future. We salute those who have lifted the nation's spirit by raising its sights. We remember in special honor those who gave their lives to give our country a leading role in space.

America: A Strong Leader and Reliable Partner

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.95

NATO remains the United States' most important political and military alliance. Republican commitment to NATO is unwavering, reflecting shared political and democratic values which link Europe, Canada, and the United States. NATO pools our collective military resources and capabilities, stretching in Europe from Norway in the north to Turkey, our strategic friend and pillar in the south.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.95

Our challenge is to assure that today's positive signals from the Soviets translate into a tangible reduction of their military threat tomorrow. Soviet conventional superiority remains a serious problem for NATO. Soviet-Warsaw Pact military doctrine continues to be predicated upon the Soviet Union's ability to mount a massive conventional offensive against the NATO allies. The NATO allies must strengthen their conventional forces, modernize their remaining nuclear systems, and promote rationalization, standardization and interoperability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.96

On the critical issues of defense burden sharing, Republicans reflect the [p.96] belief of the American people that, although we must maintain a strong presence, the alliance has now evolved to a point where our European and Japanese allies, blessed with advanced economies and high standards of living, are capable of shouldering their fair share of our common defense burden.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.96

We are committed to supporting the network of liberty through balanced regional or bilateral alliances with nations sharing our values in all parts of the world, especially our neighbors in Central America. The Republican Party reiterates its support of the people of Central America in their quest for freedom and democracy in their countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.96

We are proud of the great economic and democratic progress throughout the world during the Reagan-Bush Administration, and we are committed to strengthening the defensive ties that have thwarted Soviet expansion in the past seven years.

Keeping the Sea Lanes Free

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.96

The United States has always been a maritime nation. We have rebuilt our Navy to permit continued freedom of the seas. Our focus has correctly been on the fighting ships our Navy would use in the event of a conflict. Our successful peace mission in the Persian Gulf is eloquent testimony to the benefits of a blue water Navy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.96

To protect American interests in remote areas of the world, we require a 600-ship navy with 15 aircraft carrier battle groups. This number enables us to operate in areas where we lack the infrastructure of bases we enjoy in Western Europe and the western Pacific. A force of this size will enable us to meet both our security interests and commitments into the 21st century. Republicans are also committed to the strategic homeporting of our forces throughout the United States. Notwithstanding the Democrat nominee's claim to support conventional arms improvements, U.S. security interests are jeopardized by his proposal to cancel two aircraft carriers previously authorized and funded by Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.96

Providing new policies for the maritime industry is crucial to this nation's defense capability and its economic strength. These policies must include leadership to help make the industries competitive through reform of government programs, aggressive efforts to remove barriers to the U.S. flag merchant fleet, and a commitment to cooperate with the industries themselves to improve their efficiency, productivity, and competitive positions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.96

A national commitment to revitalize the commercial shipbuilding industry is needed in this country. Shipyards and the supplier base for marine [p.97] equipment necessary to build and maintain a merchant marine must survive and prosper. Our merchant marine must be significantly enlarged and become more competitive in order to vastly increase the amount and proportion of our foreign trade it carries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.97

Sealift is needed to supply our troops and transport commercial cargo during a prolonged national emergency. As a nation, we must be willing to pay for the strategic sealift capability we require. We can do this by ensuring that the needed ships are built and by helping to sustain the ships and their crews in commercial operation. We must return this nation to its foremost place among the world maritime powers through a comprehensive maritime policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.97

Last year Congress slashed the Administration's budget request for the Coast Guard. We urge Congress to adjust the budget process to protect the Coast Guard appropriation, thereby removing the temptation to siphon its funds and personnel into other programs and ensuring improved coordination of government agencies in our nation's war against drugs.

Our Nation's Technology Base

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.97

Science and technology are the keys to a better future for all. Many of the miracles we take for granted in everyday life originated in defense and space research. They have not only helped preserve the peace, but also have made America's standard of living the envy of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.97

Because of advances in science and technology, our defense budget today is actually one-third lower, as a fraction of the gross national product, than it was a generation ago.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.97

Today, national security and technological superiority are increasingly linked by the relationship between technology and key strategies of credible and flexible deterrence, defenses against ballistic missiles, and space pre-eminence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.97

Investment in defense research and development must be maintained at a level commensurate with the Reagan-Bush years. This investment should be focused on efficient and effective areas such as ballistic missile defense, space, command and control, and "smart" munitions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.97

We support a defense budget with the necessary funds and incentives for industry to invest in new technologies and new plant and equipment. This is needed to preserve and expand our competitive edge, thereby assuring future opportunities for America's next generation in science, engineering, and manufacturing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.98

Our nation will benefit greatly from patent royalties and technological [p.98] progress that will be developed through spinoffs, especially in the fields of micro-miniaturization and super-conductivity, which are vital in order for U.S. industry to compete in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.98

We regard the education of American students in the fields of science and technology as vital to our national security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.98

Our investment in militarily critical knowledge and technology must be safeguarded against transfer to the Soviet Union and other unfriendly countries.

Defense Acquisition

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.98

Americans are prepared to support defense spending adequate to meet the needs of our security. Americans have a right—and the government has a duty—to ensure that their hard-earned tax dollars are well-spent. We Republicans recognize that waste and fraud in the defense acquisition process cheat the American people and weaken our national security. Neither can be tolerated.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.98

Those who loot national security funds must be prosecuted and punished. Mismanagement must also be rooted out. The planning and budgeting process must be improved, and the acquisition process reformed, recognizing that congressionally mandated waste contributes mightily to inefficiencies in the system.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.98

We will sustain necessary appropriations in the defense budget to avoid the destructive impact of wildly fluctuating and unpredictable annual funding.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.98

The Packard Commission recommended a series of important reforms for improved defense management. We are committed to ensuring that these reforms are fully implemented—by Congress, the Defense Department and the defense industry. Most particularly we call for submission of a two-year budget for defense to help us meet these goals. Persons involved in the federal government procurement process must be subject to "revolving door" legislation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.98

Procurement today is constrained by an adversarial relationship between the Congress and the Defense Department. The result is micro-management by Congress, which has resulted in thousands of regulations that add expensive and time consuming red tape without adding value. Republicans support a firm policy of cooperation, treating Members of Congress as full partners in the acquisition process. This will result in more efficiency and better weapons. An example of what can be accomplished with this partnership is the new base closing legislation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.99

[p.99] To make real these reforms, we will once again depend on the professionalism, the diligence, and the patriotism of the men and women who comprise the vast majority of our defense establishment.

Armed Forces Personnel for the Nineties

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.99

A free society defends itself freely. That is why Republicans created an all-volunteer force of men and women in the 1970s, and why it has proven to be a tremendous success in the 1980s.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.99

From Grenada to the Persian Gulf, the readiness of those in uniform has made America proud again. Despite a demographic decline in the number of those eligible for service, military recruitment and retention rates are at all time highs. Quality is outstanding, and all sectors of society are participating.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.99

We will continue to make the military family a special priority, recognizing strong home life as an essential component in the morale and performance of the armed forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.99

Republicans deplore and reject the efforts of those who would support either a numerical cap or a reduction in the number of military dependents able to accompany U.S. servicemen and women overseas. We recognize that a stable and happy family life is the most important prerequisite for retaining these dedicated men and women in the service of our country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.99

Republicans recognize that a secure national defense depends upon healthy military personnel. We commend the United States Armed Forces for their leadership in proving the utility of testing active duty personnel and applicants for disease and substance abuse.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.99

Republicans will never take the military for granted. We support an all-volunteer force and we will continue to insist on fairness in pay and benefits for military personnel and their families, always striving to keep compensation in line with the civilian economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.99

The National Guard and Reserve are essential to the integrated force concept of our armed services. Prior to 1981, the Guard and Reserve were deprived of both modern equipment and integration into the active forces. This policy has been changed to enable the Guard and Reserve to make their full contribution to our security. We recognize the major role played by the men and women of the Guard and Reserves in the total defense policy. These improvements will be sustained.

Veterans

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.100

Veterans have paid the price for the freedoms we enjoy. They have [p.100] earned the benefits they receive, and we will be vigilant in protecting these programs of health care, education and housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.100

We believe men and women veterans have earned the right to be heard at the highest levels of government. With the personal support of President Reagan, America's veterans will now have a seat in the president's Cabinet.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.100

The health needs of our aging veterans are of special importance, and Republicans will not retreat from this national commitment. We encourage the new Secretary of the Veterans Department to work with the Federal Council on the Aging, and other agencies and organizations, to assure that the development of new facilities and treatment programs meet the special needs of our elderly veterans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.100

Republicans support the policy that, in all areas where there are no VA hospitals or long-term care facilities, veterans needing medical attention for service-connected disabilities should have the option of receiving medical care within their communities with adequate funding.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.100

We must continue to address the unique readjustment problems of Vietnam veterans by continuing the store-front counseling, vocational training and job placement programs. We support veterans preference in federal employment and are vigilant about the serious problems associated with delayed stress reaction in combat veterans, particularly disabled and Vietnam veterans. An intense scientific effort must continue with respect to disabilities that may be related to exposure to ionizing radiation or herbicides.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.100

The Republican Party supports sufficient funding to maintain the integrity of the VA hospital and medical care system and the entitlement and beneficiary system. We also support the efforts of the Department of Labor to properly meet the needs of unemployed veterans, particularly disabled and Vietnam veterans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.100

Our commitment to America's veterans extends to the men and women of all generations.

Intelligence: An Indispensable Resource at a Critical Time

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.100

A crucial part of the Reagan-Bush Administration's rebuilding of a strong America has been the restoration of the nation's intelligence capabilities after years of neglect and down-grading by the Carter-Mondale administration. This renewed emphasis has been essential in conducting diplomacy, supporting our armed forces, confronting terrorism, stopping narcotics traffic, battling Soviet subversion, and influencing [p.101] events in support of other national policies. Our vital intelligence capability will continue to prevent tragedies and save lives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.101

In the years ahead, the United States will face a widening range of national security challenges and opportunities. Scores of foreign intelligence services will seek to uncover our secrets and steal our technology. But there will also be opportunities to advance U.S. interests, for freedom and democracy are on the march. Both the threats and the opportunities will place demands on our intelligence capabilities as never before.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.101

The Republican Party endorses covert action as one method of implementing U.S. national security policy. We reject legislative measures that impinge on the President's constitutional prerogatives. Our country must be able to collect from both technical and human sources the vital information which is denied to us by closed societies in troubled regions of the world. Our senior national security officials must be informed about trends in foreign societies, opportunities to advance U.S. interests, and the vulnerabilities of those who seek to harm our interests. This information can then be used, through the proper chain of command, to support our national policies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.101

To strengthen the decision-making process and further limit access to classified information, we support the concept of a single joint committee for intelligence, made up of appropriate congressional leaders and analogous to the former Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.101

We will continue to enhance the nation's capability for counter-intelligence. Congressional intrusion into the administration of counter-intelligence must be kept to a minimum.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.101

Leaks of highly sensitive and classified national security information and materials have increased at an alarming rate in recent years. Such leaks often compromise matters critical to our defense and national security; they can result in the tragic loss of life. We advocate a law making it a felony for any present or former officer or employee of the federal government, including Members of Congress, to knowingly disclose classified information or material to a person not authorized to have access to it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.101

The U.S. must continue to provide political, military, and economic assistance to friends abroad and to those seeking to help us against our adversaries. These activities must always be in support of our national policy, and the U.S. has the right to expect reciprocity wherever possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.101

To the extent the Congress requires the President to inform its Members of activities sensitive to national security, the President is entitled to require that Congress will respect that sensitivity.

National Security Strategy for the Future

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.102

[p.102] We have set forth the foreign and defense policies of the Republican Party in the two preceding sections of this Platform. To implement those policies, we propose this integrated national security strategy for the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.102

The long-term security of our nation is the most important responsibility of the U.S. government. The domestic well-being of the American people cannot be ensured unless our country is secure from external attack. To guard our borders, preserve our freedom, protect America from ballistic missile attack, foster a climate of international stability and tranquility—so that nations and individuals may develop, interact, and prosper free from the threat of war or intimidation—these are the most important goals of America's foreign and defense policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.102

We dare not abandon to others our leadership in pursuit of these goals. International peace and stability require our country' s engagement at many levels. While we cannot resolve all issues unilaterally, neither can we abdicate our responsibilities by retrenchment or by relying on the United Nations to secure our interests abroad. Those who advocate America's disengagement from the world forget the dangers that would be unleashed by America's retreat—dangers which inevitably increase the costs and risks of the necessary reassertion of U.S. power.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.102

Republicans learned this lesson well as we implemented the most successful national security policy since World War II. In 1981, we had to deal with the consequences of the Democrat's retreat. We inherited an America in decline, with a crisis of confidence at home and a loss of respect abroad. Reestablishing America's strength, its belief in itself, and its leadership role was the first and most important task facing the Reagan-Bush Administration. We met that task. We repaired our defenses, modernized our strategic nuclear forces, improved our strategy for deterrence with our development of the Strategic Defense Initiative, deployed INF missiles in Europe, and restored pride in our nation's military service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.102

We also met that task by a policy of engagement. We worked with allies, not against them. We supported friends instead of accommodating foes. We fostered the achievement of genuine self-determination and democracy rather than merely preaching about human rights in the Third World.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.102

The Reagan-Bush approach produced dramatic results. Our policy is proven: to foster peace while resolutely providing for the security of our country and its allies. We have significantly enhanced that security. We have expanded the opportunities for the United States to be a positive force [p.103] for freedom and democracy throughout the world, and the chances for new breakthroughs for peace have risen dramatically.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.103

We secured the first arms reduction agreement, eliminating an entire class of Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons. We laid the basis in START for unprecedented, radical reductions in strategic nuclear arms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.103

In regional conflicts, a humiliating Soviet retreat from Afghanistan, made possible by our unyielding support for the Mujahidin, helped to sober the Soviet rulers about the costs of their adventurism. Our protection of vital U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf against Iranian aggression led to the agreement to start resolving the Persian Gulf War. Our support for freedom fighters in Angola has resulted in the chance of a settlement there and elsewhere in southern Africa. Our isolation of Vietnam has led to the prospect of its withdrawal from Cambodia.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.103

In human rights and the building of democracy, Republican leadership has turned the tide against terror in Central America, aided the restoration of democracy in the Philippines and South Korea, and liberated the island of Grenada from a Cuban-controlled dictatorship.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.103

This is a remarkable record of achievement. It shows that our policies of achieving peace through strength have worked. By rebuilding American strength and restoring American self-confidence, Republicans achieved a remarkable series of foreign policy objectives critical to our country's security. The resurgence of American leadership has changed the world and is shaping the future, creating new opportunities not dreamt of eight years ago. This is true measure of competence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.103

Although we have established a framework for the future, we cannot afford to rest on our laurels. The young democracies we have helped to flourish may yet be overcome by authoritarian pressures. The Soviet Union can easily revert to past practices. Its current effort of internal restructuring could create a more powerful adversary with unchanged objectives. Arms reductions could again become an excuse for reducing our commitment to defense, thus creating dangerous instabilities. Economic competition could easily slip into protectionism and mercantilism. Both to meet those challenges and to build upon the opportunities created by our success, the U.S. must continue in the strong leadership role it has assumed over the past eight years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.103

As we face the opportunities and challenges of the future, our policies must be guided by realism, strength, dialogue, and engagement. We must be realistic about the Soviet Union and the world we face. Hostile forces remain in that world. Soviet military capabilities are still dangerous to us. [p.104] It must be clear to all, except the leadership of the Democrat Party, that we are not beyond the era of threats to the security of the United States.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.104

Our country must have all the military strength that is necessary to deter war and protect our vital interests abroad. Republicans will continue to improve our defense capabilities. We will carefully set priorities within a framework of fiscal conservatism, and improved management of defense resources.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.104

We will continue modernizing our strategic forces, emphasizing a mix of offensive and defensive forces, effective and survivable, employing unique U.S. technological advantages. We will redouble our commitment through force improvement to correct the dangerous imbalance that exists in conventional forces.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.104

At the same time, we will pursue negotiations designed to eliminate destabilizing asymmetries in strategic and conventional forces. Arms reductions can contribute to our national security only if they are designed to reduce the risk of war and result in greater stability. They must be part of a process of broader dialogue with the Soviet Union, as well as other nations, a process in which we explore possible opportunities to reduce tensions and create more stable, predictable, and enduring relationships.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.104

As we shape our foreign and defense policies, we must never lose sight of the unique leadership role the United States plays in the world community. No other nation can assume that role. Whether we are dealing with security challenges in the Persian Gulf or terrorism or the scourge of drugs, the willingness of other nations to act resolutely will depend on the readiness of America to lead, to remain vigorously engaged, and to shoulder its unique responsibilities in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1988, p.104

The American people and the Republican Party, in the tradition of Ronald Reagan and with the leadership of George Bush, are indeed ready to do so.

National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1992

Democratic Platform of 1992

A New Covenant with the American People

Preamble

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Two hundred summers ago, this Democratic Party was founded by the man whose burning pen fired the spirit of the American Revolution—who once argued we should overthrow our own government every 20 years to renew our freedom and keep pace with a changing world. In 1992, the party Thomas Jefferson founded invokes his spirit of revolution anew.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Our land reverberates with a battle cry of frustration that emanates from America's very soul—from the families in our bedrock neighborhoods, from the unsung, workaday heroes of the world's greatest democracy and economy. America is on the wrong track. The American people are hurting. The American Dream of expanding opportunity has faded. Middle class families are working hard, playing by the rules, but still falling behind. Poverty has exploded. Our people are torn by divisions.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The last 12 years have been a nightmare of Republican irresponsibility and neglect. America's leadership is indifferent at home and uncertain in the world. Republican mismanagement has disarmed government as an instrument to make our economy work and support the people's most basic values, needs and hopes. The Republicans brought America a false and fragile prosperity based on borrowing, not income, and so will leave behind a mountain of public debt and a backbreaking annual burden in interest. It is wrong to borrow to spend on ourselves, leaving our children to pay our debts.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We hear the anguish and the anger of the American people. We know it is directed not just at the Republican administrations that have had power, but at government itself.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Their anger is justified. We can no longer afford business as usual—neither the policies of the last 12 years of tax breaks for the rich, mismanagement, lack of leadership and cuts in services for the middle class and the poor, nor the adoption of new programs and new spending without new thinking. It is time to listen to the grass roots of America, time to renew the spirit of citizen activism that has always been the touchstone of a free and democratic society.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Therefore we call for a revolution in government—to take power away from entrenched bureaucracies and narrow interests in Washington and put it back in the hands of ordinary people. We vow to make government more decentralized, more flexible, and more accountable—to reform public institutions and replace public officials who aren't leading with ones who will.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The Revolution of 1992 is about restoring America's economic greatness. We need to rebuild America by abandoning the something-for-nothing ethic of the last decade and putting people first for a change. Only a thriving economy, a strong manufacturing base, and growth in creative new enterprise can generate the resources to meet the nation's pressing human and social needs. An expanding, entrepreneurial economy of high-skill, high-wage jobs is the most important family policy, urban policy, labor policy, minority policy and foreign policy America can have.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The Revolution of 1992 is about putting government back on the side of working men and women—to help those who work hard, pay their bills, play by the rules, don't lobby for tax breaks, do their best to give their kids a good education and to keep them away from drugs, who want a safe neighborhood for their families, the security of decent, productive jobs for themselves, and a dignified life for their parents.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The Revolution of 1992 is about a radical change in the way government operates—not the Republican proposition that government has no role, nor the old notion that there's a program for every problem, but a shift to a more efficient, flexible and results-oriented government that improves services, expands choices, and empowers citizens and communities to change our country from the bottom up. We believe in an activist government, but it must work in a different, more responsive way.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The Revolution of 1992 is about facing up to tough choices. There is no relief for America's frustration in the politics of diversion and evasion, of false choices or of no choices at all. Instead of everyone in Washington blaming one another for inaction, we will act decisively—and ask to be held accountable if we don't.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Above all the Revolution of 1992 is about restoring the basic American values that built this country and will always make it great: personal responsibility, individual liberty, tolerance, faith, family and hard work. We offer the American people not only new ideas, a new course, and a new President, but a return to the enduring principles that set our nation apart: the promise of opportunity, the strength of community, the dignity of work, and a decent life for senior citizens.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

To make this revolution, we seek a New Covenant to repair the damaged bond between the American people and their government, that will expand opportunity, insist upon greater individual responsibility in return, restore community, and ensure national security in a profoundly new era.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We welcome the close scrutiny of the American people, including Americans who may have thought the Democratic Party had forgotten its way, as well as all who know us as the champions of those who have been denied a chance. With this platform we take our case for change to the American people.

I. Opportunity

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Our Party's first priority is opportunity—broad-based, non-inflationary economic growth and the opportunity that flows from it. Democrats in 1992 hold nothing more important for America than an economy that offers growth and jobs for all.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

President Bush, with no interest in domestic policy, has given America the slowest economic growth, the slowest income growth, and the slowest jobs growth since the Great Depression. And the American people know the long Bush recession reflects not just a business cycle, but a long-term slide, so that even in a fragile recovery we're sinking. The ballooning Bush deficits hijacked capital from productive investments. Savings and loan sharks enriched themselves at their country's expense. The stock market tripled, but average incomes stalled, and poverty claimed more of our children.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We reject both the do-nothing government of the last twelve years and the big government theory that says we can hamstring business and tax and spend our way to prosperity. Instead we offer a third way. Just as we have always viewed working men and women as the bedrock of our economy, we honor business as a noble endeavor, and vow to create a far better climate for firms and independent contractors of all sizes that empower their workers, revolutionize their workplaces, respect the environment, and serve their communities well.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We believe in free enterprise and the power of market forces. But economic growth will not come without a national economic strategy to invest in people. For twelve years our country has had no economic vision, leadership or strategy. It is time to put our people and our country first.

Investing In America

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The only way to lay the foundation for renewed American prosperity is to spur both public and private investment. We must strive to close both the budget deficit and the investment gap. Our major competitors invest far more than we do in roads, bridges, and the information networks and technologies of the future. We will rebuild America by investing more in transportation, environmental technologies, defense conversion, and a national information network.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

To begin making our economy grow, the President and Congress should agree that savings from defense must be reinvested productively at home, including research, education and training, and other productive investments. This will sharply increase the meager nine percent of the national budget now devoted to the future. We will create a "future budget" for investments that make us richer, to be kept separate from those parts of the budget that pay for the past and present. For the private sector, instead of a sweeping capital gains windfall to the wealthy and those who speculate, we will create an investment tax credit and a capital gains reduction for patient investors in emerging technologies and new businesses.

Support for Innovation

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We will take back the advantage now ceded to Japan and Germany, which invest in new technologies at higher rates than the U.S. and have the growth to show for it. We will make the R&D tax credit permanent, double basic research in the key technologies for our future, and create a civilian research agency to fast-forward their development.

The Deficit

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Addressing the deficit requires fair and shared sacrifice of all Americans for the common good. In 12 Republican years a national debt that took 200 years to accumulate has been quadrupled. Rising interest on that debt now swallows one tax dollar in seven. In place of the Republican supply-side disaster, the Democratic investment, economic conversion and growth strategy will generate more revenues from a growing economy. We must also tackle spending, by putting everything on the table; eliminate nonproductive programs; achieve defense savings; reform entitlement programs to control soaring health care costs; cut federal administrative costs by 3 percent annually for four years; limit increases in the "present budget" to the rate of growth in the average American's paycheck; apply a strict "pay as you go" rule to new non-investment spending; and make the rich pay their fair share in taxes. These choices will be made while protecting senior citizens and without further victimizing the poor. This deficit reduction effort will encourage private savings, eliminate the budget deficit over time, and permit fiscal policies that can restore America's economic health.

Defense Conversion

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Our economy needs both the people and the funds released from defense at the Cold War's end. We will help the stalwarts of that struggle—the men and women who served in our armed forces and who work in our defense industries—make the most of a new era. We will provide early notice of program changes to give communities, businesses and workers enough time to plan. We will honor and support our veterans. Departing military personnel, defense workers, and defense support personnel will have access to job retraining, continuing education, placement and relocation assistance, early retirement benefits for military personnel, and incentives to enter teaching, law enforcement and other vital civilian fields. Redirected national laboratories and a new civilian research agency will put defense scientists, engineers and technicians to work in critical civilian technologies. Small business defense firms will have technical assistance and transition grants and loans to help convert to civilian markets, and de

The Cities

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Only a robust economy will revitalize our cities. It is in all Americans' interest that the cities once again be places where hard-working families can put down roots and find good jobs, quality health care, affordable housing, and decent schools. Democrats will create a new partnership to rebuild America's cities after 12 years of Republican neglect. This partnership with the mayors will include consideration of the seven economic growth initiatives set forth by our nation's mayors. We will create jobs by investing significant resources to put people back to work, beginning with a summer jobs initiative and training programs for inner-city youth. We support a stronger community development program and targeted fiscal assistance to cities that need it most. A national public works investment and infrastructure program will provide jobs and strengthen our cities, suburbs, rural communities and country. We will encourage the flow of investment to inner city development and housing through targeted enterprise; a national network of Community Development Banks to invest in urban and rural small businesses; and microenterprise lending for poor people seeking self-employment as an alternative to welfare.

Agriculture and the Rural Community

1992 Democratic Party Platform

All Americans, producers and consumers alike, benefit when our food and fiber are produced by hundreds of thousands of family farmers receiving fair prices for their products. The abundance of our nation's food and fiber system should not be taken for granted. The revolution that lifted America to the forefront of world agriculture was achieved through a unique partnership of public and private interests. The inattention and hostility that has characterized Republican food, agricultural and rural development policies of the past twelve years have caused a crisis in rural America. The cost of Republican farm policy has been staggering and its total failure is demonstrated by the record number of rural bankruptcies.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

A sufficient and sustainable agricultural economy can be achieved through fiscally responsible programs. It is time to reestablish the private/public partnership to ensure that family farmers get a fair return for their labor and investment, so that consumers receive safe and nutritious foods, and that needed investments are made in basic research, education, rural business development, market development and infrastructure to sustain rural communities.

Workers' Rights

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Our workplaces must be revolutionized to make them more flexible and productive. We will reform the job safety laws to empower workers with greater rights and to hold employers accountable for dangers on the job. We will act against sexual harassment in the workplace. We will honor the work ethic—by expanding the earned income tax credit so no one with children at home who works full-time is still in poverty; by fighting on the side of family farmers to ensure they get a fair price for their hard work; by working to sustain rural communities; by making work more valuable than welfare; and by supporting the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively without fear of intimidation or permanent replacement during labor disputes.

Lifelong Learning

1992 Democratic Party Platform

A competitive American economy requires the global market's best educated, best trained, most flexible work force. It's not enough to spend more on our schools; we must insist on results. We oppose the Bush Administration's efforts to bankrupt the public school system—the bedrock of democracy—through private school vouchers. To help children reach school ready to learn, we will expand child health and nutrition programs and extend Head Start to all eligible children, and guarantee all children access to quality, affordable child care. We deplore the savage inequalities among public schools across the land, and believe every child deserves an equal chance to a world class education. Reallocating resources toward this goal must be a priority. We support education reforms such as site-based decision-making and public school choice, with strong protections against discrimination. We support the goal of a 90 percent graduation rate, and programs to end dropouts. We will invest in educational technology, and establish world-class standards in math, science and other core subjects and support effective tests of progress to meet them. In areas where there are no

A Domestic GI Bill

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Over the past twelve years skyrocketing costs and declining middle class incomes have placed higher education out of reach for millions of Americans. It is time to revolutionize the way student loan programs are run. We will make college affordable to all students who are qualified to attend, regardless of family income. A Domestic G.I. Bill will enable all Americans to borrow money for college, so long as they are willing to pay it back as a percentage of their income over time or through national service addressing unmet community needs.

Affordable Health Care

1992 Democratic Party Platform

All Americans should have universal access to quality, affordable health care—not as a privilege, but as a right. That requires tough controls on health costs, which are rising at two to three times the rate of inflation, terrorizing American families and businesses and depriving millions of the care they need. We will enact a uniquely American reform of the health care system to control costs and make health care affordable; ensure quality and choice of health care providers; cover all Americans regardless of preexisting conditions; squeeze out waste, bureaucracy and abuse; improve primary and preventive care including child immunization and prevention of diseases like Tuberculosis now becoming rampant in our cities; provide expanded education on the relationship between diet and health; expand access to mental health treatment services; provide a safety net through support of public hospitals; provide for the full range of reproductive choice—education, counseling, access to contraceptives, and the right to a safe, legal abortion; expand medical research; and provide more long term care, including home health care. We will make ending the epidemic in breast cancer a major priority, and expand research on breast, cervical and ovarian cancer, infertility, reproductive health services and other special health needs of women. We must be united in declaring war on AIDS and HIV disease, implement the recommendations of the National Commission on AIDS and fully fund the Ryan White Care Act; provide targeted and honest prevention campaigns; combat HIV-related discrimination; make drug treatment available for all addicts who seek it; guarantee access to quality care; expand clinical trials for treatments and vaccines; and speed up the FDA drug approval process.

Fairness

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Growth and equity work in tandem. People should share in society's common costs according to their ability to pay. In the last decade, mounting payroll and other taxes have fallen disproportionately on the middle class. We will relieve the tax burden on middle class Americans by forcing the rich to pay their fair share. We will provide long-overdue tax relief to families with children. To broaden opportunity, we will support fair lending practices.

Energy Efficiency and Sustainable Development

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We reject the Republican myth that energy efficiency and environmental protection are enemies of economic growth. We will make our economy more efficient, by using less energy, reducing our dependence on foreign oil, and producing less solid and toxic waste. We will adopt a coordinated transportation policy, with a strong commitment to mass transit; encourage efficient alternative-fueled vehicles; increase our reliance on clean natural gas; promote clean coal technology; invest in R strengthen efforts to prevent air and water pollution; support incentives for domestic oil and gas operations; and push for revenue-neutral incentives that reward conservation, prevent pollution and encourage recycling.

Civil and Equal Rights

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We don't have an American to waste. Democrats will continue to lead the fight to ensure that no Americans suffer discrimination or deprivation of rights on the basis of race, gender, language, national origin, religion, age, disability, sexual orientation, or other characteristics irrelevant to ability. We support the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; affirmative action; stronger protection of voting rights for racial and ethnic minorities, including language access to voting; and continued resistance to discriminatory English-only pressure groups. We will reverse the Bush Administration's assault on civil rights enforcement, and instead work to rebuild and vigorously use machinery for civil rights enforcement; support comparable remedies for women; aggressively prosecute hate crimes; strengthen legal services for the poor; deal with other nations in such a way that Americans of any origin do not become scapegoats or victims of foreign policy disputes; provide civil rights protection for gay men and lesbians and an end to Defense Department discrimination; respect Native American culture and our treaty commitments; require the United States Government to recognize its trustee obligations to the inhabitants of Hawaii generally, and to Native Hawaiians in particular; and fully enforce the Americans with Disability Act to enable people with disabilities to achieve independence and function at their highest possible level.

Commonwealths and Territories

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We recognize the existing status of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the strong economic relationship between the people of Puerto Rico and the United States. We pledge to support the right of the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to choose freely, and in concert with the U.S. Congress, their relationship with the United States, either as an enhanced commonwealth, a state or an independent nation. We support fair participation for Puerto Rico in federal programs. We pledge to the people of American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Virgin Islands just and fair treatment under federal policies, assisting their economic and social development. We respect their right and that of the people of Palau to decide freely their future relationship with the United States and to be consulted on issues and policies that directly affect them.

II. Responsibility

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Sixty years ago, Franklin Roosevelt gave hope to a nation mired in the Great Depression. While government should promise every American the opportunity to get ahead, it was the people's responsibility, he said, to make the most of that opportunity: "Faith in America demands that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. In the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load."

1992 Democratic Party Platform

For twelve years, the Republicans have expected too little of our public institutions and placed too little faith in our people. we offer a new social contract based neither on callous, do-nothing Republican neglect, nor on an outdated faith in programs as the solution to every problem. We favor a third way beyond the old approaches—to put government back on the side of citizens who play by the rules. We believe that by what it says and how it conducts its business, government must once again make responsibility an instrument of national purpose. Our future as a nation depends upon the daily assumption of personal responsibility by millions of Americans from all walks of life—for the religious faiths they follow, the ethics they practice, the values they instill, and the pride they take in their work.

Strengthening The Family

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Governments don't raise children, people do. People who bring children into this world have a responsibility to care for them and give them values, motivation and discipline. Children should not have children. We need a national crackdown on deadbeat parents, an effective system of child support enforcement nationwide, and a systematic effort to establish paternity for every child. We must also make it easier for parents to build strong families through pay equity. Family and medical leave will ensure that workers don't have to choose between family and work. We support a family preservation program to reduce child and spousal abuse by providing preventive services and foster care to families in crisis. We favor ensuring quality and affordable child care opportunities for working parents, and a fair and healthy start for every child, including essential pre-natal and well baby care. We support the needs of our senior citizens for productive and healthy lives, including hunger prevention, income

Welfare Reform

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Welfare should be a second chance, not a way of life. We want to break the cycle of welfare by adhering to two simple principles: no one who is able to work can stay on welfare forever, and no one who works should live in poverty. We will continue to help those who cannot help themselves. We will offer people on welfare a new social contract. We'll invest in education and job training, and provide the child care and health care they need to go to work and achieve long-term self- sufficiency. We will give them the help they need to make the transition from welfare to work, and require people who can work to go to work within two years in available jobs either in the private sector or in community service to meet unmet needs. This will restore the covenant that welfare was meant to be: a promise of temporary help for people who have fallen on hard times.

Choice

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Democrats stand behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with Roe v. Wade, regardless of ability to pay, and support a national law to protect that right.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

It is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual Americans—not government—can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction. The goal of our nation must be to make abortion less necessary, not more difficult or more dangerous. We pledge to support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life education, and policies that support healthy childbearing and enable parents to care most effectively for their children.

Making Schools Work

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Education is a cooperative enterprise that can only succeed if everyone accepts and exercises personal responsibility. Students must stay in school and do their best; parents must get involved in their children's education; teachers must attain, maintain, and demonstrate classroom competency; school administrators must enforce discipline and high standards of educational attainment; governments must end the inequalities that create educational ghettos among school districts and provide equal educational opportunity for all; and ensure that teachers' pay measures up to their decisive role in children's lives; and the American people should recognize education as the core of our economy, democracy and society. Labor-Management Responsibilities.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The private sector is the engine of our economy and the main source of national wealth. But it is not enough for those in the private sector just to make as much money as they can. The most irresponsible people in all of the 1980s were those at the top of the ladder: the inside traders, quick buck artists, and S&L kingpins who looked out for themselves and not for the country. America's corporate leaders have a responsibility to invest in their country. CEOs, who pay themselves 100 times what they pay the average worker, shouldn't get big raises unrelated to performance. If a company wants to overpay its executives and underinvest in the future or transfer jobs overseas, it shouldn't get special treatment and tax breaks from the Treasury. Managers must work with employees to make the workplace safer, more satisfying and more efficient.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Workers must also accept added responsibilities in the new economy. In return for an increased voice and a greater stake in the success of their enterprises, workers should be prepared to join in cooperative efforts to increase productivity, flexibility and quality. Government's neutrality between labor and management cannot mean neutrality about the collective bargaining process, which has been purposely crippled by Republican administrations. Our economic growth depends on processes, including collective bargaining, that permit labor and management to work together on their common interests, even as they work out their conflicts.

Responsibility for the Environment

1992 Democratic Party Platform

For ourselves and future generations, we must protect our environment. We will protect our old growth forests, preserve critical habitats, provide a genuine "no net loss" policy on wetlands, reduce our dependence on toxic chemicals, conserve the critical resources of soil, water and air, oppose new offshore oil drilling and mineral exploration and production in our nation's many environmentally critical areas, and address ocean pollution by reducing oil and toxic waste spills at sea. We believe America's youth can serve its country well through a civilian conservation corps. To protect the public health, we will clean up the environmental horrors at federal facilities, insist that private polluters clean up their toxic and hazardous wastes, and vigorously prosecute environmental criminals. We will oppose Republican efforts to gut the Clean Air Act in the guise of competitiveness.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We will reduce the volume of solid waste and encourage the use of recycled materials while discouraging excess packaging. To avoid the mistakes of the past, we will actively support energy- efficiency, recycling, and pollution prevention strategies.

Responsible Government

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Democrats in 1992 intend to lead a revolution in government, challenging it to act responsibly and be accountable, starting with the hardest and most urgent problems of the deficit and economic growth. Rather than throw money at obsolete programs, we will eliminate unnecessary layers of management, cut administrative costs, give people more choices in the service they get, and empower them to make those choices. To foster greater responsibility in government at every level, we support giving greater flexibility to our cities, counties and states in achieving Federal mandates and carrying out existing programs.

Responsible Officials

1992 Democratic Party Platform

All branches of government must live by the laws the rest of us obey, determine their pay in an open manner that builds public trust, and eliminate special privileges. People in public office need to be accessible to the people they represent. It's time to reform the campaign finance system, to get big money out of our politics and let the people back in. We must limit overall campaign spending and limit the disproportionate and excessive role of PACs. We need new voter registration laws that expand the electorate, such as universal same-day registration, along with full political rights and protections for public employees and new regulations to ensure that the airwaves truly help citizens make informed choices among candidates and policies. And we need fair political representation for all sectors of our country—including the District of Columbia, which deserves and must get statehood status.

III. Restoring Community

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The success of democracy in America depends substantially on the strength of our community institutions: families and neighborhoods, public schools, religious institutions, charitable organizations, civic groups and other voluntary organizations. In these social networks, the values and character of our citizens are formed, as we learn the habits and skills of self-government, and acquire an understanding of our common rights and responsibilities as citizens.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Twelve years of Republican rule have undermined the spirit of mutual dependence and obligation that binds us together. Republican leaders have urged Americans to turn inward, to pursue private interests without regard to public responsibilities. By playing racial, ethnic and gender-based politics they have divided us against each other, created an atmosphere of blame, denial and fear, and undone the hard-fought battles for equality and fairness.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Our communities form a vital "third sector" that lies between government and the marketplace. The wisdom, energy and resources required to solve our problems are not concentrated in Washington, but can be found throughout our communities, including America's non-profit sector, which has grown rapidly over the last decade. Government's best role is to enable people and communities to solve their own problems.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

America's special genius has been to forge a community of shared values from people of remarkable and diverse backgrounds. As the party of inclusion, we take special pride in our country's emergence as the world's largest and most successful multiethnic, multiracial republic. We condemn antisemitism, racism, homophobia, bigotry and negative stereotyping of all kinds. We must help all Americans understand the diversity of our cultural heritage. But it is also essential that we preserve and pass on to our children the common elements that hold this mosaic together as we work to make our country a land of freedom and opportunity for all.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Both Republican neglect and traditional spending programs have proven unequal to these challenges. Democrats will pursue a new course that stresses work, family and individual responsibility, and that empowers Americans to liberate themselves from poverty and dependence. We pledge to bolster the institutions of civil society and place a new emphasis on civic enterprises that seek solutions to our nation's problems. Through common, cooperative efforts we can rebuild our communities and transform our nation.

Combatting Crime and Drugs

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Crime is a relentless danger to our communities. Over the last decade, crime has swept through our country at an alarming rate. During the 1980s, more than 200,000 Americans were murdered, four times the number who died in Vietnam. Violent crimes rose by more than 16 percent since 1988 and nearly doubled since 1975. In our country today, a murder is committed every 25 minutes, a rape every six minutes, a burglary every 10 seconds. The pervasive fear of crime disfigures our public life and diminishes our freedom.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

None suffer more than the poor: an explosive mixture of blighted prospects, drugs and exotic weaponry has turned many of our inner city communities into combat zones. As a result, crime is not only a symptom but also a major cause of the worsening poverty and demoralization that afflicts inner city communities.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

To empower America's communities, Democrats pledge to restore government as the upholder of basic law and order for crime-ravaged communities. The simplest and most direct way to restore order in our cities is to put more police on the streets.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

America's police are locked in an unequal struggle with crime: since 1951 the ratio of police officers to reported crimes has reversed, from three-to-one to one-to-three. We will create a Police Corps, in which participants would receive college aid in return for several years of service after graduation in a state or local police department. As we shift people and resources from defense to the civilian economy, we will create new jobs in law enforcement for those leaving the military.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We will expand drug counselling and treatment for those who need it, intensify efforts to educate our children at the earliest ages to the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse, and curb demand from the street corner to the penthouse suite, so that the U.S., with five percent of the world's population, no longer consumes 50 percent of the world's illegal drugs.

Community Policing.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Neighborhoods and police should be partners in the war on crime. Democrats support more community policing, which uses foot patrols and storefront offices to make police officers visible fixtures in urban neighborhoods. We will combat street violence and emphasize building trust and solving the problems that breed crime.

Firearms.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

It is time to shut down the weapons bazaars in our cities. We support a reasonable waiting period to permit background checks for purchases of handguns, as well as assault weapons controls to ban the possession, sale, importation and manufacture of the most deadly assault weapons. We do not support efforts to restrict weapons used for legitimate hunting and sporting purposes. We will work for swift and certain punishment of all people who violate the country's gun laws and for stronger sentences for criminals who use guns. We will also seek to shut down the black market for guns and impose severe penalties on people who sell guns to children.

Pursuing All Crime Aggressively.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

In contrast to the Republican policy of leniency toward white collar crime—which breeds cynicism in poor communities about the impartiality of our justice system—Democrats will redouble efforts to ferret out and punish those who betray the public trust, rig financial markets, misuse their depositors' money or swindle their customers.

Further Initiatives.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Democrats also favor innovative sentencing and punishment options, including community service and boot camps for first time offenders; tougher penalties for rapists; victim-impact statements and restitution to ensure that crime victims will not be lost in the complexities of the criminal justice system; and initiatives to make our schools safe, including alternative schools for disruptive children.

Empowering The Poor and Expanding The Middle Class

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We must further the new direction set in the Family Support Act of 1988, away from subsistence and dependence and toward work, family and personal initiative and responsibility. We advocate slower phasing out of Medicaid and other benefits to encourage work; special savings accounts to help low-income families build assets; fair lending; an indexed minimum wage; an expanded Job Corps; and an end to welfare rules that encourage family breakup and penalize individual initiative, such as the $1,000 limit on personal savings.

Immigration.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Our nation of immigrants has been invigorated repeatedly as new people, ideas and ways of life have become part of the American tapestry. Democrats support immigration policies that promote fairness, non-discrimination and family reunification, and that reflect our constitutional freedoms of speech, association and travel.

Housing.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Safe, secure housing is essential to the institutions of community and family. We support home ownership for working families and will honor that commitment through policies that encourage affordable mortgage credit. We must also confront homelessness by renovating, preserving and expanding the stock of affordable low-income housing. We support tenant management and ownership, so public housing residents can manage their own affairs and acquire property worth protecting.

National Service.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We will create new opportunities for citizens to serve each other, their communities and their country. By mobilizing hundreds of thousands of volunteers, national service will enhance the role of ordinary citizens in solving unresolved community problems.

The Arts

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We believe in public support for the Arts, including a National Endowment for the Arts that is free from political manipulation and firmly rooted in the First Amendment's freedom of expression guarantee.

IV. Preserving Our National Security

1992 Democratic Party Platform

During the past four years, we have seen the corrosive effect of foreign policies that are rooted in the past, divorced from our values, fearful of change and unable to meet its challenges. Under President Bush, crises have been managed, rather than prevented; dictators like Saddam Hussein have been wooed, rather than deterred; aggression by the Serbian regime against its neighbors in what was Yugoslavia has been met by American timidity rather than toughness; human rights abusers have been rewarded, not challenged; the environment has been neglected, not protected; and America's competitive edge in the global economy has been dulled, not honed. It is time for new American leadership that can meet the challenges of a changing world.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

At the end of World War II, American strength had defeated tyranny and American ingenuity had overcome the Depression. Under President Truman, the United States led the world into a new era, redefining global security with bold approaches to tough challenges: containing communism with the NATO alliance and in Korea; building the peace through organizations such as the United Nations; and advancing global economic security through new multilateral institutions.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Nearly a half century later, we stand at another pivotal point in history. The collapse of communism does not mean the end of danger or threats to our interests. But it does pose an unprecedented opportunity to make our future more secure and prosperous. Once again, we must define a compelling vision for global leadership at the dawn of a new era.

Restructuring Our Military Forces

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We have not seen the end of violence, aggression and the conflicts that can threaten American interests and our hopes for a more peaceful world. What the United States needs is not the Bush Administration's Cold War thinking on a smaller scale, but a comprehensive restructuring of the American military enterprise to meet the threats that remain.

Military Strength.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

America is the world's strongest military power and we must remain so. A post-Cold War restructuring of American forces will produce substantial savings beyond those promised by the Bush Administration, but that restructuring must be achieved without undermining our ability to meet future threats to our security. A military structure for the 1990's and beyond must be built on four pillars: First, a survivable nuclear force to deter any conceivable threat, as we reduce our nuclear arsenals through arms control negotiations and other reciprocal action. Second, conventional forces shifted toward projecting power wherever our vital national interests are threatened. This means reducing the size of our forces in Europe, while meeting our obligations to NATO, and strengthening our rapid deployment capabilities to deal with new threats to our security posed by renegade dictators, terrorists, international drug traffickers, and the local armed conflicts that can threaten the peace of entire regions. Th

Use Of Force.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The United States must be prepared to use military force decisively when necessary to defend our vital interests. The burdens of collective security in a new era must be shared fairly, and we should encourage multilateral peacekeeping through the United Nations and other international efforts.

Preventing And Containing Conflict.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

American policy must be focused on averting military threats as well as meeting them. To halt the spread of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, we must lead a renewed international effort to get tough with companies that peddle nuclear and chemical warfare technologies, strengthen the International Atomic Energy Agency, and enforce strong sanctions against governments that violate international restraints. A Comprehensive Test Ban would strengthen our ability to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, which may be our greatest future security threat. We must press for strong international limits on the dangerous and wasteful flow of conventional arms to troubled regions. A U.S. troop presence should be maintained in South Korea as long as North Korea presents a threat to South Korea.

Restoring America's Economic Leadership

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The United States cannot be strong abroad if it is weak at home. Restoring America's global economic leadership must become a central element of our national security policies. The strength of nations, once defined in military terms, now is measured also by the skills of their workers, the imagination of their managers and the power of their technologies.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Either we develop and pursue a national plan for restoring our economy through a partnership of government, labor and business, or we slip behind the nations that are competing with us and growing. At stake are American jobs, our standard of living and the quality of life for ourselves and our children.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Economic strength—indeed our national security—is grounded on a healthy domestic economy. But we cannot be strong at home unless we are part of a vibrant and expanding global economy that recognizes human rights and seeks to improve the living standards of all the world's people. This is vital to achieving good quality, high paying jobs for Americans.

Trade.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Our government must work to expand trade, while insisting that the conduct of world trade is fair. It must fight to uphold American interests—promoting exports, expanding trade in agricultural and other products, opening markets in major product and service sectors with our principal competitors, and achieving reciprocal access. This should include renewed authority to use America's trading leverage against the most serious problems. The U.S. government also must firmly enforce U.S. laws against unfair trade.

Trade Agreements.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Multilateral trade agreements can advance our economic interests by expanding the global economy. Whether negotiating the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) or completing the GATT negotiations, our government must assure that our legitimate concerns about environmental, health and safety, and labor standards are included. Those American workers whose jobs are affected must have the benefit of effective adjustment assistance.

Promoting Democracy

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Brave men and women—like the hero who stood in front of a tank in Beijing and the leader who stood on a tank in Moscow—are putting their lives on the line for democracy around the world. But as the tide of democracy rose in the former Soviet Union and in China, in the Baltics and South Africa, only reluctantly did this Administration abandon the status quo and embrace the fight for freedom.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Support for democracy serves our ideals and our interests. A more democratic world is a world that is more peaceful and more stable. An American foreign policy of engagement for democracy must effectively address:

Emerging Democracies.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Helping to lead an international effort to assist the emerging—and still fragile—democracies in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union build democratic institutions in free market settings, demilitarize their societies and integrate their economies into the world trading system. Unlike the Bush Administration, which waited too long to recognize the new democratic governments in the Baltic countries and the nations of the former Soviet Union, we must act decisively with our European allies to support freedom, diminish ethnic tensions, and oppose aggression in the former communist countries, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, which are struggling to make the transition from communism to democracy. As change sweeps through the Balkans, the United States must be sensitive to the concerns of Greece regarding the use of the name Macedonia. And in the post-Cold War era, our foreign assistance programs in Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and elsewhere should be targeted at helping democracies ra

Democracy Corps.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Promoting democratic institutions by creating a Democracy Corps to send American volunteers to countries that seek legal, financial and political expertise to build democratic institutions, and support groups like the National Endowment for Democracy, the Asia Foundation, and others.

China Trade Terms.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Conditioning of favorable trade terms for China on respect for human rights in China and Tibet, greater market access for U.S. goods, and responsible conduct on weapons proliferation.

South Africa.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Maintenance of state and local sanctions against South Africa in support of an investment code of conduct, existing limits on deductibility of taxes paid to South Africa, and diplomatic pressure until there is an irreversible, full and fair accommodation with the black majority to create a democratic government with full rights for all its citizens. We deplore the continuing violence, especially in Boipatong Township, and are concerned about the collapse of the negotiations. The U.S. Government should consider reimposing Federal sanctions. The Democratic Party supports the creation of a South African/American Enterprise Fund that will provide a new interim government with public and private funds to assist in the development of democracy in South Africa.

Middle East Peace

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Support for the peace process now underway in the Middle East, rooted in the tradition of the Camp David accords. Direct negotiations between Israel, her Arab neighbors and Palestinians, with no imposed solutions, are the only way to achieve enduring security for Israel and full peace for all parties in the region. The end of the Cold War does not alter America's deep interest in our long-standing special relationship with Israel, based on shared values, a mutual commitment to democracy, and a strategic alliance that benefits both nations. The United States must act effectively as an honest broker in the peace process. It must not, as has been the case with this Administration, encourage one side to believe that it will deliver unilateral concessions from the other. Jerusalem is the capital of the state of Israel and should remain an undivided city accessible to people of all faiths.

Human Rights

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Standing everywhere for the rights of individuals and respect for ethnic minorities against the repressive acts of governments—against torture, political imprisonment, and all attacks on civilized standards of human freedom. This is a proud tradition of the Democratic Party, which has stood for freedom in South Africa and continues to resist oppression in Cuba. Our nation should once again promote the principle of sanctuary for politically oppressed people everywhere, be they Haitian refugees, Soviet Jews seeking U.S. help in their successful absorption into Israeli society, or Vietnamese fleeing communism. Forcible return of anyone fleeing political repression is a betrayal of American values.

Human Needs

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Support for the struggle against poverty and disease in the developing world, including the heartbreaking famine in Africa. We must not replace the East-West conflict with one between North and South, a growing divide between the industrialized and developing world. Our development programs must be reexamined and restructured to assure that their benefits truly help those most in need to help themselves. At stake are the lives of millions of human beings who live in hunger, uprooted from their homes, too often without hope. The United States should work to establish a specific plan and timetable for the elimination of world hunger.

Cyprus

1992 Democratic Party Platform

A renewed commitment to achieve a Cyprus settlement pursuant to the United Nations resolutions. This goal must now be restored to the diplomatic agenda of the United States.

Northern Ireland

1992 Democratic Party Platform

In light of America's historic ties to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, and consistent with our country's commitment to peace, democracy and human rights around the world, a more active United States role in promoting peace and political dialogue to bring an end to the violence and achieve a negotiated solution in Northern Ireland.

Preserving The Global Environment

1992 Democratic Party Platform

As the threat of nuclear holocaust recedes, the future of the earth is challenged by gathering environmental crises. As governments around the world have sought the path to concerted action, the Bush Administration—despite its alleged foreign policy expertise—has been more of an obstacle to progress than a leader for change, practicing isolationism on an issue that affects us all. Democrats know we must act now to save the health of the earth, and the health of our children, for generations to come.

Addressing Global Warming.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The United States must become a leader, not an impediment, in the fight against global warming. We should join our European allies in agreeing to limit carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

Ozone Depletion.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

The United States must be a world leader in finding replacements for CFCs and other ozone depleting substances.

Biodiversity.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We must work actively to protect the planet's biodiversity and preserve its forests. At the Rio Earth Summit, the Bush Administration's failure to negotiate a biodiversity treaty it could sign was an abdication of international leadership.

Developing Nations

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We must fashion imaginative ways of engaging governments and business in the effort to encourage developing nations to preserve their environmental heritage.

Population Growth

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Explosive population growth must be controlled by working closely with other industrialized and developing nations and private organizations to fund greater family planning efforts.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

As a nation and as a people, we have entered into a new era. The Republican President and his advisors are rooted in Cold War precepts and cannot think or act anew. Through almost a half century of sacrifice, constancy and strength, the American people advanced democracy's triumph in the Cold War. Only new leadership that restores our nation's greatness at home can successfully draw upon these same strengths of the American people to lead the world into a new era of peace and freedom.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

In recent years we have seen brave people abroad face down tanks, defy coups, and risk exodus by boat on the high seas for a chance at freedom and the kind of opportunities we call the American Dream. It is time for Americans to fight against the decline of those same opportunities here at home.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

Americans know that, in the end, we will all rise or fall together. To make our society one again, Democrats will restore America's founding values of family, community and common purpose.

1992 Democratic Party Platform

We believe in the American people. We will challenge all Americans to give something back to their country. And they will be enriched in return, for when individuals assume responsibility, they acquire dignity. When people go to work, they rediscover a pride that was lost. When absent parents pay child support, they restore a connection they and their children need. When students work harder, they discover they can learn as well as any on earth. When corporate managers put their workers and long-term success ahead of short-term gain, their companies do well and so do they. When the leaders we elect assume responsibility for America's problems, we will do what is right to move America forward together.

Republican Platform of 1992

The Vision Shared: The Republican Platform,

Uniting Our Family, Our Country, Our World

Adopted August 17, 1992

Preamble

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

[p.1] Abraham Lincoln, our first Republican President, expressed the philosophy that inspires Republicans to this day: "The legitimate object of Government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. But in all that people can individually do as well for themselves, Government ought not to interfere."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

We believe that most problems of human making are within the capacity of human ingenuity to solve.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

For good reason, millions of new Americans have flocked to our shores: America has always been an opportunity society. Republicans have always believed that economic prosperity comes from individual enterprise, not government programs. We have defended our core principles for 138 years; but never has this country, and the world, been so receptive to our message.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

The Fall of the Berlin Wall symbolizes an epochal change in the way people live. More important, it liberates the way people think. We see with new clarity that centralized government bureaucracies created in this century are not the wave of the future. Never again will people trust planners and paper shufflers more than they trust themselves. We all watched as the statue of Soviet hangman Feliks Dzherzhinsky was toppled in front of Moscow' s KGB headquarters by the very people his evil empire sought to enslave. Its sightless eyes symbolized the moral blindness of totalitarians around the world. They could never see the indomitable spirit of people determined to be free from government control—free to build a better future with their own heads, hands, and hearts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

We Republicans saw clearly the dangers of collectivism: not only the military threat, but the deeper threat to the souls of people bound in dependence. Here at home, we warned against Big Government, because we knew concentrated decisionmaking, no matter how well-intentioned, was a danger to liberty and prosperity. Republicans stood at the rampart of freedom, defending the individual against the domineering state. While we did not always prevail, we always stood our ground, faithful to our principles and confident of history's ultimate verdict.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

Our opponents declared that the dogmas of the Left were the final and victorious faith. From kremlins and ivory towers, their planners proclaimed the bureaucratic millennium. But in a tragic century of illusion, Five Year Plans and Great Leaps Forward failed to summon a Brave New World. One hundred and fifty years of slogans and manifestos came crashing down in an ironic cascade of unintended consequences. All that is left are the ruins of a failed scoundrel ideology.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

As May Day lapses back into just another spring festival, the Fourth of July emerges as the common holiday of free men and women. Yet, in 1992, when the self-governing individual has overcome the paternalistic state, liberals here at home simply do not get it. Indeed, their party seeks to turn the clock back. But their ideas are old and tired. Like planets still orbiting a dying star, the believers in state power turn their faces to a distant and diminishing light.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

The Democrats would revise history to rationalize a return to bigger government, higher taxes, and moral relativism. The Democrat Party has forgotten its origins as a party of work, thrift, and self-reliance. But they have not forgotten their art for dissembling and distortion. The Democrats are trapped in their compact with the ideology of trickle-down government, but they are clever enough to know that the voters would shun them if their true markings were revealed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.1

America had its rendezvous with destiny in 1980. Faced with crisis at home and abroad, Americans turned to Republican leadership in the White House. Presidents Reagan [p.2] and Bush turned our Nation away from the path of over-taxation, hyper-regulation, and mega-government. Instead, we moved in a new direction. We cut taxes, reduced red tape, put people above bureaucracy. And so we vanquished the idea of the almighty state as the supervisor of our daily lives. In choosing hope over fear, Americans raised a beacon, reminding the world that we are a shining city on a hill, the last best hope for man on earth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

Contrary to statist Democrat propaganda, the American people know that the 1980s were a rising tide, a magnificent decade for freedom and entrepreneurial creativity. We are confident that, knowing this, they will never consciously retreat to the bad old days of tax and spend. Our Platform will clarify the choice before our fellow citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

We have learned that ideas do indeed have consequences. Thus, our words are important not for their prose but for what they reveal about the thinking of our President and our Party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

Two years ago, President Bush described the key elements of what be called "our new paradigm," a fresh approach that aims to put new ideas to work in the service of enduring principles—principles we upheld throughout the long twilight struggle, principles George Bush has acted decisively to advance. Thus we honor the Founders and their vision.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

Unlike our opponents, we are inspired by a commitment to profound change. Our mission combines timeless beliefs with a positive vision of a vigorous America: prosperous and tolerant, just and compassionate. We believe that individual freedom, hard work, and personal responsibility—basic to free society—are also basic to effective government. We believe in the fundamental goodness of the American people. We believe in traditional family values and in the Judeo-Christian heritage that informs our culture. We believe in the Constitution and its guarantee of color-blind equal opportunity. We believe in free markets. We believe in constructive change, in both true conservatism and true reform. We believe government has a legitimate role to play in our national life, but government must never dominate that life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

While our goals are constant, we are willing to innovate, experiment, and learn. We have learned that bigger is not better, that quantity and quality are different things, that more money does not guarantee better outcomes. We have learned the importance of individual choice—in education, health care, child care—and that bureaucracy is the enemy of initiative and self-reliance. We believe in empowerment, including home ownership for as many as possible. We believe in decentralized authority, and a bottom-line, principled commitment to what works for people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

We believe in the American people: free men and women with faith in God, working for themselves and their families, believing in the value of every human being from the very young to the very old.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

We believe the Founders intended Congress to be responsive, flexible, and foresighted. After decades of Democrat misrule, the Congress is none of these things. Dominated by reactionaries, obsessed with the failed policies and stuctures of the past, the Democrat majority displays a "do-nothing" doggedness: they intend to learn nothing and forget nothing. Seeking to build a better America, we seek to elect a better Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

Finally, we believe in a President who represents the national interest, not just the aggregation of well-connected special interests; a President who brings unity to the American purpose.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

America faces many challenges. Republicans, under the strong leadership of President Bush, are responding with this bold Platform of new ideas that infuses our commitment to individual freedom and market forces with an equal commitment to a decent, just way of life for every American.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.2

With a firm faith that the American people will always choose hope over fear, we Republicans dedicate ourselves to this forward-looking agenda for America in the 1990s, transcending old, static ideas with a shared vision of hope, optimism, and opportunity. [p.5]

Uniting Our Family

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.5

As the family goes, so goes the Nation. Strong families and strong communities make a strong America. An old adage says, "America is great because she is good; if America ceases to be good, she will cease to be great."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.5

Our greatness starts at home—literally. So Republicans believe government should strengthen families, not replace them. Today, more than ever, the traditional family is under assault. We believe our laws should reflect what makes our Nation prosperous and wholesome: faith in God, hard work, service to others, and limited government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.5

Parents bring reality to these principles when they pass them on to their children. As the Book of Proverbs proclaims, "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.5

Imagine the America we could create if all parents taught their children the importance of honesty, work, responsibility, and respect for others. We would have less violence in our homes and streets; less illegal drug use; fewer teen pregnancies forcing girls and boys to be adults before they have graduated from high school. Instead, we would have an America of families, friends, and communities that care about one another.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.5

That kind of future is not a matter of chance; it is a question of personal responsibility. Barbara Bush captured the importance of that stewardship when she said, "At the end of your life you will never regret not having passed one more test, not winning one more verdict, or not closing one more deal. You will regret time not spent with a husband, a child, a friend, or a parent."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.5

The Republican Party has espoused these principles since its founding. Families built on solid, spiritual foundations are central to our Party's inspiration. At this time of great national and global transition, we renew our commitment to these fundamental principles, which will guide our family, our country, our world into the next century.

Family: The Home of Freedom

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.5

The Rights of the Family. Our national renewal starts with the family. It is where each new generation gains its moral anchor. It is the school of citizenship, the engine of economic progress, a permanent haven when everything is changing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.5

Change can be good, when it liberates the energy and commitment of family members to build better futures. We welcome change that corrects the mistakes of the past, particularly those at war against the family. For more than [p.6] three decades, the liberal philosophy has assaulted the family on every side.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.6

Today, its more vocal advocates believe children should be able to sue their parents over decisions about schooling, cosmetic surgery, employment, and other family matters. They deny parental authority and responsibility, fracturing the family into isolated individuals, each of them dependent upon—and helpless before—government. This is the ultimate agenda of contemporary socialism under all its masks: to liberate youth from traditional family values by replacing family functions with bureaucratic social services. That is why today's liberal Democrats are hostile toward any institution government cannot control, like private childcare or religious schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.6

The Republican Party responds, as it has since 1980, with an unabashed commitment to the family's economic liberty and moral rights. Republicans trust parents and believe they, not courts and lawyers, know what is best for their children. That is why we will work to ensure that the Congress and the States shall enact no law abridging the rights of the family formed by blood, marriage, adoption, or legal custody-rights which are anterior and superior to those of government. Republicans oppose and resist the efforts of the Democrat Party to redefine the traditional American family.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.6

The Right to a Family. Every child deserves a family in a home filled with love and free from abuse. Today, many children do not enjoy that right. We are determined to change that. While government cannot legislate love and compassion, we can provide the leadership to encourage the development of healthy, nurturing families. We applaud the fine example of family values and family virtue as lived by the President and the First Lady.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.6

We will promote whole, caring families by eliminating biases that have crept into our legal and tax codes. We will advance adoption through significant tax credits, insurance reforms, and legal reforms. We encourage adoption for those unprepared or unwilling to bear the emotional, financial, or physical demands of raising a child and will work to revive maternity homes to ensure care for both mothers and babies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.6

We applaud the commitment of foster care parents who provide family environments for foster care children. We abhor the disgraceful bureaucratic mismanagement of foster care. Big city mayors have spent billions on social service bureaucrats who have lost track of many children. Many have no health records, no real residence, not even the simplest personal possessions. Shuttled from house to house, they lack discipline and identity and are ripe for lives of crime. We are determined to reform this system to help these children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.7

Broken homes can have a devastating emotional and economic impact [p.7] upon children and are the breeding ground for gang members. We urge State legislatures to explore ways to promote marital stability. Because the intergenerational family is a vital element of social cohesion, we urge greater respect for the rights and the roles of grandparents.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.7

Republicans recognize the importance of having fathers and mothers in the home. The two-parent family still provides the best environment of stability, discipline, responsibility, and character. Documentation shows that where the father has deserted his family, children are more likely to commit a crime, to drop out of school, to become violent, to become teen parents, to take illegal drugs, to become enmired in poverty, or to have emotional or behavioral problems. We support the courageous efforts of single-parent families to have a stable home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.7

Caring for Children. George Bush secured the American family's most important victory of the last four years: his child care bill. He won landmark legislation—a voucher system for low-income households, allowing parents to choose what's best for their children, including care given by neighbors or churches. The Democrat Party opposed that legislation and instead sought government control of childcare and fewer choices for parents.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.7

The President also advanced equity for families that forego a second income to care for their children at home through his Young Child Tax Credit. Congressional Democrats are already trying to repeal it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.7

The demands of employment and commuting often make it hard for parents to spend time with their children. Republicans advocate maximum flexibility in working and child care arrangements so that families can make the most of their schedules. We support pro-family policies: job sharing, telecommuting, compressed work weeks, parental leave negotiated between employer and employees, and flextime. We reject the Democrats' one-size-fits-all approach that puts mandates on employers and takes choices away from employees.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.7

Most parents prefer in-home care of their children but often encounter government obstacles. Republicans will promote in-home care by allowing payment annually, instead of quarterly, of income taxes by employees and withholding taxes by employers. Our proposals for tort reform, now blocked by the Democrat Congress, will prevent excessive litigation that hampers the growth of child care opportunities. By taking care of our children, we are taking care of our future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.7

Family Security. Over the last several decades, liberal Democrats have increasingly shifted economic burdens onto the American family. Indeed, the liberal [p.8] Democrat tax-and-spend policies have forced millions of women into the workplace just to make ends meet. Because of their policies in Congress, fathers and mothers have a tougher time bringing home what they work so hard for.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.8

Between 1948 and 1990, under the Democrat-controlled Congress for most of those years, federal taxes on the average family of four rose from two percent to 24 percent of income. When State and local levies are included, the tax burden exceeds one-third of family income. The increase in the effective federal tax rate since 1950 has now swallowed up an ever-increasing share of a family's earnings. Instead of working to improve their family's standard of living, they must work to feed government's gluttonous appetite.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.8

This is a scandal. In the 1980s, two Republican Presidents kept Democrats from making matters worse. Presidents Reagan and Bush led the way to increase the personal exemption for dependents. We pledge to go farther to restore the value, as a percentage of average household income, it had 50 years ago. The value of the dependent deduction has eroded to a fraction of its original worth to families. Republicans call for a complete restoration, in real dollars, to its original value. Rather than fatten government bureaucracies with new programs to "help" families, we want to expand the Young Child Tax Credit to $500 per child and make it available to all families with children under the age of ten.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.8

When the Democrats establish tax policy that makes marriage more expensive than living together, they discourage traditional commitment and stable home life. We will remove the marriage penalty in the tax code, so a married couple will receive as large a standard deduction as their unmarried counterparts. Together, these changes will empower parents to care for their families in a way public services never can.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.8

Achieving Educational Excellence. In the earliest American communities, pioneers would establish a church, then a school. Parents wanted their children to have the best possible education, to learn what they needed to know to make a better life. Virtually every newly arrived immigrant family thought of education as the American way from the back to the front of the line. Americans have come to believe that only a country that successfully educates its sons and daughters can count on a strong, competitive economy, a vibrant culture, and a solid civic life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.8

As a result of this popular demand for education, Americans have created the most extensive and widely accessible educational system in the world. The people have insisted that primary responsibility for education properly remain with families, communities, and States, although, from early times, the national government has played a role in encouraging innovation and access. In the 18th century, the Northwest Ordinance assured that school bells would ring amid frontier forests. In the 19th century, President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act [p.9] establishing 50 land-grant colleges. In the 20th century, President Eisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act, providing millions with a chance at higher education; and President Nixon signed legislation that today provides federal grants and loans to half our full-time college students. In the 21st century, the promotion of educational excellence will be more crucial than ever before in our Nation's history.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.9

Recognizing what every parent knows, that our current educational system is not educating our children, President Bush is leading an education revolution. We applaud the President's bold vision to change radically our education system. Our parents want it, our communities want it, our States want it, and our children want it—but the Democrat leadership in the House and the Senate continue to thwart the will of the American people for radical change in the way we educate our children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.9

The Republican strategy is based on sound principle. Parents have the right to choose the best school for their children. Schools should teach right from wrong. Schools should reinforce parental authority, not replace it. We should increase flexibility from federal regulation. We should explore a new generation of break-the-mold New American Schools. Standards and assessments should be raised, not reduced to a lowest common denominator. Communities should be empowered to find what works. The pursuit of excellence in education is a fundamental goal. Good teachers should be rewarded for teaching well. Alternative certification can bring desperately-needed new people into the teaching profession. America needs public, private, and parochial schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.9

Education is a joint responsibility of the individual, the family, and the community. Parents are the first and most important teachers of their children. They should have the right not only to participate in their child's education, but to choose for their children among the broadest array of educational choices, without regard to their income. We also support the right of parents to provide quality education through home-based schools.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.9

The Bush Administration has sent to Congress several legislative proposals embodying these principles. The proposals, in spite of the fact that 1500 communities across the Nation have developed local committees to support them through the AMERICA 2000 strategy, languish in the Democrat Congress. And they are opposed by special interest unions which have a power-grip on the failed policies of the past.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.9

Improving America by Improving our Schools. For America to maintain her preeminence into the next century, our educational system must be revolutionized. Too many schools still teach in an outdated manner. Too many government and union rules have burdened our schools. And too much influence by lobbyists [p.10] has blocked true reform. Even the most inspiring teachers are working within a system that stymies their creativity and fails to challenge their students.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.10

Creating the Best Schools in the World. We applaud President Bush's consistent and determined leadership in setting a new direction for American education. Our overriding purpose is clear: to create the best schools in the world for our children by the turn of the century.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.10

To do so, the President has established a bold strategy, AMERICA 2000, which challenges communities in every State to take charge to achieve our ambitious national education goals. The success of AMERICA 2000 will depend upon the local community, where implementation and ultimate responsibility rest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.10

We have seen real progress. Perhaps most important, though, is that President Bush has fostered a national debate on education that has challenged every American to get involved. He has called forth American traits of ingenuity and ambition to create better lives for our children. As a result, a new generation of break-the-mold New American Schools is taking shape. New and tougher standards and assessments are being established for what our children should know. The number of strings attached to federal school aid is being reduced.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.10

The President has shown unprecedented leadership for the most important education goal of all: helping middle and low income families enjoy the same choice of schools—public, private, or religious—that families with more resources already have. The President's proposed "GI Bill for Children" will provide $1,000 scholarships to middle and low income families, enabling their children to attend the school of their choice. This innovative plan will not only drive schools to excel as they compete, but will also give every parent consumer power to obtain an excellent education for his or her child.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.10

Republican leadership has nearly doubled funds for Head Start, making it possible, for the first time, for all eligible four-year-olds to participate, should their parents choose to enroll them. The Bush Administration has put a college education within reach of millions more students, young and old. The President has proposed allowing families to deduct the interest they pay on student loans, and penalty-free withdrawal of IRA funds for educational expenses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.10

Ensuring High Standards in Knowledge and Skills. For America to compete in a world where 85 percent of all jobs will require high skills, we believe that students not planning to attend college need better opportunities. America's college graduates set the world pace for knowledge and skills. But we also have a strong commitment to the "forgotten half" of the students in our schools, students who will graduate from high school ill-prepared for work. We must [p.11] must build a well-educated, high-skills workforce to ensure a new century of prosperity for America.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.11

The President has developed a sweeping youth apprenticeship strategy to meet this goal. His plan will ensure that students meet the high standards demanded of all high school students, while training them with a skill as well. We strongly support youth apprenticeships that include a year of college, to encourage a lifetime of learning and opportunity for students.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.11

Our Educational Beliefs. We are confident that the United States can, by the end of this decade, reach the six national education goals that President Bush and the Nation's Governors have established: that all children should arrive at school ready to learn; that high school graduation rates should be at least 90 per cent; that all children should learn challenging subject matter and become responsible citizens; that American children should be first in the world in math and science; that there must be a literate and skilled workforce; and that schools must be disciplined and free of drugs and violence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.11

We have an uncompromising commitment to improve public education—which means assuring that our schools produce well-educated, responsible citizens—not the maintenance of a government monopoly over the means of educating. American families must be given choice in education. We value the important role played by our private, independent, and parochial schools, colleges, and universities. We believe that their quality is best encouraged by minimizing government regulation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.11

We believe distance learning is a valuable tool in the fight to bring equal educational opportunity to every student regardless of wealth or geographic location. Distance learning provides students access to the vast educational resources of our Nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.11

We encourage the use of modern technology to meet the goal of educational excellence. We support policies that provide access for all instructional and educational programmers to permit them to provide the greatest choice of programming and material to schools and teachers. We also support policies which will encourage the use of all advanced technologies for the delivery of educational and instructional programming in order to give schools and teachers the greatest flexibility in providing creative and innovative instruction. We encourage local school boards to ensure review of these materials by parents and educators.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.11

We support efforts to open the teaching profession by reforming the certification system now barring many talented men and women from the classroom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.12

[p.12] Schools should be—as they have been traditionally—academic institutions. Families and communities err when by neglect or design they transfer to the school responsibilities that belong in the home and in the community. Schools were created to help and strengthen families, not to undermine or substitute for them.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.12

Accordingly, we oppose programs in public schools that provide birth control or abortion services or referrals. Instead, we encourage abstinence education programs with proven track records in protecting youth from disease, pregnancy, and drug use.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.12

The critical public mission in education is to set tough, clear standards of achievement and ensure that those who educate our children are accountable for meeting them. This is not just a matter of plans or dollars. Competency testing and merit pay for teachers are essential elements of such accountability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.12

We are proud of our many dedicated, professional teachers and educators who have committed their lives to educating America's children. We also believe that powerful unions and liberal special interest groups should not be the driving force in education reform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.12

Just as spiritual principles—our moral compass—help guide public policy, learning must have a moral basis. America must remain neutral toward particular religions, but we must not remain neutral toward religion itself or the values religion supports. Mindful of our country's Judeo-Christian heritage and rich religious pluralism, we support the right of students to engage in voluntary prayer in schools and the right of the community to do so at commencements or other occasions. We will strongly enforce the law guaranteeing equal access to school facilities. We also advocate recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in schools as a reminder of the principles that sustain us as one Nation under God.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.12

Our ambitious vision for America works, however, only in a society of well-educated citizens. The Democrat Party, beholden to the special interests who resist change, can never accomplish the improvements in education which our schools and our children so desperately need. Indeed, they have no plan. The Republican Party has started an education revolution. We have presented a detailed plan which is even now becoming reality. The future of our Nation demands no less. The President is leading the country on an education crusade, a crusade the American people have joined.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.12

For Healthier Families: Promote Health, Prevent Disease, Reform Health Care. Americans receive the finest medical care in the world. We have the best health care providers, the best hospitals, and the best medical technology. People come here from Canada, from Europe, from every part of the globe, to seek [p.13] procedures and treatments that are either unavailable or strictly rationed in their home countries.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.13

But we must do better. Costs are soaring. Many Americans, responsible for children and aging parents, worry about the quality and price of care. The 1992 election presents all of us with a clear choice. Democrats want a costly, coercive system, imported from abroad, with a budget set by Congress and policies set by bureaucrats. That is a prescription for misery. It would imperil jobs, require billions in new taxes, lower the quality of health care overall, drive health care providers out of the profession, and result in rationing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.13

The congressional Democrats' health care reform proposal would exclude themselves from coverage under their own program. They refuse to live with the scheme they are trying to force on the rest of the country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.13

Republicans believe government control of health care is irresponsible and ineffective. We believe health care choices should remain in the hands of the people, not government bureaucrats. This issue truly represents a fundamental difference between the two parties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.13

We endorse President Bush's comprehensive health care plan, which solves the two major problems of the current system—access and affordability—while preserving the high quality care Americans now enjoy. The President' s plan will make health care more affordable through tax credits and deductions that will offset insurance costs for 95 million Americans; and make health care more accessible, especially for small businesses, by reducing insurance costs and eliminating workers' worries of losing insurance if they change jobs. This plan will expand access to health care by:

• Creating new tax credits and deductions to help low-and middle-income Americans. These tax credits would be available in the form of vouchers for low-income people who work.

• Providing insurance security for working Americans by requiring insurers to cover preexisting conditions.

• Making health insurance premiums fully deductible for the self-employed.

• Making it easier for small firms to purchase coverage for their employees. The proposal would allow small businesses to form health insurance purchasing pools that would make insurance more affordable. It also would guarantee the availability and renewability of insurance for small firms, set premium standards, preempt State mandated-benefit laws, establish minimum coverage plans, and require States to establish risk pools to spread risks broadly across health insurers.

• Addressing the medical malpractice problem by a cap on noneconomic damage recoveries in malpractice claims and an alternative dispute resolution before going to court.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.14

In short, the President aims to make coverage available to all, guaranteed, renewable, with no preconditions. Under his plan, no one will have to go broke to get well.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.14

The Democrats' plan stands in stark philosophical contrast. Instead of preserving individual options, it would rely on government bureaucrats. Instead of preserving quality care, it would lead to rationing and waiting lines. And instead of enhancing the health care security of American workers, it would require a massive increase in payroll taxes that would destroy hundreds of thousands of jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.14

The Democrats' so called "play or pay" proposal would require employers either to provide health insurance for their workers or pay a new tax that would fund in part a new government-run health program. According to a study prepared by the Urban Institute, this mandate would require new federal taxes—or new federal borrowing—of $36 billion in the first year alone. Nearly 52 million Americans who now have private health insurance would be dumped by their employers onto the government-run plan. Additional costs to employers—particularly small employers—would total an estimated $30 billion in the first year. The Republican staff of Congress' Joint Economic Committee estimates that 712,000 people would lose their jobs because of the "play or pay" mandate.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.14

Republicans are also determined to resolve the crisis in medical liability, allowing physicians and certified midwives to deliver babies and practice in underserved areas. Meaningful medical tort reform would assure that doctors would not have to practice medicine under a cloud of potential litigation. We will reduce administrative expenses and paperwork by adopting a uniform claim and data system. We pledge our support for rehabilitation and long-term care coverage. We will curb costs through better prenatal and other preventive care. We encourage the application of the Good Samaritan law to protect health care providers who wish to volunteer their time to provide patient care to the community. We encourage coordinated care in public programs and private insurance. We further support regulatory reforms to speed the development of new drugs and medical technology.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.14

The health care safety net must be secure for those who need preventive, acute, and long-term care. Special consideration should be given to abolishing or [p.15] reforming programs which prohibit or discourage individuals from seeking to work their way out of poverty and dependency. We will reduce paperwork burdens and redirect those resources to actual services. We will enhance access to medical care through community health centers, which provide primary care in medically underserved areas. We will modify outdated antitrust rules that prohibit hospitals from merging their resources to provide improved, cost-effective health care.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.15

We encourage the use of telecommunications technology to link hospitals in larger communities with heath care facilities in smaller communities. Advanced communications networks will facilitate the sharing of resources, will improve access to affordable health care through the transmission of medical imaging and diagnostics, and will ensure that Americans living in rural areas have the same access to doctors and the latest medical procedures as Americans living in urban areas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.15

Republicans focus on health, not just health care. We want not only to treat disease and disability, but to reduce and prevent them. Through funding for NIH, we invest in research to cure a range of diseases, from cancer to heart disease, from multiple sclerosis to lupus. We support efforts which foster early cancer detection. Even more important, we rely on individuals to lower the incidence of preventable illness and injury. A large part of our health care costs, public and private, is caused by behavior. Good judgment can save billions of dollars—and perhaps millions of lives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.15

AIDS. The HIV/AIDS epidemic has exploded over the past decade into a crisis of tragic proportions. In our country, AIDS has already claimed more than 150,000 lives, and as many as one million more Americans may have been infected with the virus.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.15

Epidemics have, throughout history, challenged governments, which have too often been powerless to combat them. Science—and human wisdom—have advanced, however, and we have met this crisis not only with a massive commitment of resources but also with a personal determination on the part of the President. That commitment and leadership will continue.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.15

AIDS should he treated like any other communicable or sexually transmitted disease, while at the same time preserving patient confidentiality. We are committed to ensure that our Nation's response to AIDS is shaped by compassion, not fear or ignorance, and will oppose, as a matter of decency and honor, any discrimination against Americans who are its victims.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.15

We encourage State legislatures to enact legislation which makes it a criminal act for anyone knowingly to transmit the AIDS virus.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.16

[p.16] We will seek to ensure that medical personnel, and the people who trust in their care, will be protected against infection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.16

This disease also challenges America scientifically. We must succeed in slowing the epidemic's spread. The Administration has thus placed great emphasis on a variety of prevention efforts to do so. We must recognize, also, that prevention is linked ultimately to personal responsibility and moral behavior. We reject the notion that the distribution of clean needles and condoms are the solution to stopping the spread of AIDS. Education designed to curb the spread of this disease should stress marital fidelity, abstinence, and a drug-free lifestyle. There must be a means for successfully treating the virus, and this has led to a threefold increase in research and steps to speed the approval process for new drugs that could make a crucial difference to those infected. Above all, a cure must be found. We have committed enormous resources—$4.2 billion over the past four years for research alone, more than for any disease except cancer. In keeping with the American spirit, our fellow citizens with HIV/AIDS deserve our compassion and our care, and they deserve our united commitment to a cure.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.16

Healthy Families. Responsible families are the key to wellness. They are the best guard against infant mortality and child abuse. We support programs to help mothers and their babies get a good start in life; and we call for strong action, at all levels of government, to enforce parental responsibility with regard to alcohol, drugs, and neglect.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.16

We applaud the President's initiatives to require the involvement of more women in clinical trials and to create within NIH a center to combat breast and cervical cancer. We also call for expanded research on various diseases, common to both men and women, but whose effects on women have yet to be determined. We call for fetal protection in the workplace and in scientific research.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.16

The Homeless. The Bush Administration has worked vigorously to address this tragedy, believing that involuntary homelessness in America is unacceptable. Accordingly, the Administration has proposed $4 billion in homeless assistance, an amount cut back by the Democrat-controlled Congress. We have also implemented a SHELTER PLUS CARE program designed to assist homeless persons who are mentally ill, chemically dependent, or stricken with AIDS. Republicans remain determined to help the homeless as a matter of ethical commitment as well as sound public policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.16

Older Americans. The interests of older Americans are addressed throughout this Platform, for the elderly play an honored role in all walks of American life. From reducing inflation to fighting crime, from quality health care to a cleaner environment, the Republican agenda for all has particular relevance to those who have worked the longest and grown the wisest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.17

[p.17] We reaffirm our commitment to a strong Social Security system. To stop penalizing grandparents and other seniors who care for children, we pledge to continue the Republican crusade to end the earnings limitation for Social Security recipients. More than ever, our Nation needs older Americans in its schools and workplaces. There should be no barriers to their full participation in our country' s future. We pledge support for greater availability of long-term care and for research to combat Alzheimer's disease. Republicans also took the lead in expanding home health care in government programs, and we want to build on that accomplishment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.17

Promoting Cultural Values. The culture of our Nation has traditionally supported those pillars on which civilized society is built: personal responsibility, morality, and the family. Today, however, these pillars are under assault. Elements within the media, the entertainment industry, academia, and the Democrat Party are waging a guerrilla war against American values. They deny personal responsibility, disparage traditional morality, denigrate religion, and promote hostility toward the family's way of life. Children, the members of our society most vulnerable to cultural influences, are barraged with violence and promiscuity, encouraging reckless and irresponsible behavior. This undermines the authority of parents, the ones most responsible for passing on to their offspring a sense of right and wrong. The lesson our Party draws is important—that all of us, individuals and corporations alike, have a responsibility to reflect the values we expect our fellow citizens to exhibit. And if children grow to adulthood reflecting not the values of their parents but the amorality with which they are bombarded, those who send such messages cannot duck culpability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.17

One example is the advocacy of violence against law enforcement officers, promoted by a corporation more interested in profits than the possible consequences of such a message. We believe, in the spirit of Theodore Roosevelt, that corporations, like individuals, have responsibilities to society, and that conscience alone should prevent such outrages.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.17

We also stand united with those private organizations, such as the Boy Scouts of America, who are defending decency in fulfillment of their own moral responsibilities. We reject the irresponsible position of those corporations that have cut off contributions to such organizations because of their courageous stand for family values. Moreover, we oppose efforts by the Democrat Party to include sexual preference as a protected minority receiving preferential status under civil rights statutes at the federal, State, and local level.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.17

We oppose any legislation or law which legally recognizes same-sex marriages and allows such couples to adopt children or provide foster care.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.18

We must recognize that the time has come for a national crusade against [p.18] pornography. Some would have us believe that obscenity and pornography have no social impact. But if hard-core pornography does not cheapen the human spirit, then neither does Shakespeare elevate it. We call on federal agencies to halt the sale, under government auspices, of pornographic materials. We endorse Republican legislation, the Pornography Victims Compensation Act, allowing victims of pornography to seek damages from those who make or sell it, especially since the Commission on Pornography, in 1986, found a direct link between pornography and violent crimes committed against women and children. Further, we propose a computerized federal registry to track persons convicted of molesting children. We also believe that the various State legislatures should create a civil cause of action against makers and distributors of pornography when their material incites a violent crime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.18

Government has a responsibility, as well, to ensure that it promotes the common moral values that bind us together as a Nation. We therefore condemn the use of public funds to subsidize obscenity and blasphemy masquerading as art. The fine arts, including those with public support, can certainly enrich our society. However, no artist has an inherent right to claim taxpayer support for his or her private vision of art if that vision mocks the moral and spiritual basis on which our society is founded. We believe a free market in art—with neither suppression nor favoritism by government—is the best way to foster the cultural revival our country needs.

Individual Rights, Good Homes and Safe Streets

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.18

At a time when the rest of the world has rejected socialism, there are communities here at home where free markets have not been permitted to flourish. Decades of liberalism have left us with two economies. The pro-growth economy rewards effort, promotes thrift, and supports strong families. The other economy stifles initiative and is anti-work and anti-family. In one economy, people are free to be owners and entrepreneurs. In the other economy, people are at the mercy of government. We are determined to elevate the poor into the pro-growth economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.18

Republicans will lead a new national consensus around economic opportunity, greater access to property, home ownership and housing, jobs and entrepreneurship. We must bring the great promise of America to every city, every small town, and to all our people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.18

Our agenda for equality of opportunity runs throughout this Platform and applies to all Americans. There is no such thing as segregated success. We reject the Democrats' politics of division, envy and conflict. They believe that America is split into classes and can be healed only through the redistribution of wealth. We believe in the economics of multiplication: free markets expand opportunity [p.19] and wealth for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.19

That is true liberation. It frees poor people not only from want but also from government control. That is why liberal Democrats have fought us every step of the way, refusing congressional action on Enterprise Zones until Los Angeles burned—and then mocking the expectations of the poor by gutting that critical proposal. They can kill bills, but they cannot kill hope. We are determined to pass that legislation for the sake of all who are awaiting their chance for the American Dream.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.19

We will eliminate laws that keep Americans out of jobs, like the outdated ban on home work. The antiquated Davis-Bacon Act inflates taxpayer costs and keeps willing workers from getting jobs in federally-assisted projects. It must go. Unlike the Democrats, we believe the private sector, not the federal government, should set prevailing wage rates.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.19

As explained elsewhere in this Platform, low-income families must gain control of their future through choice in their children' s education.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.19

Rebuilding the Dream. Our Party has always championed the American dream of home ownership. Abraham Lincoln wanted all families to have access to property, because it would give them a tangible stake in their family's future. As families built homes and improved the land, they built a brighter future for themselves and a legacy for their children. Lincoln's Homestead Act of 1862 did all this without enlarging government. It empowered families.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.19

In the tradition of Lincoln, President Bush has replicated the American dream of home-ownership. For first-time home buyers, he has proposed a $5,000 tax credit. For lower-income families, he has worked to restore opportunity through HOPE, his initiative to help tenants now dependent on federal aid to buy their own homes; Mortgage Revenue Bonds, to assist more than 1.9 million families to buy a first home; Low Income Housing Tax Credits, already producing more than 420,000 decent apartments at affordable prices; and HOME, a partnership among all levels of government to help low-income families secure better housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.19

For everyone, but especially for the poor, the best housing policy is non-inflationary economic growth with low interest rates, the heart of our opportunity agenda.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.19

Ending Dependency. Welfare is the enemy of opportunity and stable family life. Two decades ago, decisions about public assistance were taken away from States and communities and given to Washington officials. Since then, almost everything has gone wrong. Since 1965, we have spent $3.5 trillion on welfare.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.20

[p.20] It bought a horrendous expansion of dependence, especially among mothers and children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.20

Today's welfare system is anti-work and anti-marriage. It taxes families to subsidize illegitimacy. It rewards unethical behavior and penalizes initiative. It cannot be merely tinkered with by Congress; it must be recreated by States and localities. Republican Governors and legislators in several States have already launched dramatic reforms, especially with workfare and leanfare. Welfare can no longer be a check in the mail with no responsibility.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.20

We believe fathers and mothers must be held responsible for their children. We support stronger enforcement of child support laws. We call for strong enforcement and tough penalties against welfare fraud and insist that work must be a mandatory part of public assistance for all who are able to work. Because divorce, desertion, and illegitimacy account for almost all the increase in child poverty over the last 20 years, we put the highest priority upon enforcement of family rights and responsibilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.20

Among these responsibilities is the obligation to get an education—a key to avoiding dependency. Families on welfare with school-age children must be required to send them to school or provide adequate home education in keeping with various State laws in order to continue receiving public assistance. Young adult heads of welfare households should be required to complete appropriate education or training programs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.20

Safe Homes and Streets. One of the first duties of government is to protect the public security—to maintain law and order so that citizens are free to pursue the fruits of life and liberty. The Democrats have forsaken this solemn pledge. Instead of protecting society from hardened criminals, they blame society and refuse to hold accountable for their actions individuals who have chosen to engage in violent and criminal conduct. This has led to the state of affairs in which we find ourselves today.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.20

Violent crime is the gravest domestic threat to our way of life. It has turned our communities into battlegrounds, playgrounds into grave yards. It threatens everyone, but especially the very young, the elderly, the weak. It destroys business and suffocates economic opportunity in struggling communities. It is a travesty that some American children have to sleep in bathtubs for protection from stray bullets. The poverty of values that justifies drive-by shootings and random violence holds us hostage and insecure, even in our own homes. We must work to develop community-help projects designed to instill a sense of responsibility and pride.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.21

This is the legacy of a liberalism that elevates criminals' fights above [p.21] victims' rights, that justifies soft-on-crime judges' approving early-release prison programs, and that leaves law enforcement officers powerless to deter crime with the threat of certain punishment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.21

For twelve years, two Republican Presidents have fought to reverse this trend, along with Republican officials in the States. They have named tough law-and-order judges, pushed for minimum mandatory sentences, expanded federal assistance to States and localities, sought to help States redress court orders on prison overcrowding, and devoted record resources that are turning the tide against drugs. They have repeatedly proposed legislation, consistently rejected by congressional Democrats, to restore the severest penalties for the most heinous crimes, to ensure swift and certain punishment, and to end the legal loopholes that let criminals go free.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.21

Congressional Democrats reject Republican reform of the exclusionary rule that prohibits use of relevant evidence obtained in good faith and allows criminals, even murderers, to go free on a technicality. They reject our reform of habeas corpus law to prevent the appellate process from becoming a lawyers' game to thwart justice through endless appeals and procedural delays. They refuse to enact effective procedures to reinstate the death penalty for the most heinous crimes. They reject tougher, mandatory sentences for career criminals. Instead, Congressional Democrats actually voted to create more loopholes for vicious thugs and fewer protections for victims of crime and have opposed mandatory restitution for victims. Their crime legislation, which we emphatically reject, cripples law enforcement by overturning over twenty United States Supreme Court cases that have helped to reduce crime and keep violent criminal offenders off the streets.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.21

For too long our criminal justice system has carefully protected the rights of criminals and neglected the suffering of the innocent victims of crime and their families. We support the rights of crime victims to be present, heard, and informed throughout the criminal justice process and to be provided with restitution and services to aid their recovery.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.21

We believe in giving police the resources to do their job. Law enforcement must remain primarily a State and local responsibility. With 95 percent of all violent crimes within the jurisdiction of the States, we have led efforts to increase the number of police protecting our citizens. We also support incentives to encourage personnel leaving the Armed Forces to continue to defend their country—against the enemy within—by entering the law enforcement profession.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.21

Narcotics traffic drives street crime. President Bush has, for the first time, used the resources of our Armed Forces against the international drug trade. By our insistence, multilateral control of precursor chemicals and money [p.22] laundering is now an international priority. We decry efforts by congressional Democrats to slash international anti-narcotics funding and inhibit the most vital control efforts in Peru. We support efforts to work with South and Central American leaders to eradicate crops used to produce illegal narcotics.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.22

The Republican Party is committed to a drug-free America. During the last twelve years, we have radically reversed the Democrats' attitude of tolerance toward narcotics, vastly increased federal operations against drugs, cleaned up the military, and launched mandatory testing for employees in various fields, including White House personnel. As a result, overall drug abuse is falling. We urge that States and communities emphasize anti-drug education by police officers and others in schools to educate young children to the dangers of the chug culture. Dope is no longer trendy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.22

We oppose legalizing or decriminalizing drugs. That is a morally abhorrent idea, the last vestige of an ill-conceived philosophy that counseled the legitimacy of permissiveness. Today, a similarly dysfunctional morality explains away drug-dealing as an escape, and drive-by shootings as an act of political violence. There is no excuse for the wanton destruction of human life. We therefore support the stiffest penalties, including the death penalty, for major chug traffickers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.22

Drug users must face punishment, including fines and imprisonment, for contributing to the demand that makes the drug trade profitable. Among possible sanctions should be the loss of government assistance and suspension of drivers' licenses. Residents of public housing should be able to protect their families against drugs by screening out abusers and dealers. We support grassroots action to drive dealers and crack-houses out of operation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.22

Safe streets also mean highways that are free of drunken drivers and drivers under the influence of illegal drugs. Republicans support the toughest possible State laws to deal with drunken drivers and users of illegal drugs, who deserve no sympathy from our courts or State legislatures. We also oppose the illicit abuse of legal chugs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.22

White-collar crime threatens homes and families in a different way. It steals secretly, forcing up prices, rigging contracts, swindling consumers, and harming the overwhelming majority of business people, who play fair and obey the law. We support imprisonment for those who steal from the American people. We pledge an all out fight against it, especially within the political machines that control many of our major cities. We will continue to bring to justice corrupt politicians and those who collude with them to plunder savings and loans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.23

[p.23] New Members of the American Family. Our Nation of immigrants continues to welcome those seeking a better life. This reflects our past, when some newcomers fled intolerance; some sought prosperity; some came as slaves. All suffered and sacrificed but hoped their children would have a better life. All searched for a shared vision—and found one in America. Today we are stronger for our diversity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.23

Illegal entry into the United States, on the other hand, threatens the social compact on which immigration is based. That is, the Nation accepts immigrants and is enriched by their determination and values. Illegal immigration, on the other hand, undermines the integrity of border communities and already crowded urban neighborhoods. We will build on the already announced strengthening of the Border Patrol to better coordinate interdiction of illegal entrants through greater cross-border cooperation. Specifically, we will increase the size of the Border Patrol in order to meet the increasing need to stop illegal immigration and we will equip the Border Patrol with the tools, technologies, and structures necessary to secure the border.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.23

We will seek stiff penalties for those who smuggle illegal aliens into the country, and for those who produce or sell fraudulent documents. We also will reduce incentives to enter the United States by promoting initiatives like the North American Free Trade Agreement. In creating new economic opportunity in Mexico, a NAFTA removes the incentive to cross the border illegally in search of work.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.23

Individual Rights. The protection of individual rights is the foundation for opportunity and security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.23

The Republican Party is unique in this regard. Since its inception, it has respected every person, even when that proposition was not universally popular. Today, as in the day of Lincoln, we insist that no American' s rights are negotiable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.23

That is why we declare that bigotry and prejudice have no place in American life. We denounce all who practice or promote racism, anti-Semitism, or religious intolerance. We believe churches and religious schools should not be taxed; we defend the right of religious leaders to speak out on public issues; and we condemn the cowardly desecration of places of worship that has shocked our country in recent years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.23

Asserting equal rights for all, we support the Bush Administration's vigorous enforcement of statutes to prevent illegal discrimination on account of sex, race, creed, or national origin. Promoting opportunity, we reject efforts to replace equal rights with quotas or other preferential treatment. That is why President Bush fought so long against the Democrat Congress to win a civil [p.24] rights bill worthy of that name.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.24

We renew the historic Republican commitment to the rights of women, from the early days of the suffragist movement to the present. Because legal rights mean little without opportunity, we assert economic growth as the key to the continued progress of women in all fields of American life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.24

We believe the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We therefore reaffirm our support for a human life amendment to the Constitution, and we endorse legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to unborn children. We oppose using public revenues for abortion and will not fund organizations which advocate it. We commend those who provide alternatives to abortion by meeting the needs of mothers and offering adoption services. We reaffirm our support for appointment of judges who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.24

President Bush signed into law the greatest advance ever for disabled persons: The Americans with Disabilities Act, a milestone in removing barriers to full participation in our country's life. We will fully implement it, with sensitivity to the needs of small businesses, just as we have earlier legal protections for the disabled in federal programs. We oppose the nonconsensual withholding of health care or treatment from any person because of handicap, age, or infirmity, just as we oppose euthanasia and assisted suicide.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.24

We support full access to the polls, and the entire political process, by disabled voters. We will ensure that students with disabilities benefit from AMERICA 2000's new emphasis on testing for excellence and accountability for results.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.24

Promoting the rights of the disabled requires, before all else, an expanding economy, both to advance assistive technology and to create opportunities for personal advancement. That is another reason why Republicans are committed to growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.24

We reaffirm our commitment to the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution: "No person shall be…deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." We support strong enforcement of this Takings clause to keep citizens secure in the use and development of their property. We also seek to reduce the amount of land owned or controlled by the government, especially in the western States. We insist upon prompt payment for private lands certified as critical for preserving essential parks and preserves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.25

Republicans defend the constitutional right to keep and bear arms. We [p.25] call for stiff mandatory sentences for those who use firearms in a crime. We note that those who seek to disarm citizens in their homes are the same liberals who tried to disarm our Nation during the Cold War and are today seeking to cut our national defense below safe levels. We applaud congressional Republicans for overturning the District of Columbia's law blaming firearm manufacturers for street crime.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.25

We affirm the right of individuals to form, join, or assist labor organizations to bargain collectively, consistent with State laws. We support the right of States to enact Right-to-Work laws.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.25

A Republican Congress will amend the Hobbs Act, so that union officials will not be exempt from the law' s prohibition against extortion and violence. We call for greater legal protection from violence for workers who stay on the job during strikes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.25

We support self-determination for Indian Tribes in managing their own affairs and resources. Recognizing the government-to-government trust responsibility, we aim to end dependency fostered by federal controls. Reservations and tribal lands held in trust should be free to become enterprise zones so their people can fully share in the Nation's prosperity. We will work with tribal governments to improve education, health, economic opportunity, and environmental conditions. We endorse efforts to preserve the culture and languages of Native Americans and Hawaiians and to ensure their equitable participation in federal programs. [p.29]

Uniting Our Country

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.29

Over the last four years, the United States has achieved our overriding objective since the end of World War II. Communism and other forms of planned economies lie in the ash heap of history, defeated not only by our military strength but by the force of our ideas-democracy and free enterprise.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.29

Now a huge international market is evolving. Combined with America's low inflation and low interest rate environment, it presents us with unprecedented economic opportunity. We commit to the proposition that the American economy will remain first in the world. This is our goal. Achieving it will ensure that our people will enjoy the jobs, benefits, and economic growth to sustain the American dream for themselves and their posterity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.29

Republicans believe that the greatest engine for social change and economic progress is the entrepreneurial economy. We believe that America has broken down the lines of class to a greater degree than any society on earth, not because of government but because of an economic system that allows men and women to create wealth for themselves and their communities. We believe that positive change can occur and benefit all Americans if we continue to remove governmental barriers to entrepreneurship and, thus, economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.29

Our cause embraces traditional ideals and modern realities. It both reforms and innovates. We aim to shape history through faith in one another. Because we look forward, we emphasize saving, investment, and job creation. We encourage innovation and the entrepreneurial spirit that are, together, part of our national character. We both conserve and develop our natural resources. Because we have learned from the past, we are determined to change what desperately needs changing in government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.29

Government does not have all the answers, but we know where to find them: in the spirit of our people. We know the weapons for this battle: economic and political liberty in the pursuit of happiness. We understand that material gain improves life only if it lifts us all to pursue higher ends: self-respect, work and study, a decent life and future for our children, and a useful old age.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.29

So we rededicate ourselves to the truths the Nation keeps coming back to—the simple, spiritual truths about our family, our country, our world—for upon them we will build our more perfect union.

Security and Opportunity in a Changing Economy

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.29

Our economy is people, not statistics. The American people, not government, rescued the United States from an economic collapse triggered by [p.30] Democrats in the 1970s. Crippled by taxes, robbed by inflation, threatened by controls, stunned by interest rates, the people ended America's decline and restored hope across our country and around our world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.30

We launched an era of growth and prosperity such as the world had never seen: 20 million new jobs in the longest peacetime economic expansion in the history of the Republic. We curbed the size and power of the federal establishment. We lowered tax rates. We restored a sound dollar. We unleashed the might of free people to produce, compete, and triumph in free markets. We gave them the tools; they completed the job.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.30

During the 1980s and into the present decade, the U.S. economy once again became the engine of global growth. Inflation has fallen to its lowest level in 30 years. Interest rates dropped 15 percentage points. Productivity has sharply risen. Exports are booming. Despite a global downturn in late 1990, real economic growth resumed last year and has continued for five consecutive quarters. With low interest rates and low inflation, the American economy is poised for stronger growth through the rest of the 1990s. Keeping inflation and interest rates low and stable through a sound monetary policy is essential for economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.30

These gains were made in spite of the leaders of the Democrat Party. They continue to delay and defeat the President's agenda for growth, jobs, and prosperity. Spending faster than ever, they blocked Republican reforms that would have saved billions of wasted taxpayer dollars. They refused to give the President a line-item veto to curb their self-serving pork-barrel projects.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.30

The congressional Democrat Leadership killed the Taxpayer Protection Amendment for a balanced budget in the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives. It was supported by 98 percent of the Republican Members; 57 percent of the Democrat Members voted no. Then they rigged parliamentary procedures to forbid a vote on that Amendment in the Democrat-controlled Senate. Every Republican Senator voted twice to end the filibuster, while more than 70 percent of the Democrats voted, twice, to keep the filibuster going. Their nominee this year for the Vice Presidency supported the filibuster and spurned the Balanced Budget Amendment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.30

They played citizens against one another, wallowing in the politics of hate and envy to smear the wonder of social mobility. They lied about America's achievement in the 1980s, rewriting history to erase the true accomplishments of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.30

Keeping what you earn. The test of economic policy is whether it promotes economic growth and expands job opportunities. Lower taxes and an expanding [p.31] economy depend on long term, consistent restraint in the growth of federal spending.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.31

In 1990, as the deficit was threatening to balloon and further harm the economy, the President pushed for cuts in government spending overall and for caps on mandatory spending. The Democrat Congress insisted, however, on a tax hike as their price for controlling spending. In short, the Democrats held the U.S. economy—and U.S. jobs—hostage in order to raise taxes, much as they had done to President Reagan.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.31

Just as they did with President Reagan, the Democrat-controlled Congress promised President Bush they would abide by binding controls on federal spending; and just as with President Reagan, they broke their word. Republicans will not again agree to such a program.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.31

This year, to create jobs and promote growth, President Bush submitted a program of tax cuts and incentives designed to get the economy moving again—a program very similar to one he had sent to Congress in early 1990. The Democrats' response was predictable—instead of cutting taxes, they passed a $100 billion tax increase that would have smothered growth and jobs. The President, true to our Republican philosophy, vetoed this tax hike, and sustained his veto with the support of Republicans in Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.31

Now a new Democrat nominee comes forward with his plan for the economy. With a clean piece of paper, and every opportunity to end his party's romance with taxes, he has instead proposed the largest tax increase in American history. His tax increases, his proposed mandated benefits on small firms, and his further reductions in defense would cost the jobs of 2.6 million Americans. With his present spending increases, his plan would greatly increase the federal budget and the deficit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.31

The simple truth for the American people is this: The only safeguard between themselves and Democrat tax increases is the use of the veto by George Bush and enough Republican votes in Congress to sustain it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.31

The truth is that the Democrat philosophy of bigger government and rigorous redistribution of income requires them to push for ever increasing spending and ever higher taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.31

The choice is clear—between George Bush, who vetoes tax increases, and his opponent, who proposes a $150 billion tax increase.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.31

Our Republican position is equally clear: we will oppose any attempt to increase taxes. Furthermore, Republicans believe that the taxes insisted on by the [p.32] Democrats in the 1990 budget agreement were recessionary. The Democrat Congress held President Bush and indeed all Americans hostage, refusing to take even modest steps to control spending, unless taxes were increased. The American economy suffered as a result. We believe the tax increases of 1990 should ultimately be repealed.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.32

Just as history shows that tax increases destroy jobs and economic growth, it also shows that the proper path to create jobs and growth is tax rate reduction.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.32

We commend those congressional and senatorial candidates who pledge to oppose tax rate increases.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.32

As the deficit comes under control, we aspire to further tax rate cuts, strengthening incentives to work, save, invest, and innovate. We also support President Bush's efforts to reduce federal spending and to cap the growth of non-Social Security entitlements.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.32

Republicans want individuals and families to control their own economic destiny. Only long-term expansion of our economy and jobs can make the American dream a reality for generations to come. That is why we demand that the Congress do what President Bush called for last January: open a new era of growth and opportunity by enacting his comprehensive plan for economic recovery, including a reduction in the capital gains tax; an investment tax allowance; a $5,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers; a needed modification of the "passive loss rule"; a $500 increase in the personal income tax exemption; making permanent the research and development tax credit; and the passage of federal enterprise zone legislation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.32

We support restoring the deductibility of IRAs for all Americans, including full-time homemakers, and encourage savings for education and home ownership through Family Savings Accounts. The President's Family Savings Accounts will be an impetus to the economy. Let families use their IRAs for first time home purchases, for college education, and for medical emergencies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.32

We will cut the capital gains tax rate to 15 percent—zero in enterprise zones—and index it so government cannot profit from inflation by taxing phantom capital gains, literally stealing from savings and pensions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.32

We reject the notion advanced by Democrats that this enhances the wealthy. To the contrary, it would encourage investment, create new jobs, make capital available for business expansion, and contribute to economic expansion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

Reducing the tax on investment will be the biggest possible boost for the [p.33] new technologies, businesses, and jobs we need for the next century. If government taxes capital gains at such a high rate that there is no incentive to take risks, to build businesses, to invest, to create jobs, or to better oneself, then jobs and small businesses vanish and everyone's opportunities are diminished.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

Cutting the rate, on the other hand, will help supply seed capital where it is needed most—in our poorest communities. Refusing to cut it will handcuff America in international competition and will shackle aspiring entrepreneurs in inner cities and poor rural areas. To encourage investment in new technologies, we will make permanent the research and development tax credit. For the same reason, we want to expand deductibility for investments in new plant and equipment.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

We support further tax simplification. The tax code should create jobs for Americans, not profits for tax lawyers, lobbyists, and tax-shelters. Small businesses should spend more time hiring and producing, not filling out IRS forms.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

We oppose taxing religious and ethnic fraternal benefit societies because of their vital role in fostering charity and patriotism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

We also oppose tax withholding on savings and dividends.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

We applaud the efforts by President Bush to help workers who change jobs by enhancing the portability of pensions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

Leading Democrat Members of Congress have called for a national sales tax, or European style Value Added Tax (VAT), which would take billions of dollars out of the hands of American consumers. Such a tax has been imposed on many nations in Europe and has resulted in higher prices, fewer jobs, and higher levels of government spending. Republicans oppose the idea of putting a VAT on the backs of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

Republicans believe in expanding the economy. Jobs and growth are our answer to the future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

The Future is the Family. The most dramatic change in the tax code in our lifetime is one that has never been explicitly enacted by Congress or reported as a specific news event. It is the gradual, year by year erosion of the personal exemption, until it was indexed by a Republican Administration in 1986.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.33

Republicans also led the way in the 1980s by increasing the personal exemption from $1500 to $2000. This platform calls for another immediate increase of $500, but in the long run we are committed to fully restoring the inflation-adjusted value of the personal exemption. This will require reductions [p.34] in federal spending, which is why the best hope for tax fairness for America's families lies in a Republican Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

Liberation Through Deregulation. Government regulation is a hidden tax on American families, costing each household more than $5,000 every year. It stifles job creation and hobbles our national competitiveness. The "Iron Triangle" of special interests, federal bureaucrats, and Democrat congressional staff is robbing consumers and producers alike.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

We support President Bush's freeze on new regulations. We applaud his Competitiveness Council, under Vice President Quayle, for fighting the regulatory mania, saving the public $20 billion with its initial 90-day moratorium on new regulations and billions more under the current 120-day freeze. We call for a permanent moratorium until our regulatory reforms are fully in place. They include market-based regulation, cost-benefit analysis of all new rule-making, and a Regulatory Budget that will make Congress admit—and correct—the harm it does by legislation that destroys jobs and competitiveness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

We recognize that property rights are being endangered by government over-regulation. We reaffirm the Constitutional right to private ownership of property; this right is paramount in our free society. Every rule that reduces the value of private property is what our Constitution calls a "taking." This under-the-table taxation is unfair, immoral, and economically destructive. We support legislation to require full compensation of property owners who are victims of regulatory takings.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

Home ownership. The best housing policy is a non-inflationary, growing economy that has produced low mortgage rates and has made housing more affordable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

We demand Congress enact President's Bush's housing program introduced as part of his pro-growth package in January.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

Provide a $5,000 tax credit for first-time home buyers and allow them penalty-free IRA withdrawals.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

Set a modified "passive loss rule" for active real estate investors.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

Extend tax preferences for mortgage revenue bonds and low-income housing.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.34

And allow deductions for losses on personal residences.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.35

The average American' s home is his or her primary asset. That asset [p.35] should be completely shielded from federal taxation, allowing the homeowner to maintain it or access it as he or she sees fit. We call for the complete elimination of the capital gains tax on the sale of a principal residence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.35

Owning a home is not just an investment. It is a commitment to the community, a guard against crime, a statement about family life. It is a crucial component of upward mobility. To advance these goals, Republicans are determined to preserve deductibility of mortgage interest.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.35

Bureaucratic government imposes too many regulatory barriers to affordable housing. These barriers must come down.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.35

We applaud efforts in the States to lower property taxes, which strike hardest at the poor, elderly, families with children, and family farmers. We advocate repeal of rent control laws, which help the affluent and hurt low-income families by causing housing shortages.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.35

We support the FHA mortgage insurance program, the Government National Mortgage Association, the VA guarantee program, and other programs that enhance housing choices for all. We urge federal departments and agencies to work with the private sector to bring foreclosed housing stock back into service as soon as possible.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.35

We reaffirm our commitment to open housing, without quotas or controls, as part of the opportunity we seek for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.35

For low-income families, the Republican Party stands for a revolution in housing by converting public housing into homes owned by low-income Americans. President Bush is eager to work closely with the States to fight and win a new conservative war on poverty. The truest measure of our success will not be how many families we add to housing assistance rolls but, rather, how many families move into the ranks of homeownership. But every part of that opportunity agenda has been thwarted by landlord Democrats in Congress. We ask the electorate: End the strangulation of divided government. Give Republicans the chance to move housing policy off the Democrat Party plantation into the main-stream of American life. Resident management and ownership of public housing reflect this American mission, not only to assure political freedom but to allow all our fellow citizens to build a better life for themselves and their children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.35

Congressional Democrats have consistently blocked efforts to repeal the earnings test which prevents people over age 65 from keeping their jobs and remaining productive members of the workforce. The Social Security earnings test discriminates against senior citizens. These senior citizens have to pay the highest marginal tax rate of any Americans. We support repeal of the Social [p.36] Security earnings test.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.36

Controlling Government Spending. For 12 years, Republicans in the White House and Congress have battled a Democrat system corrupt and contemptuous of the American taxpayer. Our Republican Presidents have vetoed one reckless bill after another. But liberal Democrats still control a rigged machine that keeps on spending the public' s money.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.36

The only solution is for the voters to end divided government so that a Republican Congress can enact the Balanced Budget Amendment, requiring a super-majority for any future tax increases. And since the Democrat-controlled Congress has consistently voted clown a line-item veto amendment for the President to control specific wasteful pork barrel spending, a Republican Congress will adopt a line-item veto for the Presidency, restore Presidential power to rescind spending and to lower specific appropriations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.36

Deficits lave grown as Democrat Congresses have converted government assistance programs into entitlements and allowed spending to become uncontrolled. A Republican Congress, working with a Republican President, will consider non-Social Security mandatory spending portions of the federal budget when looking for savings.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.36

When legislators and bureaucrats waste tax money, they deserve to lose their jobs. When they save money, they deserve praise. When federal programs have outlived their usefulness, they deserve a decent burial. When federal judges dare to seize the power of the purse, by ordering the imposition of taxes, they should be removed from office by the procedures provided by the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.36

The latest Democrat scam is to raise taxes for "investment"—a code word for more government spending. A Republican Congress will foster investment where it does the most good, by individuals within the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.36

Job Creation and Small Business Opportunities. The engines of growth in a free economy are small businesses and jobs. Almost 99 percent of all businesses in America are considered small. Small business is the backbone of the American economy. For the past 12 years it has led the way in economic growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.36

Small business generates 67 percent of all new jobs. Employment in industries dominated by small business increased more than twice as fast as in industries dominated by large businesses. Small business plays a critical role in America's economic health. What happens on Main Street drives what happens on Wall Street.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.37

To create jobs and keep small business growing, the Republican Party [p.37] supports increased access to capital for business expansion, exporting, long term investment, opportunity capital for the disadvantaged, and capital to bring new products and new technology to the market.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.37

The Republican Party enthusiastically encourages the passage of federal enterprise zones. Enterprise zones have been effective programs for promoting growth in urban and rural America. Republicans believe that the concept of enterprise zones is based on unyielding faith in the entrepreneurial spirit of all Americans. Enterprise zones foster individual initiative and government deregulation. The States have come a long way in developing successful enterprise zone programs. State programs could only benefit from federal efforts. Congress should follow the lead of President Bush and HUD Secretary Jack Kemp in passing the federal enterprise zone program that will empower communities by reducing government regulation and taxation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.37

The implementation of enterprise zones as an incentive for job creation and business development is also essential to further job and business opportunities. These efforts are bolstered by continued support of job training and minority business development programs, which have been created and implemented by the President's Administration within the last three years. This is of special import to women, who own 32 percent of the Nation's businesses, most of them small ones.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.37

Because the regulation of securities markets bars most small businesses from easy access to capital, we also support the Small Business Administration's Section 7(a) loan guarantee program and similar efforts that essentially compensate for the burdens government itself imposes upon entrepreneurs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.37

Leading the Information Age. The Nation's telecommunications infrastructure will be essential to growth and competitiveness in the information age. The most far-reaching transformation of daily life since the harnessing of electricity will mean unprecedented opportunity for rural areas, reduced commuting, health care in the home, and empowerment for the disabled.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.37

Today, however, government policy at both the federal and State levels is standing in the way of this telecommunications progress. Existing judicial, legislative, and regulatory market allocation schemes constitute a counterproductive industrial policy by prohibiting the full participation by all providers in all segments of the telecommunications marketplace. We need to liberate this future-oriented technology and, in turn, empower the American people by giving consumers a truly competitive choice and lower prices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.37

As a result, we Republicans believe that full and open competition in the telecommunications marketplace is the most effective means for the U. S. to [p.38] achieve our goal of having the most technologically advanced telecommunications infrastructure in the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.38

Jobs Through Science and Technology. We believe technology holds the key to America' s future—and the future is bright. America is not in decline. America is still the land of opportunity. The new horizon is science and technology. New discoveries, new challenges, and new opportunities await us. Science and technology offer us change—exciting, dramatic, and positive change in the well-being of every American.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.38

Scientific research and development in genetics, biotechnology, and electronics will provide better, more affordable health care for all Americans. Distance learning, through technology, will help bring exciting, quality, affordable education to all students, even in rural areas and inner cities. Technology will help us conquer disease, protect the environment, and provide a more abundant, healthier food supply. And technology will lead to better jobs and a better quality of life for all of us—and for our children and our children's children.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.38

Scientific and technological developments in telecommunications, high performance computers, high speed data networks, digitization, advanced software, biotechnology, high energy physics, advanced materials, superconductors, manufacturing processes, energy, transportation, agriculture, oceanography, atmospheric studies, geological research, space, and the environment are some of the keys to increases in productivity. And increases in productivity will create economic growth and a higher standard of living for all of us. Technology is also critical to our national defense.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.38

We believe America must make technological development one of its highest priorities. We therefore support efforts to promote science and technology—providing funding for basic research, supporting investment in emerging technologies, improving education in science and engineering, enhancing tax credits for research and development, eliminating unnecessary regulation to create competitive markets, and protecting intellectual property. We further support efforts to increase the pace of technology transfer from the government to the private sector, where the fruits of this research can be used in the free market to create new processes, products, and most important, jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.38

We believe these policies will make us internationally competitive and will lead to a bright and prosperous future for our Nation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.38

President Bush has provided leadership in this arena by developing budgets allocating major new resources to scientific endeavors. The National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the National Aeronautics [p.39] and Space Administration (NASA), and the research and development program in the Departments of Energy and Commerce have all become budget priorities under the President's leadership. The sad fact is, however, that the Democrat Congress has cut steadily and sharply in science areas in order to expand spending on social programs. This is short-sighted; the truth is that American innovation in science and engineering will expand our economy and jobs to greater social advantage to all Americans. A Republican Congress working with President Bush would reflect our interest in advancing scientific inquiry and assuring the resulting economic benefits for all Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.39

Space. We are a pioneer people. Today's telecommunications revolution began with the first satellites of the Eisenhower years. So too, what we now do—or fail to do—in space will determine the future for generations to come.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.39

That is why President Bush established the National Space Council under Vice President Quayle. Together, they rescued a floundering program, revamped NASA, opened up competition, and engaged the best minds of academia and research in a twofold mission for mankind. Mission to Planet Earth will define and perhaps mitigate effects on our fragile environment. Mission from Planet Earth will open space for science and industry. Especially in this Columbian year, we hail the President's decision "to return to the moon, this time to stay, and then a journey to tomorrow, a mission to Mars."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.39

Investments in space, though aimed at the future, pay dividends right now—in research and medicine, in international competitiveness and domestic opportunity. This must not be diverted to political pork barrels. The journey to the stars used to be a bipartisan adventure, but many Democrat officeholders have jumped ship.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.39

Republicans, by contrast, are determined to complete Space Station Freedom within this decade. Our agenda is to lower the cost of access to space, and to broaden that access to the private sector, with a family of new launchers; to build and fly sensors for the global environment; and to advance cutting-edge capabilities like the National Aerospace Plane and single-stage-to-orbit rockets, so technological breakthroughs can be quickly exploited. We will promote space-based industry and ensure that space remains a frontier for private enterprise, not a restricted preserve for government. We will continue international cooperation in space ventures and welcome Russia's cosmonauts and citizens of other nations to fly for freedom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.39

Banking and Job Creation. Job creation and economic growth are dependent on a healthy and competitive financial services system that can respond to the needs of the market. The Democrat Congress stalled Republican legislation to prevent the savings and loan crisis. Then, last year, the Congress refused to pass [p.40] the Republican Administration's comprehensive financial sector reform bill to strengthen our banking industry and let it compete, both domestically and internationally, consistent with the principles of safety and soundness.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.40

We applaud the President' s efforts to alleviate the continuing problems caused by a lack of funds available to creditworthy borrowers in small businesses and the housing industry. We endorse his efforts to restrain overzealous regulators, reduce regulatory compliance costs, strengthen financial institutions through diversification, and reduce unnecessary barriers to lending.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.40

Trade: A New World of Growth. Four years ago, the American people faced an historic decision: compete or retreat. They chose, with President Bush, to compete in the international arena. Rather than retreat with the Democrats to the limits of yesteryear, they decided to attack the international marketplace with characteristic American vigor. Just as George Bush is a proven world leader on the military front, equally he is an economic world leader.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.40

The results are spectacular. We have cut the trade deficit in half in just four years. The United States is again the world's top exporter. Exports drive our economy. Every $1 billion in exports creates 20,000 new jobs for Americans. Exports have created nearly two million new jobs at home since 1988.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.40

We are tough free traders, battling to sweep away barriers to our exports. We are waging the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations to win worldwide reductions in tariffs, elimination of subsidies, and protection of American intellectual property rights. We are fighting to reduce farm subsidies in the European Community and to break up their government-industry collusion in production of civil aircraft. We firmly endorse President Bush's policy to support the Republic of China on Taiwan in international trade and her accession to GATT. Major market access gains have been made with Japan, with American manufacturing exports tripling since 1985. Throughout the world, we enforced greater compliance with U.S. trade rights. And we are making every effort to bring home a Uruguay Round agreement that is not only good for America, but great for tomorrow's entrepreneurs everywhere.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.40

The free trade agenda for the next four years starts with the signing of a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with Mexico, completing the establishment of a free trade area which already includes Canada. NAFTA will create the largest market in the world, greater than the European Community, with 360 million consumers and a total output of six trillion dollars. It means a net gain of hundreds of thousands of American jobs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.41

We acknowledge the possible effects on regional markets, specifically [p.41] agriculture. We encourage our negotiators to be sensitive to those market concerns.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.41

We will continue to fill the Pacific Rim with American exports, negotiating trade agreements with other Asian economies, and will complete our efforts—such as the Structural Impediments Initiative with Japan—to reduce barriers to American goods and services. And we will continue to negotiate the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative with Latin America as a first step in creating a hemispheric free trade zone.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.41

Congress should report to the American people the cost to workers, consumers, and businesses of every Democrat trade restriction, trade tax, or trade quota bill it considers. We will not tolerate their obstructing the greatest expansion of international trade in history. Republicans welcome this opportunity; for we know America's workers, thinkers, and builders will make the most of it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.41

International Economic Policy. Twelve years ago, we unleashed a tidal wave of freedom around the world—not just political, but economic liberty as well. What works in America—personal responsibility, limited government, competition—works throughout the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.41

Because the world economy is interdependent, the United States has been affected by downturns elsewhere, particularly since 1990 with the crash of the Japanese stock market and Germany's economic difficulties. Now, as progress resumes, the Republican plan for global growth is vital for all nations, developed or otherwise. The continuing prosperity of our neighborhoods will depend in part upon the masterful diplomacy we have come to expect from President Bush.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.41

Economic freedom is an essential link to our foreign policy. It means expanded trade, but it also means dynamic growth based on shared values—a coming together of nations in the commonwealth of peaceful progress. To that end, U.S. aid, whether bilateral or through international organizations, should promote market reforms, limit regulation, and encourage free trade.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.41

Chief among these market reforms should be the privatization of state-owned industries such as telecommunications, power, mining, and refining. Privatization should afford American companies the opportunity to purchase some of these assets, bring competition to these countries, and substantially reduce our trade deficit. The United States government should take all possible steps to assist American companies wishing to invest in privatized industries by adopting policies, rules, and regulations that will equitably facilitate these ventures, especially for small businesses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.41

We will work with developing nations to make their economies attractive to private investment and will support innovations to guarantee repayment of [p.42] their loans, including debt for equity swaps. Our experience can help them develop environmentally rational strategies for growth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

Because we uphold the family as the building block of economic progress, we protect its rights in international programs and will continue to withhold funds from organizations involved in abortion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

Most important, we encourage developing nations to adopt both democracy and free markets. The two are inextricably tied and afford all people the greatest opportunities.

Reforming Government and the Legal System

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

Two centuries ago, the American people created a miracle—a system of government, rounded on limited authority and the rule of law, a system that made government the servant of the people. Today it is in shambles. Citizens feel overwhelmed by vast bureaucracies. Congress insulates incumbents from public judgment. Huge problems get worse while committee chairmen play partisan games. The current legal system tends to breed delay, cost, confusion, and jargon—everything but justice. Many of our once-great cities are controlled by one-party machines that promote and encourage corruption and incompetence.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

The Republic has not failed; the Democrat Party bosses failed the Republic.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

The Republican Party, now as at its rounding, challenges a debased status quo. In Congress, the States, our cities, our courtrooms, we fight for the basics of self-government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

We rely on what works, judging programs by how well they do instead of how much they spend. The Democrats believe in more government. Republicans believe in leaner, more effective government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

We decentralize authority, returning decisions to States, localities, and private institutions. The Democrat bosses want to concentrate power on Capitol Hill. Republicans place it in town halls and the American home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

Republicans favor the free-enterprise system. We choose market forces—consumer rights—over red tape. The Democrats argue that government must constantly override the market. Republicans regard the worst market failure as the failure to have a market.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.42

We replace dependency with empowerment. The Democrats see an America filled with wards of the State. Republicans see an America peopled by [p.43] citizens and consumers eager for the chance to chart their own course.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.43

We make electoral systems understandable and accountable to the voter. The Democrats fear proposals that would limit the tenure and hidden power of incumbent politicians. Republicans want the ballot box to prevail over the cloakroom.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.43

Cleaning Up the Imperial Congress. The Democrats have controlled the House of Representatives for 38 years—five years longer than Castro has held Cuba. They have held the Senate for 32 of those 38. Their entrenched power has produced a Congress arrogant, out of touch, hopelessly entangled in a web of PACs, perks, privileges, partisanship, paralysis, and pork. No wonder they hid their congressional leaders during the Democrat convention of 1992. They didn't want Americans to remember who has been running the Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.43

The Democrats have transformed what the Framers of the Constitution intended as the people's House into a pathological institution. They have grossly increased their staffing, their payrolls, their allied bureaucracies in little-known congressional agencies. Congress has ballooned to 284 congressional committees and subcommittees, almost 40,000 legislative branch employees and staff, and $2.5 billion in taxpayer financing, amounting to approximately $5 million per lawmaker per year. Incumbents have abused free mailing privileges for personal political gain. Twenty-two Democrats, with a total of 585 years in power, rule over a committee system that blocks every attempt at reform.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.43

The Democrats have trampled the traditions of the House, rigging rules, forbidding votes on crucial amendments, denying fair apportionment of committee seats and resources. They have stacked campaign laws to benefit themselves. The Democrat Leadership of the House has been tainted with scandal and has resisted efforts to investigate scandals once disclosed. Some in their Leadership have resigned in well-earned disgrace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.43

The Democrat Leadership of the Congress has turned the healthy competition of constitutional separation of powers into mean-spirited politics of innuendo and inquisition. Committee hearings are no longer for fact-finding; they are political sideshows. "Advise and consent" has been replaced by "slash and burn."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.43

Republicans want to change all that. We reaffirm our support for a constitutional amendment to limit the number of terms House Members and Senators may serve. We want a citizens' Congress, free of bloated pensions and perpetual perks.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.43

Congress must stop exempting itself from laws such as the minimum wage and the civil rights statutes, as well as laws which apply to the Executive [p.44] Branch. The Independent Counsel Act is a case in point. It has permitted rogue prosecutors to spend tremendous amounts to hound some of the Nation's finest public servants. If that Act is reauthorized, it must be extended to Congress as well. Safety and health regulations, civil rights and minimum wage laws are further examples of areas where Congress has set itself apart from the people. This practice must end.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.44

Congress must slash its own bureaucracy. Its employees operate in a maze of overlapping jurisdictions. A Republican Congress will cut expenses by 25 percent, reduce the number of committees and subcommittees, and assign staff in accurate proportion to party strength.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.44

We will restore integrity to the House of Representatives, reforming its rules, allowing open debate and amendment. The committee system, both in Congress and in Democrat-controlled State legislatures, has been abused by chairpersons who have arbitrarily killed legislation which would have passed. Committees are a place for open and free discussion, not a closet for Democrats to stash Republican legislation. Democracy itself is endangered by these abuses, and Republicans condemn these practices. Both houses of Congress must guarantee protection to whistle blowers to encourage employees to report illegality, corruption, sexual harassment, and discrimination.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.44

The Democrat rulers of Congress have blocked or stalled Presidential initiatives in many areas, including education, housing, crime control, economic recovery, job creation, and budget reform. They care more about scoring petty partisan points for themselves and their Party than about achieving real progress for the Nation. To accomplish change, we need a change in Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.44

Reforming the Congressional Budget Process. At the heart of the Democrats' corruption of Congress is a fraudulent budget process. They do not want the public to understand how they spend the public' s money. At a time when the Nation's future depends on reduction of deficits, the lords of the Capitol still play the old shell game.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.44

Republicans vigorously support a balanced budget, a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment, and a line-item veto for the President.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.44

Republicans believe this balancing of the budget should be achieved, not by increasing taxes to match spending, but by cutting spending to current levels of revenue. We prefer a Balanced Budget Amendment which contains a super-majority requirement to raise taxes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.44

We also propose procedural reforms. We support legislation that would require Congress to pass a legally binding budget before it can consider spending [p.45] bills. The budget' s spending ceilings shall not be exceeded without a super-majority vote of both chambers. If Congress fails to pass any appropriation bill, funding for its programs will automatically be frozen at the previous year's level. The key to prosperity for the rest of this century and for the next generation of Americans is a budget strategy that restores sanity to the budget process and checks the growth of government.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.45

Congress should be forced to confront basic arithmetic through Truth in Counting. The Democrats measure all changes in funding against a "current services baseline," with built-in increases for inflation and other factors. If they want a $1 million program to grow to $2 million, they then count an increase to $1.5 million as a half-million dollar cut. This is the accounting system of Wonderland, where words mean exactly what the Democrat Speaker says they mean. The double-talk must end with zero-based budgeting. We also support "sunset laws" that require government agencies to be reviewed periodically and reauthorized only if they can be rejustified.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.45

Cleaning Up Politics: The Gerrymander. After more than a half-century of distortion by power-hungry Democrats, the political system is increasingly rigged.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.45

Throughout the 1980s, voters were cheated out of dozens of seats in the House of Representatives and in State legislatures because districts were oddly shaped to guarantee election of Democrats. It was swindle by law. We support State-level appointment of non-partisan redistricting commissions to apply clear standards for compactness of districts, competitiveness between the parties, and protection of community interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.45

Cleaning Up Politics: Campaign Reform. We crusade for clean elections. We support State efforts to increase voter participation but condemn Democrat attempts to perpetrate vote fraud through schemes that override the States' safeguards of orderly voter registration. And it is critical that the States retain the authority to tailor voter registration procedures to unique local circumstances.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.45

Most of all, we condemn the Democrats' shameless plots to make taxpayers foot the bills for their campaigns. Their campaign finance bill would have given $1 billion, over six years, in subsidies to candidates. President Bush vetoed that bill. Campaign financing does need reform. It does not need a hand in the public's pocketbook.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.45

We will require congressional candidates to raise most of their funds from individuals within their home constituencies. This will limit outside special-interest money and result in less expensive campaigns, with less padding for incumbents. To the same end, we will strengthen the role of political parties to [p.46] remove pressure on candidates to spend so much time soliciting funds. We will eliminate political action committees supported by corporations, unions, or trade associations, and restrict the practice of bundling.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.46

To restore competition in elections by attacking the unfair advantages of incumbency, we will stop incumbents from warding off challengers merely by amassing huge war chests. Congressional candidates will be forbidden from carrying campaign funds from one election to the next. We will oppose arbitrary spending limits—cynical devices which hobble challengers to keep politicians in office.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.46

We will fully implement the Supreme Court's decision in the Beck case, ensuring that workers have the right to stop the use of their union dues for political or other non-collective bargaining purposes.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.46

Managing Government in the Public Interest. The focus of government must shift from quantity to quality, from spending to service. Americans should expect measurable, published standards for services provided by government at all levels. Performance standards and rules, commonplace in the private sector, must be applied to government activities as well. Because federal government employees should not be a privileged caste, we will remove the bar to garnishing their wages to ensure payment of their debts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.46

The Quality Revolution in American business has quietly but profoundly transformed American culture over the past decade. Millions of American workers have benefited from the more cooperative spirit the Quality Revolution has brought to tens of thousands of workplaces; and every American has benefited from the lower costs, higher quality service, and greater level of competitiveness it has produced. Republicans are proud to have played a leading role in this transformation, especially through the annual Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award, which recognizes companies that best represent the principles of Quality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.46

The Quality Revolution in the private sector, with its concepts of Continuous Improvement, Profound Knowledge, and "Doing the Right Thing Right the First Time," stands in stark contrast to the outmoded practices, insensitivity and outright waste, abuse, and corruption endemic in the bureaucratic welfare state. The Republican Party is firmly committed to bringing the Quality Revolution into government at every level by creating a "Quality Workers for a Quality America" coalition whose aim will be to transform the bureaucratic welfare state into a government that is customer-friendly, cost-effective, and improving constantly.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.46

Privatization is an important alternative to higher taxes and reduced services. If private enterprise can perform better and more cheaply than [p.47] government, let it do so. This is especially true of properties now decaying under government control, such as public housing, where residents should have the option to manage their own projects. These citizens should have the chance to become stockholders and managers of government enterprises and to run them more efficiently as private enterprises. We applaud President Bush' s initiative to allow States and localities to privatize facilities built with federal aid.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.47

Where it advances both efficiency and safety, we will advocate privatization of airport operation and management.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.47

We deplore the blatant political bias of the government-sponsored radio and television networks. It is especially outrageous that taxpayers are now forced to underwrite this biased broadcasting through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). We call for sweeping reform of CPB, including greater accountability through application of the Freedom of Information Act, a one-year funding cycle, and enforcement of rigorous fairness standards for all CPB-supported programming. We look forward to the day when public broadcasting is self-sufficient.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.47

Always trusting the initiative of the American people over the ways of government, we will not initiate production of goods or delivery of services by the federal government if they can be procured from the private sector.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.47

We will not initiate any federal activity that can be conducted better on the State or local level. In doing so, we reassert the crucial importance of the Tenth Amendment. We oppose costly federal mandates that stifle innovation and force tax hikes upon States and localities. We require that Congress calculate the cost of mandated initiatives upon communities affected and provide adequate financial support for mandates invoked. We will continue the process of returning power to local voters by replacing federal programs with block grants.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.47

Reforming the Legal System. The United States, with five percent of the world's population, has two-thirds of the world's lawyers. Litigation has become an industry, an end in itself. The number of civil cases in federal district courts has more than tripled in the past thirty years. It now takes more than a year to resolve the average lawsuit. Delays of three to five years are commonplace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.47

The current legal system forces consumers to pay higher prices for everything from basic goods to medical treatment. Direct litigation and inflated insurance premiums sock American consumers for an estimated $80 billion a year. All told, our legal system costs, directly and indirectly, $300 billion a year. What it costs us in the world marketplace, by hindering our competitiveness, is beyond calculation.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.48

[p.48] We therefore endorse the President's proposals for legal reform as developed by Vice President Quayle, and we salute his principled challenge to the American Bar Association to clean up its own house. We support the Fairness Rule, to allow the winning party to a lawsuit to recover the costs of litigation from the losing party. This will discourage needless suits, freeing legal resources for people with genuine cases.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.48

We believe complainants should have a choice of ways to settle problems through alternative dispute programs that will permit parties to pursue less costly and less complicated ways to resolve conflicts. We also call for greater use of judicial sanctions to stop frivolous lawsuits. We call for changes to the federal Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) law to limit its use in civil litigation by requiring proof of all elements by clear and convincing proof.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.48

We seek to restore fairness and predictability to punitive damages by placing appropriate limits on them, dividing trials into two phases to determine liability separately from damages, and requiring clear proof of wrongdoing. This will go a long way to reduce insurance premiums for professional and product liability and for all malpractice, including medical, thereby lowering costs for consumers throughout the economy, while preserving the ability of injured persons to obtain damages. It will also foster the creation of new products for the American marketplace, perhaps cures for the diseases we most fear.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.48

The Republican Party commends President Bush and Vice President Quayle for their continued leadership in helping volunteers overcome their concern that their good acts and voluntary donations of time on behalf of civic groups, community organizations, and churches will result in civil liability and lawsuits. We encourage the State legislatures to pass the Administration's model bill, "The Volunteerism Act."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.48

We will throw out "junk science" by requiring courts to verify the legitimacy of persons called as expert witnesses. To restore integrity to courtroom testimony, we will ban the practice of paying fees to experts only if a successful verdict is obtained. We will maintain diversity jurisdiction for citizens of different States to ensure access to the federal courts when appropriate.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.48

Because four-fifths of the time and cost of a lawsuit involves discovery—pre-trial investigation of the facts—we will require automatic disclosure, by both sides, of basic information. We will ban abuses of the discovery process used to intimidate opponents and drive up their costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.48

We will fight rising health care costs—and equally important, help dedicated doctors to keep practicing in critical areas like obstetrics—by providing incentives for States to reform their liability laws. This will reduce the [p.49] practice of "defensive medicine," requiring patients to be tested for every conceivable ailment at their own enormous expense to guard against the mere possibility of a lawsuit.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.49

Recognizing that legal reform can solve only parts of the larger problem, we support a federal product liability law. The cost of product liability protection is a great expense to the American consumer and seriously impedes our international competitiveness. For example, a consumer pays an additional 17 percent to cover the liability insurance of an ordinary stepladder. If thirteen European nations can enact uniform product liability laws to give them a competitive edge against the United States, we can do it here too—once we break the Democrat hold on the Congress so Republicans can put the interests of workers and consumers ahead of trial lawyers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.49

Some of the problems in our legal system are rooted in a declining sense of, and respect for, individual responsibility. We reaffirm that all Americans are first and finally responsible for their own behavior.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.49

The Nation's Capital. We call for closer and responsible Congressional scrutiny of the city, federal oversight of its law enforcement and courts, and tighter fiscal restraints over its expenditures. We oppose statehood as inconsistent with the original intent of the Framers of the Constitution and with the need for a federal city belonging to all the people as our Nation's Capital.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.49

A New Era for the Territories. We welcome greater participation in all aspects of the political process by Americans residing in Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, the Northern Marianas, and Puerto Rico. Because territorial America is far-flung and divergent, we know that any single approach to the future will not necessarily meet the needs of all. Republicans therefore emphasize respect for the wishes of those who reside in the territories regarding their relationship to the rest of the Union.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.49

We affirm the fight of American citizens in the United States territories to seek the full extension of the Constitution with the accompanying rights and responsibilities, and we support all necessary legislation to permit them to do so.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.49

The Republican Party supports the right of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico to be admitted to the Union as a fully sovereign State after they freely so determine.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.49

We recognize that the people of Guam have voted for a closer relationship with the United States of America, and we reaffirm our support of their right to mutually improve their political relationship through commonwealth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.50

[p.50] We support American Samoa's efforts to advance toward economic self-reliance through a multi-year plan, while ensuring the protection afforded to the people of American Samoa by the original treaty of cession.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.50

We support the full extension of rights and responsibilities under the U.S. Constitution to American citizens of the Virgin Islands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.50

We commend President Bush for the successful development of self-government in Micronesia and the Marshall Islands and for efforts to conclude the United Nations' last trusteeship in Palau consistent with the people's right of self-determination.

Our Land, Food, and Resources

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.50

We hold the resources of our country in stewardship. Our heritage from the past must be our legacy to generations to come. Our people have always known that, as they cherished their land and turned earth and rock into food, fiber, and power. In the process, they built the world's most formidable economy, sustained by its raw materials, driven by its energy resources. They brought comfort to the home, transformed the Nation, and fed the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.50

Agriculture and energy remain building blocks of modern life. Their vitality is crucial to the Nation's growth. Indeed, to its survival. While supporting conservation, we reject the notion that there are limits to growth. Human ingenuity is the ultimate resource, and it knows no limits. The true measure of America's economic success is not whether austerity can be shared by many, but whether prosperity can be achieved for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.50

We advocate privatizing those government agencies and assets that would be more productive and better maintained in private ownership. We support efforts to decentralize government monopolies that poorly serve the public and waste taxpayers' dollars.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.50

Agriculture. The Republican Party is the home of the farmer, rancher, and forester. We have long championed their right to pursue growth, efficiency, and competitiveness through market incentives, diversification, and personal ingenuity. And for good reason. Their industry provides consumers with the highest quality food and fiber for the smallest percentage of disposable income of any nation in the history of the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.50

They have been pioneer environmentalists. They have turned over to their children and grandchildren land that has been nurtured to expand its productivity while conserving this vital resource. Even more important, they have cultivated in their homes strong family life and moral virtues. We endorse American Samoa's time-honored land tenure system which fosters self-reliance [p.51] and strong extended family values. When we lose farmers, we lose much more than agriculture. We are committed to bringing our farm families the full benefit of a growing and diversified rural economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.51

Our rural families also deserve to be brought into the mainstream of health care, with tax policies that provide all who are self-employed full deductibility of their health insurance premiums.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.51

We stand with farmers against attempts by liberal Democrats to repeal the laws of economics by dictating price levels and restricting production. We stand with them against agricultural embargoes. We reject the notion that elected officials and bureaucrats make better farm managers than farmers themselves.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.51

We remain strong in our support of livestock agriculture. We believe in the humane treatment of animals, but we oppose attempts by animal rights extremists to impose excessive restrictions on animal husbandry practices.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.51

Our Omnibus Farm Bills of 1985 and 1990 gave farmers greater flexibility in decisions concerning management of their farms and marketing of their commodities. We have reduced government control and ownership of commodity inventories. Export sales and profitability have improved significantly. Agricultural debt has fallen by 30 percent. Under this President and sound Republican policies, net farm income has reached record levels.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.51

At the same time, we cut by two-thirds the cost of government commodity programs. Only one-half of one percent of the federal budget is now spent on those programs. By reducing dependency on government, we have created a healthier agricultural sector. We will build upon our 1985 and 1990 legislation and repeal obsolete or unworkable statutes while continuing to provide a viable base of support for U.S. farmers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.51

Agricultural prosperity is essential to the Nation's global competitiveness. We will continue to expand the growth of American agriculture through exports, development of new products, and new markets. Commodity exports this year will hit $40 billion, a 50 percent increase over the levels of five years ago. There has never been an annual deficit in our balance of agricultural trade, and the positive balance this year will be $18 billion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.51

We pledge to fight unfair competition and to bring down the walls of protectionism around the world that unfairly inhibit competitiveness of U.S. farm exports. We pledge continued pressure to open world markets through the Uruguay Round, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and bilateral negotiations. We affirm that there will be no GATT agreement unless it improves opportunities for U.S. farmers to compete in world markets. We repeat our [p.52] demand for cutbacks in export subsidies by the European Community and elsewhere, and we will fight the use of arbitrary health and sanitation standards to sabotage U.S. exports.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.52

New markets for agricultural products will also be created as producers translate technological breakthroughs into new uses, such as soy oil diesel and biodegradable plastics. We support the widest possible use of ethanol in the U.S. motor fuel market, including in oxygenated fuels programs and as ethanol blends in reformulated gasolines. In addition, the Republican Party supports increased research and development to reduce ethanol production costs and expand its use in motor fuel markets. Such use will greatly help American farmers, improve the rural economy, and reduce our dependence on imported oil.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.52

Building our farm economy requires meeting our farmers' financing needs. Critical to these needs are competitive, reasonable interest rates for U.S. producers. Under George Bush, interest rates have been dramatically reduced, thereby contributing substantially to improving the net income of American farm and ranch families. We will continue working to ensure that farmers have access to credit, with particular consideration to the needs of young and beginning farmers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.52

We recognize the importance of efficient, equitable transportation systems to the economic viability of agricultural experts; and we will work to achieve greater efficiencies within the U.S. maritime industry and to decrease the cost to agriculture of shipping services.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.52

We support farm conservation efforts, both those pioneered in our 1985 Farm Bill and entirely voluntary undertakings, which result in three times as much erosion control as those mandated by law. We support the Conservation Reserve, with more than 35 million acres now enrolled. It shows what farmers can do through incentives rather than government controls.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.52

We value our Nation's real wetlands habitat and the diversity of our native animal and plant life. We oppose, however, bureaucratic harassment of farm, ranch, and timber families under statutes regarding endangered species and wetlands. When actions are required to protect an endangered species, we recognize that jobs can be lost, communities displaced, and economic progress for all denied. Accordingly, prior to the implementation of a recovery plan for a species declared to be endangered, we will require the Congress to affirm the priority of the species on the endangered list and the specific measures to be taken in any recovery plan. These acts should not rest with the rubber stamp of a bureaucrat.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.52

With regard to wetlands, following our principle that environmental protection be reasonable, land that is not truly wet should not be classified as a [p.53] wetland. Protection of environmentally sensitive wetlands must not come at the price of disparaging landowners' property rights. Thus, we endorse, as President Bush has done, legislation to discourage government activities that ignore property rights. We also find intolerable the use of taxpayer funds, through the Legal Services Corporation, to attack the agricultural community.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.53

Power for Progress. Energy sustains life as we know it: our standard of living, the prospect for economic growth, the way our children will live in the century ahead. Republican energy policy, now as in the past, reflects the commonsense aspirations of the American people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.53

Our goals address our fundamental needs: an energy supply, available to all, that remains reasonably priced, secure, and clean, produced by strong energy industries on which the country can rely, operating in an environmentally responsible manner and producing from domestically available energy resources to the maximum extent practicable.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.53

Anyone older than a teenager can remember the energy upheavals of the bad old days, when political games threw the Nation into a tailspin. Stranded in gasoline lines, shocked by home heating bills, shutting down factory operations, America's motorists, homeowners, and workers rightly blamed official Washington for wrecking something which had always worked so efficiently that it was taken for granted.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.53

Today, after 12 years of Republican reform, we can again have confidence in our energy policies. The average household spends 11 percent less on energy, as adjusted for inflation, than it did in 1980, because of both conservation and lower costs.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.53

We broke the shackles of bureaucratic regulation by ending petroleum price and allocation controls, deregulating natural gas wellhead prices, and repealing restrictions on the use of clean-burning natural gas by industry and utilities. We repealed the Windfall Profit Tax on crude oil that penalized investment in domestic oil production. We promoted free competition in an open marketplace and ended the public subsidy to the "synthetic fuels" program. And we broke the back of OPEC, the international energy cartel.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.53

And, equally important, we undertook a reevaluation of estimates of our domestic energy resource base, which the Carter Administration had determined to be inadequate. The Republican Administration correctly found that we can indeed continue to supply a significant amount of our domestically available energy resources, including natural gas and coal, for all energy consumption needs well into the next century.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.54

When Iraq's dictator moved to seize the world's energy lifeline by [p.54] controlling the Persian Gulf, George Bush did more than liberate Kuwait. He prevented energy crisis and economic shutdown in America. Now his National Energy Strategy leads toward continued growth in the century ahead. It provides the Nation with a comprehensive and balanced strategy for America's energy future. Specifically, it promotes adequate energy supplies and reduces consumer costs by relying on market forces, diversifying domestic energy sources, and improving the efficiency and flexibility of energy consumption. We seek to foster greater competition and increased output, in the interest of producers and consumers alike.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.54

The domestic oil and gas industry saves us from total dependence on unreliable foreign imports. But over the past decade, it has lost more than 300,000 jobs. Drilling rigs are still. Crippled by environmental rules and taxes, independent producers have been devastated and major companies are moving operations overseas. We will reverse that situation by allowing access, under environmental safeguards, to the Coastal Plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, possibly one of the largest petroleum reserves in our country, and to selected areas of the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS). We support incentives to encourage domestic investment for onshore and OCS oil and gas exploration and development, including relief from the alternative minimum tax, credits for enhanced oil recovery and geological exploration under known geological oil fields and producing geological structures, and modified percentage depletion rules to benefit marginal production. We will ensure that royalty payments on federal lands remain consistent with changing economic conditions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.54

Most important, unlike Democrat no-growth fanatics, we know what is most at stake in the energy debate: the family's standard of living, including job opportunities, household income, and the environment in which we live.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.54

That is why we have been supporting complete decontrol of wellhead prices for clean natural gas, which have already declined ten percent in the last four years while consumption increased by the same amount. We support replacing government controls with the power of the market to determine transactions between buyers and sellers of natural gas. We encourage the use of natural gas for both vehicles and electricity generation, and the expansion of research, development, and demonstration for end-use natural gas technologies. We will foster more public-private partnerships to advance use of natural gas.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.54

The Republican Party has a deep and abiding commitment to America's mining industry. We support the original intent of the Mining Law of 1872: to provide the security necessary for miners to risk capital investment on federal lands, thus preserving jobs and bolstering the domestic economy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.54

We support clean-coal technologies to allow greater use of America's most abundant fossil fuel within standards required by the Clean Air Act. We [p.55] encourage the export of U.S. coal. We support acceleration of the international transfer of coal-related technologies to boost exports for U.S. coal, in order to capitalize on America's leadership in these technologies.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.55

We oppose any attempt to impose a carbon tax as proposed by liberal Democrats.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.55

We endorse major national projects, like the Super Conducting Super Collider, which offer the promise of developing more efficient ways to store, transport, and use energy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.55

We will hasten development of the next generation of nuclear power plants—one of the cleanest, safest energy sources of all. Republicans back reform of the nuclear licensing process. We will site and license a permanent waste depository and a monitored retrievable storage facility. We reject the scare tactics used against nuclear power by those who want to shut down this essential contributor to the American future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.55

We endorse development of renewable energy sources and research on fuel cells, conservation, hydro, solar, hydrogen, and wind power as components of our overall plan for energy security and environmental quality.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.55

Public Lands. The millions of acres that constitute this Nation's public lands must continue to provide for a number of uses. We are committed to the multiple use of our public lands. We believe that recreation, forestry, ranching, mining, oil and gas exploration, and production on our public lands can be conducted in a way compatible with their conservation. The United States has some of the richest mineral resources in the world. Our public lands should not be arbitrarily locked up and put off limits to responsible uses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.55

Approximately 50 percent of the lands in the West are owned by the federal government. These lands are a deeply intermingled patchwork quilt of public and private ownership. In order to provide an economic base for the people of the West, a public-private cooperative partnership on these lands for multiple use in an environmentally sound manner is imperative.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.55

Transportation. From its founding, the Republican Party has considered the Nation's transportation system crucial to economic opportunity for all. That is why our 1860 Platform endorsed the Transcontinental Railroad. It is why President Eisenhower signed the Interstate and Defense Highway Act, bringing America closer together and launching a lengthy economic expansion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.55

Today, America's transportation system is safer, more efficient, more reliable than that of any other country. It employs one of every ten workers and accounts for $800 billion in spending. It enables us to compete in the world [p.56] market and gives us more choices in our dally lives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.56

Under President Bush, that system has been strengthened by revolutionary legislation to pave the way into the century ahead. Providing $151 billion for highways and transit systems, it is the most extensive transportation improvement project in our Nation's history—and a tremendous jobs program as well.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.56

Highway death rates have dropped to an all-time low, largely due to better road design and stronger safety programs. This progress would be wiped out by the Democrats' draconian plan for higher Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards. Their national nominees want to require a 45 miles-per-gallon standard. That means unsafe vehicles, reduced consumer choice, higher car costs, and a loss of 300,000 jobs in the auto industry here at home.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.56

To reduce the congestion that still chokes urban areas, we established a National Highway System of 155,000 miles, giving States and localities greater voice in decisions about projects. It will improve connections between ports and highways, airports and railways; spur development of new airports and reduce their environmental impact; promote private investment in transportation; and foster high-tech solutions to congestion.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.56

To keep America on the move, we assert the same principle that guides us in all other sectors of the economy: consumers benefit through competition within the private sector. That is why we will complete the job of trucking deregulation. We will also abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission, finally freeing shippers and consumers from horse-and-buggy regulation. We applaud the President' s executive order that will assist communities to privatize government-controlled ventures, such as airports and toll roads.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.56

Our tough trade campaign, along with regulatory reforms, will assure U.S. air carriers fair access to international routes and allow the U.S. merchant marine to sail over foreign protectionism. The President has proposed and will aggressively pursue a comprehensive revision of existing maritime policy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.56

Regulatory reform of airlines now allows more people to fly more safely, at better prices. Tough laws for drug and alcohol testing are making all modes of transportation safer than ever. Disabled persons will have greater access to the entire transportation network under the Americans with Disabilities Act.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.56

Wherever possible, the market should allocate investment in transportation, steering the development of passenger rail, mass transit, and highways to best suit consumers. States and localities should have discretion in using Highway Trust Fund revenues to construct new roads, expand existing ones, or invest in mass transit facilities, as they see fit. We advocate development of high-speed fall systems, through private investment, to serve inter-city travel. We also [p.57] advocate development of short-haul aircraft with vertical take-off and landing capability, to bring commerce and jobs to communities large and small.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.57

We will continue aggressively to support development of intelligent highway systems, an efficient battery for electric cars, perfected natural gas vehicles, greater private investment in space travel, and removal of regulatory impediments to intermodal transport.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.57

Because Republicans advocate personal responsibility, we salute groups, organizations, and individuals that take direct action to improve safe driving and street safety.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.57

Environment. Cleaning up America is a labor of love for family, neighborhood, and Nation. In the Republican tradition of conserving the past to enrich the future, we have made the United States the world's leader in environmental progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.57

We spend more than any other country on environmental protection. Over the last 20 years, our country has spent $1 trillion to clean its air, water, and land. We increased GNP by 70 percent while cutting lead in the air by 97 percent. Our rivers run cleaner than ever in memory. We've preserved parks, wilderness, and wildlife. The price of progress is now about $115 billion a year, almost two percent of GNP; and that will grow to three percent by 2000.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.57

Clearly we have led the world in investment in environmental protection. We have taught the world three vital lessons. First, environmental progress is integrally related to economic advancement. Second, economic growth generates the capital to pay for environmental gains. Third, private ownership and economic freedom are the best security against environmental degradation. The ghastly truth about state socialism is now exposed in what used to be the Soviet Union: dead rivers and seas, poisoned land, dying people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.57

Liberal Democrats think people are the problem. We know people are the solution. Respecting the people's rights and views, we applied market-based solutions to environmental problems. President Bush's landmark Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, the toughest environmental law ever enacted, uses an innovative system of emission credits to achieve its dramatic reductions. This will save $1 billion over the Democrats' command-and-control approach. Other provisions of that law will cut acid rain emissions in half, reduce toxic pollutants by 90 percent, reduce smog, and speed the use of cleaner fuels.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.57

The President' s leadership has doubled spending for real wetlands and targeted one million acres for a wetlands reserve through his Farm Bill of 1990. We have collected more civil penalties from polluters in two years than in the previous twenty, begun the phase-out of substances that harm the ozone layer, [p.58] and launched a long-term campaign to expand and improve national parks, forests, and recreation areas, adding 1.5 million acres. President Bush has dramatically increased spending for cleaning up past environmental damage caused by federal facilities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.58

Our reforestation drive will plant one billion trees a year across America. Our moratorium on offshore drilling in sensitive offshore areas has bought time for technology to master environmental challenges. Our farm policies have begun a new era in sound agricultural environmentalism.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.58

Because the environment knows no boundaries, President Bush has accelerated U.S. research on global climate change, spending $2.7 billion in the last three years and requesting $1.4 billion for 1993, more than the rest of the world put together. Under his leadership, we have assisted nations from the Third World to Eastern Europe in correcting the environmental damage inflicted by socialism. We proposed a worldwide forestry convention and gave almost half a billion dollars to forest conservation. We won debt-for-nature swaps and environmental trust funds in Latin America and the Caribbean. We secured prohibitions against unilateral export or dumping of hazardous waste. We led the international ban on trade in ivory, persuaded Japan to end driftnet fishing, streamlined response to oil spills, and increased environmental protection for Antarctica.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.58

Adverse changes in climate must be the common concern of mankind. At the same time, we applaud our President for personally confronting the international bureaucrats at the Rio Conference. He refused to accept their anti-American demands for income redistribution and won instead a global climate treaty that relies on real action plans rather than arbitrary targets hostile to U.S. growth and workers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.58

Following his example, a Republican Senate will not ratify any treaty that moves environmental decisions beyond our democratic process or transfers beyond our shores authority over U.S. property. The Democrats' national candidates, on the other hand, insist the U.S. must do what our foreign competitors refuse to do: abolish 300,000 to 1,000,000 jobs to get a modest reduction in "greenhouse gases."

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.58

Environmental progress must continue in tandem with economic growth. Crippling an industry is no solution at all. Bankrupt facilities only worsen environmental situations. Unemployment is a form of pollution too, poisoning families and contaminating whole communities.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.58

Some in our own country still refuse to face those facts. They try to hijack environmentalism, making it anti-growth and anti-jobs. Although the average family of four now pays $1,000 a year for environmental controls, liberal Democrats want to tighten the squeeze. They use junk science to foster hysteria [p.59] instead of reason, demanding rigid controls, more taxes, and less resource production.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.59

However, with billions of dollars at stake in national production and jobs, not to mention our quality of life, our decisions to spend on environmental protection must not be determined by the politics of the moment. We will use scientifically respectable risk-benefit assessments to settle environmental controversies. It is time to replace knee-jerk reactions with the kind of scientific analysis that helps businesses, individuals, and communities contribute to economic and environmental progress through flexible application of laws. We must base our environmental policies on real risks to human health, determined by sound, peer-reviewed science, including procedures for what is an acceptable risk.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.59

We will require federal agencies to promptly compensate, from their own budgets, for any taking of private property, including the denial of use.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.59

We will legislatively overhaul the Superfund program to speed the clean up of hazardous waste and more efficiently use Superfund dollars. We will develop greenways of parks and open space in urban areas to further improve the quality of life in our cities. We will work with U.S. industry and labor to identify promising markets abroad where America's environmental know-how can carry our success story to the rest of planet earth.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.59

Private Property Rights. We reaffirm our commitment to the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution: "No person shall be…deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." We support strong enforcement of this Takings clause to keep citizens secure in the use and development of their property.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.59

The right to own, use, and dispose of property inheres in mankind by nature and is a fundamental political tenet of all free nations. We applaud the wisdom of the First Congress for incorporating this guarantee of individual liberty in the Bill of Rights. We remind all government officials that property rights are not granted by government; rather, government is directed by the governed to protect the rights of private property owners.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.59

The vigilant protection of private property rights safeguards for citizens everything of value, including their right of contract to produce and sell the fruits of their labor. The historic collapse of Communism and other command and control economies is absolute evidence of the failure of economic systems that lack a recognition of the natural rights of property owners.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.59

We also seek to reduce the amount of land owned or controlled by the government, especially in the western states. We insist upon prompt payment for private lands certified as critical for preserving essential parks and preserves. [p.63]

Uniting Our World

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.63

The world is now our neighborhood. Its triumphs and tragedies affect our communities, our jobs, and the security of our families. That is why Republicans want America to shape the international future: Because we put America first.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.63

Not everyone does. Just twelve years ago, the forces of freedom were in tattered retreat. A failed foreign policy by a Democrat White House and Democrat-controlled Congress had left our allies uncertain, our friends betrayed, our foes emboldened. It was a frightening era, in some ways the worst of times. We all remember the flickering television images of blindfolded Americans being degraded by thugs. When voters make their choice in this year's elections, they should ask themselves: Are we safer and stronger today, in 1992, than we were in 1980, when Jimmy Carter was the Democrat President?

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.63

Republicans are proud to answer those questions. The Nation's international position has not just improved since the Democrats left office. It has been transformed. Never in this century has the United States enjoyed such security from foreign enemies. With President Bush leading the free world, the Soviet empire has collapsed, as Ronald Reagan predicted, into the dustbin of history. Eastern Europe is liberated. Germany is peacefully united. The former Soviet armies are returning home. Nuclear arsenals are being cut to fractions of their former size.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.63

A democratically elected Russian president sits in the Kremlin. Ukraine, Armenia, and the Baltic states take their rightful place among the family of nations. Israel and all of its Arab neighbors talk face to face for the first time. Nicaragua and Panama celebrate democracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.63

It might very well not have turned out this way. Only the naive believe that history is an inevitable tide or a series of accidents. Our crusade of a half-century, to champion freedom and civilization against the dark night of totalitarianism, is now victorious. An American President led the free world to this great triumph. George Bush was that man.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.63

Freedom's victory begins a new chapter in the epic of America, full of both promise and peril. This different and unpredictable world demands visionary, experienced leadership, tested and strengthened, careful and cool. At stake is nothing less than our security, our prosperity, and our children's future. Americans can trust President Bush with that awesome responsibility. [p.64]

The Triumph of Freedom

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.64

No other President in the long history of our country has achieved so many of the enduring objectives of American foreign policy in so short a time as has George Bush. He made it look easy, even destined. It was neither.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.64

Building on the legacy of Ronald Reagan, George Bush saw the chance to sweep away decadent Communism. He was the first Western leader to declare his determination to fashion "a Europe whole and free." He took the free world beyond containment, led the way in aiding democracy in Eastern Europe, and punched holes through the rusting Iron Curtain. We all remember the joy we felt when we saw the people of Berlin dancing on top of the crumbling Wall that had symbolized four decades of Communist oppression.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.64

He championed Germany's right to become again one nation and orchestrated the diplomacy to make it happen, on Western terms, in one astounding year. Foreseeing revolutionary change in the Soviet Union itself, he carefully pushed its rulers to open the way to the democratic future. When crisis came, in August 1991, George Bush, in the words of Boris Yeltsin, "was the first to understand the true meaning of the victory of the Russian people" and gave his decisive backing to the cause of democracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.64

The world had never before faced the disintegration of a nuclear superpower. Today, thanks in large part to President Bush's initiatives, nuclear weapons are found in only four countries of the former Soviet Union—not fourteen. Because of his efforts all but Russia are giving up any claim to these weapons, and Russia has agreed to destroy the most dangerous missiles ever built. The balance of terror is fading away. The ideals of liberty, both political and economic, are the dominant moral and intellectual force around the globe.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.64

George Bush made it happen.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.64

Yet now that we have won the Cold War, we must also win the peace. We must not repeat the mistake of the past by throwing away victory through complacency. A new world beckons, unlike any we have ever known, filled with uncertainties. Old passions have reemerged. New democracies struggle to decide their destiny. Nations are torn asunder. Migrants and refugees strain the social fabric of continents. Tyrants work to build nuclear, chemical, and even biological weapons to threaten us and our neighbors. Drug trafficking and terrorism, often linked, menace Americans at home and abroad.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.64

Great transitions in world affairs are rarely tidy. They challenge statesmanship, require steadiness and wisdom. History teaches that when the United States shrinks from the world, we hasten the emergence of new dangers. [p.65] Republicans remember the lesson taught by our Founders: that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.65

Meeting the Challenge. The Gulf War showed the world how much is at stake when voters choose their President. George Bush had known war first hand. So he tried the way of peace—months of negotiations and economic sanctions—then did what a President must do. He led from powerful convictions based on American values. The United States, in a preeminent position of world leadership, forged a new strategy of collective engagement which invigorated the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.65

This was not the same United States held hostage in 1980, when the Democrats controlled both the White House and the Congress. No helpless giant here. The President charted a path that wrecked Saddam Hussein's dreams of conquest and nuclear aggression while keeping America from the quagmire of indefinite military occupation of Iraq.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.65

President Bush, trusting the military commanders he had chosen, was Commander-in-Chief of one of the finest achievements in the distinguished history of our armed forces. Americans will never forget that, of the 323 Congressional Democrats, only 96 voted to support Operation Desert Storm and 227 voted to oppose it. If the Democrats had prevailed, Saddam Hussein would still be in Kuwait, armed with nuclear weapons. Everyone discovered what difference a vote for President can make.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.65

Leadership through Partnership. A new era demands a new agenda. Our post-Cold War strategy both reflects our country's ideals and guards its interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.65

Building a commonwealth of freedom differs greatly from the old concept of containment. It rests on a stable balance of power but goes beyond it to emphasize, above all, the supremacy of an idea: a common conception of how to make freedom work for all the nations moving with us into a radically changing future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.65

Republicans understand that objective cannot be pursued by the United States alone. We therefore have harnessed the free world's strength to American leadership. But such a strategy requires a President whose lead others will trust and follow. By forging consensus whenever possible, we multiply the impact of our Nation' s power and principles. But if necessary we will act alone to protect American interests. Consistent with our policy and traditions, we oppose any actions that would undermine America' s sovereignty, either in political or economic matters. Leadership through partnership allows us to project American ideals and protect American interests abroad, at less cost to our taxpayers.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.66

[p.66] That is how we will secure the victory of democracy as the best guarantee of a world without war. It is how we will open the world for American business to ensure prosperity in an open international economy. And it is how we will banish the nuclear nightmare, limit the danger from weapons of mass destruction, and safely manage a critical transition in our Nation's defenses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.66

Securing the Victory of Democracy. The spread of democracy and economic liberty is the best guarantee of peace. It can mean speaking out or applying economic pressure to encourage peaceful change; aiding democratic forces; or being ready, as a last resort, to take military action where vital American interests are at stake, as when President Bush restored the rule of law to Panama. Republican Presidents have used all these tools in a comprehensive, consistent campaign to promote democracy worldwide.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.66

New tests lie ahead. On past occasions, the tide of liberty has ebbed as dictators recaptured much of what they had lost. We want freedom's wave to roll on to reach countries like China, Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, and others. We want to keep drawing attention to serious human rights violations around the world, spurring other governments to make and fulfill the promise of liberty to their people. We want to prevent any new ideology of authoritarianism from drawing any of the world's people to a grim and vengeful vision of our future.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.66

This is the challenge we face in the next four years. It is why President Bush led the way in promoting assistance to the fledgling democracies of Eastern Europe. It is why he has persuaded the Congress to invest in the democratic future of nations reborn from Communism. To the peoples of those nations, and to the Russian people in particular, we declare: If you stay on the path to freedom, we stand ready to help.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.66

We rejoice especially with the people of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, whose nationhood we have always upheld in law and in our hearts.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.66

In Western Europe, we reaffirm the NATO alliance. While we reduce our troop commitments on the continent—a thousand soldiers are coming home every week—we must keep a powerful force deployed there. The United States must remain a European power in the broadest sense, able to influence the policies and events that affect the livelihood and security of future generations of Americans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.66

The violence in what used to be Yugoslavia is an affront to humanity. We condemn those responsible for the carnage there and call for an immediate international investigation of atrocities. We support the United Nations peace-keeping effort and urge an immediate cease-fire by all parties. The United States should continue to demand respect for international law and fundamental human [p.67] rights in this agonizing conflict.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.67

We encourage a peaceful settlement for Cyprus and respect by all parties for the wishes of the Cypriot people.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.67

We urge peace and justice for Northern Ireland. We welcome the newly begun process of constitutional dialogue that holds so much promise. We encourage investment and reconstruction to create opportunity for all.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.67

In the Middle East, prospects for peace have been transformed by the determined statesmanship of George Bush. Without the leadership of president Bush, Iraq would today threaten world peace, the peace and security of the Middle East, and the very survival of Israel with a huge conventional army and nuclear weapons. Direct peace talks, on terms Israel rightly had sought for more than four decades, would not be a reality. Soviet Jewish emigration likely would have been interrupted. The rescue of Ethiopian Jewry might not have happened. And the equation of Zionism to racism still would be a grotesque stain on the United Nations.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.67

Although much has changed for the better, the Middle East remains an area of high tensions—many unrelated to the Arab-Israeli conflict—where regional conflicts can escalate to threaten the vital interests of the United States. As Saddam Hussein's aggression against Kuwait demonstrated, heavily armed radical regimes are capable of independent aggressive action. In this environment, Israel's demonstrated strategic importance to the United States, as our most reliable and capable ally in this part of the world, is more important than ever. This strategic relationship, with its unique moral dimension, explains the understandable support Israel receives from millions of Americans who participate in our political process. The strong ties between the U.S. and Israel were demonstrated during the Gulf War when Israel chose not to retaliate against repeated missile attacks, even though they caused severe damage and loss of life. We will continue to broaden and deepen the strategic relationship with our ally Israel—the only true democracy in the Middle East—by taking additional concrete steps to further institutionalize the partnership. This will include maintaining adequate levels of security and economic assistance; continuing our meetings on military, political and economic cooperation and coordination; prepositioning military equipment; developing joint contingency plans; and increasing joint naval and air exercises.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.67

Consistent with our strategic relationship, the United States should continue to provide large-scale security assistance to Israel, maintaining Israel's qualitative military advantage over any adversary or coalition of adversaries. We also will continue to negotiate with the major arms supplying nations to reach an agreement on limiting arms sales to the Middle East and preventing the [p.68] proliferation of non-conventional weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.68

We applaud the President's leadership in fostering unprecedented direct talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The United States is prepared to use its good offices to mediate disputes at their request. We do not believe the U.S. should attempt to impose a solution on the parties.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.68

The basis for negotiations must be U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Peace must come from direct negotiations. It will be up to the negotiators to determine exactly what is required to satisfy these resolutions, but we firmly believe Israel has a right to exist in secure and recognized borders. As President Bush stated in Madrid, our objective is not simply to end the state of war; rather, it is to establish real peace, one with treaties, security, diplomatic relations, trade, investment, cultural exchange, even tourism. We want the Middle East to become a place where people lead normal lives.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.68

A meaningful peace must assure Israel's security while recognizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. We oppose the creation of an independent Palestinian state. Nor will we support the creation of any political entity that would jeopardize Israel's security. As Israelis and Palestinians negotiate interim self-government, no party will be required to commit itself to any specific final outcome of direct negotiations. Israel should not be forced to negotiate with any party. In this regard, the United States will have no dialogue with the PLO until it satisfies in full the conditions laid out by President Bush in 1990. We believe Jerusalem should remain an undivided city, with free and unimpeded access to all holy places by people of all faiths. No genuine peace would deny Jews the right to live anywhere in the special city of Jerusalem.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.68

Peace in the Middle East entails cooperation between all the parties in the region. To this end, we have worked to bring all of the states of the area together with Israel to hold multilateral negotiations on issues of common concern such as regional development, water, refugees, arms control and the environment. We support these forums as a means of encouraging Arab acceptance of Israel and solving common regional problems.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.68

We continue to back legislation mandating that if the U.N. and its agencies were to deny Israel's right to participate, the United States would withhold financial support and withdraw from those bodies until their action was rectified.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.68

Republicans believe freedom of emigration is a fundamental human right and that Jews from any nation should be free to travel to Israel. Republicans are proud we have maintained our historic and moral commitment to the resettlement in Israel of persecuted Jews. We congratulate President Bush and Secretary [p.69] Baker on the agreement with Israel for a generous package of loan guarantees that will provide new immigrants with needed humanitarian assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.69

We also should maintain our close ties with and generous aid for Egypt, which properly reaps the benefits of its courageous peace with Israel. We continue to support Egypt and other pro-Western states in the region against subversion and aggression and call for an end to the Arab boycott of Israel. We also support establishment of a strong central government in Lebanon, democratically elected and representative of its citizens.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.69

We salute all the countries in the Middle East who contributed to the success of Desert Storm and share our goal of stability in the region. With them, we hope to build upon that triumph a new future for the Middle East, founded on mutual respect and a common longing for peace. To promote this goal, we should settle for nothing less than full, unconditional, immediate, and verified Iraqi compliance with all aspects of the cease-fire laid out in U.N. resolutions.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.69

In the Western Hemisphere, as elsewhere, we must promote democratic values. We will continue to seek cooperation in the common battle against the drug lords. We will also lower barriers to trade and investment, knowing that our exports to Latin America are helping to lead our economic recovery at home. The President's Enterprise for the Americas initiative and the North American Free Trade Agreement mean, for the United States, billions in new trade, hundreds of thousands of new jobs, and a long-term solution to the economic pressures behind illegal immigration.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.69

We welcome positive changes, economic and political, in Mexico, and salute the people of Panama on their recovery of free institutions after Operation Just Cause. We commend President Bush for the decisive military action that led to the end of the corrupt Noriega regime and freedom for democratically-minded Panamanians. We will uphold free and unencumbered U.S. access to the Canal. We hail the patriots of El Salvador and Nicaragua, whose bravery and blood thwarted Communism and Castro despite the inconstancy of Congressional Democrats. Together with other members of the Organization of American States, we will work to restore democracy to Haiti.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.69

The Monroe Doctrine remains a cardinal principle of our foreign policy, and we continue to strive toward the day when the alien ideology of Communism and Fidel Castro's regime will be purged from Cuba, and Americans can welcome the Cuban people back into the family of free nations. Toward that end, we support Radio and TV Martí and the spirit of Cuba Libre.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.69

In Asia, we remain committed to the spread of political and economic liberty. We will work with Japan for common progress and maintain our military [p.70] presence in Japan and in Asia. We also will promote greater Japanese responsibility for self-defense and worldwide prosperity.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

We reaffirm our commitment to the security of Taiwan and regard any attempt to alter its status by force as a threat to the entire region. We adhere to the Taiwan Relations Act, the basis for continuing cooperation with those who have stood loyally with us for half a century.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

Our policy toward China is based on support for democratic reform. We need to maintain the relationship with China so that we can effectively encourage such reform. We will continue to work toward the day when the Chinese people will finally complete their journey to an open society, free of the deplorable restrictions on personal liberties that still exist.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

We will maintain our close relationship with the Republic of Korea, helping to deter aggression from the north. North Korea remains an outlaw state and must not be permitted to acquire nuclear weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

With the people of the Philippines, we will maintain our special ties of history and affection.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

We support the movement in Cambodia toward peace and democracy.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

We demand the fullest possible accounting for America's POWs and MIAs in Southeast Asia. The grief of their families touches all of us. We will seek complete information in all forums and from all sources. Our President has put the government of Vietnam on notice: improved relations depend upon this goal.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

In Africa, despite opposition from Congressional Democrats, we armed freedom fighters and helped force the withdrawal of Cuban troops. Now we enter the long season of building, trying to revive faith in democracy on a continent ravaged by Marxist wars, looted by local dictators, and misled by socialist ideology. Political and economic liberty are the keys.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

We will support responsible efforts by the international community to help end the anarchy in Somalia and to address the plight of the people of that country suffering from drought and starvation. We condemn those who are using armed force to impede food distribution.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.70

In South Africa, the Republican policy of constructive engagement—opposing apartheid while fostering peaceful change—has been successful. That nation's prospects have been transformed for the better, though many difficulties lie ahead. We condemn all violence against the innocent and applaud those who seek reconciliation to create a new, democratic South Africa. We encourage economic reform as crucial to both security and prosperity in the new South Africa.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.71

We recognize that foreign aid must have a reasonable relationship to our [p.71] national interests. We therefore support an ongoing review of such programs so that they can be both effectual and justified. We promote financial contribution from other democracies of the world to share the cost of the American burden for peacekeeping and foreign aid.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.71

We support efforts by private voluntary agencies to help meet the needs of countries newly liberated from communism, and of the developing world, in such areas as medical, agricultural, educational, and entrepreneurial assistance.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.71

Opening the World to American Business. The triumph of democracy is also a victory for economic freedom. All the world over, people in search of a better life are rejecting politicians' control of their future. This will mean a broader horizon for American opportunity. The whole world has become our marketplace.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.71

The election of 1992 will determine whether our country seizes this tremendous opportunity or retreats from it. Republicans trust individuals and families to make their own economic decisions; Democrat politicians do not. We reject their program of strangled trade, industrial policy, high taxes, and regulation. We reject punitive taxes on foreign businesses in this country that only invite retaliatory taxes against U.S. businesses abroad. Trade war is the road to international depression—and for keeping American workers dependent on government handouts. We do not want to replace the arms race with a subsidies race.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.71

Putting Americans first means keeping the national interest ahead of the special interests. It means opening the world to American goods within a system of free and expanding trade. Just as Ronald Reagan declared in Berlin, "Tear down this wall," so George Bush is dismantling the walls of protectionism in order to continue expanding our exports.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.71

Our strong commitment to free trade also encompasses vigorous enforcement of U.S. trade laws. We expect a fair and level playing field in our trade with other nations and will work to ensure that foreign markets are just as open to our goods as U.S. markets are to theirs. In all negotiations concerning trade, we will put the interests of America first.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.71

Throughout the world, as here at home, the Republican Party stands for growth. America's families have nothing to fear—and everything to gain—from the new era of free enterprise and prosperity that will emerge as free people compete, excel, and progress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.71

Banishing the Nuclear Nightmare. The world has moved from the brink of disaster to the threshold of historic opportunity. For almost half a century, we lived under the shadow of nuclear destruction. Today, that specter is fading. We will not stop here. We will banish the threat of nuclear annihilation from the face of the earth—not by savaging our military, as some Democrats might insist, but by building on the historic diplomatic achievements of Presidents Bush and Reagan.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.72

[p.72] This means assuring stable command and control of the former Soviet arsenal, complete acceptance and verified implementation of all treaty obligations by the successor states to the USSR, and achieving the additional 50 percent reduction in strategic forces now agreed upon. We must assist in dismantling weapons, transforming the massive Soviet war machine into an engine of peace and civilian revival. We will cooperate with our former adversaries both to curtail proliferation and to move beyond the ABM Treaty toward effective ballistic missile defenses.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.72

We will not permit the Soviet nuclear nightmare to be replaced by another one. Outlaw nations—North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya and others—lust for weapons of mass destruction. This is the nightmare of proliferation: nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons that, together with ballistic missiles, can deliver death across whole continents, including our own.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.72

We will renew and strengthen the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. We will design security policies to counter proliferation dangers. We will reinforce multilateral accords like the Missile Technology Control Regime. And most important, we will develop and deploy global defenses against ballistic missiles. Despite the opposition of the Democrat Party and congressional Democrats, we will deploy an effective strategic defense system for the American people.

America's Security

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.72

Because America won the Cold War, our homes and neighborhoods are more secure than they have been for half a century. Our children are safer. The greatest peace dividend is peace itself. For it, we thank God.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.72

Victory was never inevitable. It was won in blood and treasure, over five decades, by the American people—from the military on the front lines to the taxpayers sustaining the forces of freedom. It was also secured, and the course of mankind profoundly changed for the better, because two successive Republican Presidents, Ronald Reagan and George Bush, were dedicated to peace through strength.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.72

"Peace through strength" was more than a slogan. It was the calculated Republican plan for, first, the survival and, then, the triumph, of America. But freedom did not come cheaply, and the new world we celebrate today required great sacrifice.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.72

In 1981 we inherited from Jimmy Carter and anti-defense Democrats a crippled military: demoralized, underfunded, ill-equipped. Republicans told the truth to the American people; they heeded our call to arms. We restored our Armed Forces to their proper place in both the budget and the pride of the Nation. Our men and women in uniform today are the equals of the finest soldiers, sailors, and airmen who ever wore the uniform of our country.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.73

[p.73] Like earlier generations in 1918 and 1945, they won a great victory. Now, as in the aftermath of those earlier conflicts, comes the difficult task of reducing both the size and cost of defense without letting down America's guard. In the past, terrible mistakes were made, and we paid dearly for them when war came to Korea. We will not allow that to happen again.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.73

America Challenged. The greatest danger to America's security is here at home, among those who would leave the Nation unprepared for the new realities of the post-Cold War world. The ruthless demagogues in rogue regimes are real; and so are the nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons they seek. The danger of nuclear proliferation is real, especially with the dispersal of nuclear know-how after the collapse of the U.S.S.R. That is why the Republican Party, whose leaders like Dan Quayle insisted upon fielding a new Patriot missile in the 1980s, now calls for a new generation of defense against the Scuds of tomorrow.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.73

Rather than admit their mistakes of the past, the same liberal Democrats who sought to disarm America against the Soviet threat now compound their errors with a new campaign—half audacity, half mendacity—to leave the Nation unprotected in a still dangerous word.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.73

Republicans call for a controlled defense drawdown, not a freefall. That is why President Bush proposes to carefully reduce defense spending over the next four years by an additional $34 billion, including $18 billion in outlays, with a 25 percent reduction in personnel. He has already eliminated over 100 weapon systems. Around the world, American forces are coming home from the frontiers of the Cold War. More than 550 overseas bases are being closed or realigned. Yet U.S. forces retain the ability to meet the challenge of another Desert Storm with equal success.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.73

U.S. defense spending already has been reduced significantly. Five years ago, it was more than a quarter of the federal budget. By 1997 it will be less than a sixth. Spending on defense and intelligence, as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product, will be the lowest it has been since before World War II.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.73

Yet any defense budget, however lean, is still too much for the Democrats. They want to start by cutting defense outlays over the next four years by nearly $60 billion beyond the President's cuts, throwing as many as one million additional Americans out of work. And this may be just the beginning, as the Democrats use the defense budget as a bottomless piggybank to try to beat swords into pork barrels. This is folly. It would take us back to the "hollow military" of the Carter era. Once American defenses are allowed to decay, they cannot be rebuilt overnight. Effective arsenals, like effective leaders, require years of patient development. And our greatest asset of all, the people on whom our security depends, deserve a constant long-term investment in their quality, morale, and safety. Republicans pledge to provide it.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.74

[p.74] America Secure. Because the U.S. will rely on a smaller force of offensive nuclear weapons to deter aggression in the post-Cold War era, we will maintain the triad of land, sea, and air-based strategic forces. We will continue to test the safety, reliability, and effectiveness of our nuclear weapons.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.74

With a smaller military, modernization of conventional forces is more important than ever. Desert Storm showed the importance of "force multipliers" like smart munitions, stealth technology, and night-fighting capabilities. We will upgrade existing weapons and selectively procure those that hold the promise of dramatic forward leaps in capability. Under no circumstances will we yield our technological superiority.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.74

We must remain ready to defend American citizens and interests wherever they may be threatened. Essential to that readiness is maintenance of a strong, global navy and modernization of vital airlift and sealift capacity. We remain committed to combating terrorism in all its forms wherever it threatens U.S. citizens or interests.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.74

Republicans will preserve the Nation's access to space for defense, as well as for other purposes, and ensure that space technology does not fall into dangerous hands.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.74

Transformed by the collapse of Communism, our Strategic Defense Initiative is now designed to provide the U. S. and our allies with global defenses against limited ballistic missile attacks. SDI is the greatest investment in peace we could ever make. This system will be our shield against technoterrorism. Russia has agreed to be our partner in it, sharing early warning information and jointly moving forward to stop those who would rain death upon the innocent.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.74

We will use missile defenses to assure threatened nations that they do not need to acquire ballistic missiles of their own. We will move beyond the ABM Treaty to deploy effective defenses with the goal of someday eliminating, not merely reducing, the threat of nuclear holocaust.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.74

We support efforts to reduce armaments, both conventional and otherwise, but the most effective arms control of all over the long run is democracy. Free nations do not attack one another. That is why the promotion of democracy on every continent is an essential part of the Republican defense agenda.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.74

Managing the Peace. A new era in defense requires new approaches to management, to get more out of every dollar in a shrinking budget. That calls for dramatically different ways of doing business. For example, President Bush's reforms in defense management and acquisition already mean massive savings—$70 billion through 1997—without sacrificing combat capability.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.75

Our Armed Forces will still depend on our superb industrial base for [p.75] everything from belt buckles to submarines. We cannot lose that engineering and manufacturing capability. This is especially true of the high technology, demonstrated in Desert Storm, that made our enemies realize they had been left behind in the race for the future. We therefore pledge to maintain America's technological lead, preserve its defense industrial base, and maintain robust levels of investment in research and development.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.75

We will attack the problem of waste in the military, especially at its root in the pork barrel politics of Capitol Hill. A Republican Congress will end the costly micromanagement of defense programs and reduce the number and scope of oversight committees. We will urge the Department of Defense to encourage a broader constituency for saving and to continue genuine procurement reforms based on performance rather than unreasonable regulations imposed by the Democrat Congress. We will continue the successful effort to eliminate redundancy and streamline all facets of defense management.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.75

We applaud the President's efforts to assist all individuals and communities adversely affected by the ongoing defense builddown, with more than 30 defense adjustment programs already in place and over $7 billion committed to the effort in just the next two years.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.75

The Men and Women of Defense. Republicans created the all-volunteer Army and we hail its success. We pledge to keep faith with the men and women volunteers and with their families, for they are the backbone of the Nation's defense. We oppose Democrat efforts to bring back the draft, whether directly or through the subterfuge of compulsory domestic service.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.75

The Armed Forces are a color-blind meritocracy, a model for the rest of our society. Its enlistees should receive preference in federal education and retraining programs. We applaud the advancement of women in the military and single out for special recognition the outstanding contribution of women in Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm. However, we oppose liberal Democrat attempts to place women in combat positions just to make an ideological point. Unlike the Democrat Party and its candidate, we support the continued exclusion of homosexuals from the military as a matter of good order and discipline.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.75

The Department of Defense will not be an exception to our assertion of family values. Republicans will not tolerate sexual harassment or misconduct toward any individual in the ranks. We demand both its prevention and its punishment. To drive home that point, we urge a halt to the sale, in military facilities, of sexually explicit materials. We call for greater consideration of the needs of families when parents are called to duty.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.75

We must ensure that all of the various benefits, including medical, that were promised to the men and women who chose to make the military and the defense of their Nation a career are fulfilled even upon retirement.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.76

[p.76] In the Republican tradition of support for America's veterans, we proposed and created a Department of Veterans Affairs so their concerns would be represented at the Cabinet table. We affirm our support for veterans preference in federal employment and for sufficient funding to maintain the integrity of the veterans hospital and medical care system. We strongly endorse programs to meet the needs of unemployed veterans.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.76

Intelligence. Desert Storm reminded us that our intelligence community is a national asset of critical importance to our security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.76

Assuring the availability of timely and reliable information on regional threats and unrest, drug trafficking, terrorism, technology transfer, proliferation, and a host of other issues—this is one of our highest national priorities in the post-Cold War world. U.S. policymakers also must have the best possible understanding of international trade, investment, industrial, financial, and other developments that affect our economic security.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.76

We must and will maintain the full range of our traditional intelligence capabilities, including covert action, to ensure our security in a dangerous and unpredictable world. We reject the Democrat candidate's proposal to cripple U.S. intelligence and decry the deep spending cuts to the intelligence budget sponsored by Democrats in Congress.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.76

Proven Leadership. George Bush has been the most important architect of Western aspirations and designs for the challenging world we are now entering. His record is dear. President Bush has shown he understands how to lead in this new era, where the preeminent position of the United States offers new opportunities to build an international consensus on key issues. President Bush, with experienced Republican leadership, has proven he knows how to place our Nation at the center of effective coalitions where our power is multiplied.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.76

The test of international leadership is on the field, not in a playbook. The Oval Office is no place for on-the-job training—not in carrying out the Presidential duty to protect and defend our Nation, not in managing the arsenal of the supreme nuclear power. There are those who talk and those who perform. George Bush has clearly performed for America, making the right calls in a series of tough decisions that helped transform the world.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.76

Now that we have won the Cold War, we must secure the peace that follows. History has shown that the years following conflict are often critical—where the choices made can either lay the foundation for lasting peace or sow the seeds of future war. In this period of high hopes and great challenges ahead, the Nation needs the tested and experienced leadership of President Bush and the Republican Party.

National Party Platforms, Republican Platform, 1992, p.76

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National Party Platforms, Campaign of 1996

Democratic Platform of 1996

As adopted by the

Democratic National Convention

on August 27, 1996

Today's Democratic Party:

Meeting America's Challenges,

Protecting America's Values

Introduction

1996 Democratic Party Platform

In 1996, America will choose the President who will lead us from the millennium which saw the birth of our nation, and into a future that has all the potential to be even greater than our magnificent past. Today's Democratic Party is ready for that future. Our vision is simple. We want an America that gives all Americans the chance to live out their dreams and achieve their God-given potential. We want an America that is still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom. And we want an America that is coming together around our enduring values, instead of drifting apart.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party is determined to renew America's most basic bargain: Opportunity to every American, and responsibility from every American. And today's Democratic Party is determined to reawaken the great sense of American community.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Opportunity. Responsibility. Community. These are the values that made America strong. These are the values of the Democratic Party. These are the values that must guide us into the future.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today, America is moving forward with the strong Presidential leadership it deserves. The economy is stronger, the deficit is lower, and government is smaller. Education is better, our environment is cleaner, families are healthier, and our streets are safer. There is more opportunity in America, more responsibility in our homes, and more peace in the world.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party stands proudly on the record of the last four years. We are living in an age of enormous possibility, and we are working to make sure that all Americans can make the most of it. America is moving in the right direction.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Now we must move forward, and we know the course we must follow. We need a smaller, more effective, more efficient, less bureaucratic government that reflects our time-honored values. The American people do not want big government solutions and they do not want empty promises. They want a government that is for them, not against them; that doesn't interfere with their lives but enhances their quality of life. They want a course that is reasonable, help that is realistic, and solutions that can be delivered -- a moderate, achievable, common-sense agenda that will improve people's daily lives and not increase the size of government.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

That is what today's Democratic Party offers: the end of the era of big government and a final rejection of the misguided call to leave our citizens to fend for themselves -- and bold leadership into the future: To meet America's challenges, protect America's values, and fulfill American dreams.

Opportunity

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

For 220 years, America has been defined by a single ideal: Opportunity for all who take the responsibility to seize it. The mission of the Democratic Party in 1996 is to ensure that the great American Dream of opportunity for all is within reach for all, and that it travels with us, whole and intact, as we walk together into tomorrow.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Economic growth. Since Bill Clinton became President, America has seen an explosion of job growth, economic renewal, and opportunity. The American people have created more than 10 million new jobs. After trailing Japan for 14 years, America once again became the world's leading manufacturer of automobiles in 1994, and remained number one last year. The combined rate of inflation, unemployment, and mortgage interest rates is the lowest in three decades. Now, 4.4 million more Americans own their own home, and Americans have started a record number of new small businesses in each of the last three years.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the 12 years before President Clinton took office, Republicans in the White House allowed the deficit to spiral out of control, and ignored the economic interests of ordinary Americans. Bill Clinton was determined to turn things around and move America in a new direction. With his leadership, we put in place a comprehensive strategy for economic growth. Today's Democratic Party knows that the private sector is the engine of economic growth, and we fought to put America's economic house in order so private business could prosper. We worked to tap the full potential of a new global economy through open and fair trade. We fought to invest in the American people so they would have the capacity to meet the demands of the new economy. And we have invested in the roads, bridges, and highways that are the lifelines of American commerce.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Democrats in Congress supported this course and America is better off because they did. Republicans opposed our economic plan; America's economic growth over the last four years makes it clear that they were wrong. Our strategy is in place, and it is working. We are proud of our economic record over the last four years -- and we know that our record is a record to build on, not to rest on. We have to move forward, to make sure that every American willing to work hard has the opportunity to build a good life and share in the benefits of economic success.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the last four years we worked to get the American economy going: cutting the deficit, expanding trade, and investing in our people. In the next four years we have to make the new economy work for all Americans: balancing the budget, creating more jobs, making sure all families can count on good health care and a secure retirement, and, most of all, expanding educational opportunities so all Americans can learn the skills they need to build the best possible future.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Balancing the budget. For 12 years, Republicans hid behind rosy scenarios while quadrupling the national debt. We knew this had to stop. In 1992, we promised to cut the deficit in half over four years. We did. Our 1993 economic plan cut spending by over a quarter trillion dollars in five years. The only deficit left today is interest payments on the debt run up over the 12 Republican years before fiscal responsibility returned to the White House. President Clinton is the first President to cut the deficit four years in a row since before the Civil War.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Now the Democratic Party is determined to finish the job and balance the budget. President Clinton has put forward a plan to balance the budget by 2002 while living up to our commitments to our elderly and our children and maintaining strong economic growth. The Republican Congress= own economists admit the President's plan will balance the budget by 2002. It cuts hundreds of wasteful and outdated programs, but it preserves Medicare and Medicaid, it protects education and the environment, and it defends working families. The President's plan reflects America's values. The Republican plan does not.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party believes we have a duty to care for our parents, so they can live their lives in dignity. That duty includes securing Medicare and Medicaid, finding savings without reducing quality or benefits, and protecting Social Security for future generations. The Republican agenda rests on massive Medicare cuts, three times bigger than the largest Medicare cuts in history, including new premium increases on seniors, and drastic changes to Medicaid that will jeopardize the health care of children and seniors.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party believes that all children should have the opportunity and the education to make the most of their own lives. We believe that schools should be run by teachers and principals, not by Washington. The Republican agenda slashes college scholarships and college loans, cuts Head Start, and cuts funds to reduce class size and improve teacher standards.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party believes we have a duty to preserve God's earth and American quality of life for future generations. We are committed to reform, so we protect our environment but we do not trap business in a tangle of red tape. The Republican budget guts environmental protection.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party believes that working people should not be taxed into poverty. The Republican budget raises taxes on millions of working families.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party believes that America must put our families first. The Republican budget tried to take Big Bird away from 5-year-olds, school lunches away from 10-year-olds, summer jobs away from 15-year-olds, and college loans away from 20-year-olds.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party believes in a government that works better and costs less. We know that government workers are good people trapped in bad systems, and we are committed to reinventing government to reform those systems. We believe that public servants have suffered too long from unfair politically based criticism destroying their morale and hampering their ability to perform duties which the private sector will not undertake. The Republican budget cuts government where it is needed to protect our values, and they were even willing to shut down the government altogether to force their budget on the American people.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Tax relief for working families and small businesses. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit, cutting taxes to help 40 million Americans in 15 million working families -- without a single Republican vote. The Dole-Gingrich budget was designed to give a massive tax break to the wealthiest Americans, and pay for it by raising taxes on ordinary Americans and slashing health care for the elderly. America cannot afford to return to the era of something-for-nothing tax cuts and smoke-and-mirrors accounting that produced a decade of exploding deficits. Today's Democratic Party is committed to targeted tax cuts that help working Americans invest in their future, and we insist that any tax cuts are completely paid for, because we are determined to balance the budget.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We want to strengthen middle-class families by providing a $500 tax cut for children. We want to cut taxes to help families pay for education after high school and to guarantee the first two years of college. We want people to be able to use their IRA=s to buy a first home, deal with a medical emergency, or provide for education. We want to cut taxes for small businesses that invest in the future and set up pensions for their workers. And we want to cut taxes for people who are self-employed and self-insured so their health care is more affordable.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Technology. We know investments in technology drive economic growth, generate new knowledge, create new high-wage jobs, build new industries, and improve our quality of life. In the face of Republican efforts to undermine America's dedication to innovation, President Clinton and the Democratic Party have fought to maintain vital investments in science and technology. We remember that government investment in technology is responsible for the computer, for jet aircraft, and for the Internet -- no investments have ever paid off better, in jobs, in opportunity, or in growth.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We support government policies that encourage private sector investment and innovation to create a pro-growth economic climate, like a permanent research and development tax credit. We want technology to create jobs and improve the quality of life for American workers. President Clinton and Vice President Gore fought for, and the President signed, a sweeping telecommunications reform bill that will unleash the creative power of the information industry to create millions of high-wage American jobs. We recognize that our system of research colleges and universities is the bedrock of American leadership in science and technology. When we invest in our research institutions we are literally investing in our future by helping to train the next brilliant generation of American scientists and engineers. As we enter the 21st century, we will continue to invest in world-class research and development, advanced technologies in transportation, information, and other industries, and agricultural and environmental research in partnership with American business. We are working to reinvent the national laboratories and revitalize America's space program, including support for the space station.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Creating jobs through trade. We believe that if we want the American economy to continue strong growth, we must continue to expand trade, and not retreat from the world. America's markets are open to the world, so America has a right to demand that the world's markets are open to our products. American products are the best in the world. When American workers and American companies have the chance to compete around the world, we do not take second place.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the last four years, the Clinton-Gore Administration has signed over 200 trade agreements, including NAFTA and GATT, to open markets around the world to American products, and create more jobs for the people who make them here at home. We have put in place the most sweeping agreements to lower foreign trade barriers of any administration in modern American history, including over 20 such agreements with Japan alone -- and American exports to Japan in the sectors covered by those agreements have increased by 85 percent. All over the world, barriers to American products have come down, exports are at an all time high -- and we have created over one million high-paying export-related jobs.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the next four years, we must continue to work to lower foreign trade barriers; insist that foreign companies play by fair rules at home and abroad; strengthen rules that protect the global economy from fraud and dangerous instability; advance American commercial interests abroad; and ensure that the new global economy is directly beneficial to American working families. As we work to open new markets, we must negotiate to guarantee that all trade agreements include standards to protect children, workers, public safety, and the environment. We must ensure adequate trade adjustment assistance and education and training programs to help working families compete and win in the global economy.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Education. Today's Democratic Party knows that education is the key to opportunity. In the new global economy, it is more important than ever before. Today, education is the fault line that separates those who will prosper from those who cannot. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress have spared no effort over the last four years to improve the quality of American education and expand the opportunity for all Americans to get the education they need to succeed.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Every step of the way, we have been opposed by Republicans intent on cutting education. Now, they want to cut education from Head Start through college scholarships. They want to undermine our public schools and make borrowing for college more difficult for millions of students.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party will stand firmly against the Republican assault on education. Cutting education as we move into the 21st century would be like cutting defense spending at the height of the Cold War. We must do more to expand educational opportunity -- not less.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Strengthening public schools. We increased Head Start funding to expand early education for more children who need it. We passed Goals 2000 to help schools set high standards, and find the resources they need to succeed: the best books, the brightest teachers, the most up-to-date technology. We restructured federal education programs and eliminated federal regulations to give local schools, teachers, and principals the flexibility and help they need to meet those standards. We've worked to make sure our children have the best teachers by expanding teacher education. We applaud the work of state and local Democrats to develop innovative solutions to make sure our children get the best possible education.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the next four years, we must do even more to make sure America has the best public schools on earth. If we want to be the best, we should expect the best: We must hold students, teachers, and schools to the highest standards. Every child should be able to read by the end of the third grade. Students should be required to demonstrate competency and achievement for promotion or graduation. Teachers in this country are among the most talented professionals we have. They should be required to meet high standards for professional performance and be rewarded for the good jobs they do. For the few who don't measure up to those high standards, there should be a fair process to get them out of the classroom and the profession. And we should get rid of the barriers that discourage talented young people from becoming teachers in the first place. We should not bash teachers. We should applaud them, and find ways to keep the best teachers in the classroom. Schools should be held accountable for results. We should redesign or overhaul schools that fail. We should expand public school choice, but we should not take American tax dollars from public schools and give them to private schools. We should promote public charter schools that are held to the highest standards of accountability and access. And we should continue to ensure that America provides quality education to children with disabilities, because high-quality public education is the key to opportunity for all children.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Teaching values in schools. Today's Democratic Party knows our children's education is not complete unless they learn good values. We applaud the efforts of the Clinton-Gore Administration to promote character education in our schools. Teaching good values, strong character, and the responsibilities of citizenship must be an essential part of American education.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Safe schools and healthy students. If young people do not have the freedom to learn in safety, they do not have the freedom to learn at all. Over the last four years, we have worked hard to keep schools safe and drug-free, and students healthy. When Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich led Republican efforts to cut school safety funding, President Clinton and Democrats in Congress wouldn't let them get away with it. When Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich led Republican efforts to destroy the nation's school lunch program, President Clinton and Democrats in Congress stopped them cold. Now, we must work together at every level of government to launch a major rebuilding effort to make sure our children go to school in high-quality facilities where they can learn. We must help schools set the highest standards for good behavior and discipline in our schools. Children cannot learn -- and teachers cannot teach -- without order in the classroom.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Technology in the classroom. We must bring the 21st century into every classroom in America. There is a vast realm of knowledge waiting for our children to tap into. Computers are powerful tools to teach students to read better, write better, and understand math. President Clinton and Vice President Gore understand that technological literacy is essential to success in the new economy. The only way to achieve that for every student is to give them all access to a computer, good software, trained teachers, and the Internet -- and President Clinton and Vice President Gore have launched a partnership with high-tech companies, schools, state, and local governments to wire every classroom and library to the Information Superhighway by the year 2000.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Preparing students for jobs. We passed School-to-Work so young people can learn the skills they need to get and keep high wage jobs. The Republican Congress is trying to destroy it, and we pledge to stop them. We want to keep working with the private sector, to encourage community partnerships that build the bridge between a good education and a good job.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Higher education for all Americans. Finally, we must make sure that every American has the opportunity to go to college. Higher education is the key to a successful future in the 21st century. The typical worker with a college education earns 73 percent more than one without. America has the best higher education in the world. We do not need to change it -- we need to make it available for all Americans. Our goal must be nothing less than to make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal as the first 12.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Over the last four years, the Democratic Party under President Clinton has put an unprecedented college opportunity strategy in place: We reformed the student loan program, to make college more affordable for 5.5 million students -- and we saved money for the taxpayers by eliminating the middleman, cutting red tape, and cutting the cost of student loan defaults in half. We have expanded Pell Grant college scholarships for deserving students. And the President's national service program has already helped 45,000 Americans earn money for college by helping their communities.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Tax cuts for college. Over the next four years, we want to go even further: We should expand work-study so one million students a year can work their way through college by the year 2000.We should allow people to use money from their IRA to help pay for college. We should give a $1000 honor scholarship for the top 5 percent of graduates in every high school. And we must make 14 years of education the standard for every American. The Democratic Party wants to create a $10,000 tax deduction for families to help pay for education after high school. And we want to create a $1,500 tax cut for Americans, modeled after Georgia's successful HOPE scholarships, to guarantee the first year of tuition at a typical community college, and the second year if individuals earn it by maintaining a B average. No tax cut will do more to raise American incomes than a tax cut to pay for college.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Economic security for American families in the 21st century. In the old economy, most workers could count on one job for life. They knew that hard work was rewarded with raises and steady jobs; they were confident the company would take care of them, their families, their health, and their retirement. Success was tied to the success of their employer: sacrifice when times were tough and a share in the wealth when times were good. In the new economy, the rules have changed. We need to find new ways to help working families find economic security: better training to help workers learn skills to get new and better jobs; the security of good health care and safe pensions so they can take care of themselves and their families. This is a challenge that American workers and managers are ready to face, and the Democratic Party will continue to tackle.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Rewarding work. We honor work in America. Americans work hard, and they have a right to expect that work will pay. We want to continue reversing the trend of the eighties, so all Americans benefit from continued economic growth and rising wages. The President and Democrats in Congress raised the minimum wage to $5.15 an hour, after defeating fierce Republican opposition led by Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich. We believe the minimum wage should be a wage you can live on. President Clinton and Congressional Democrats fought for and won the largest expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit in history, a tax cut for 15 million working families, because no parent who takes the responsibility to work full time should have to raise children in poverty. We want to strengthen families, and we challenge the private sector to help their workers earn enough to support a family.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Health care. The Democratic Party is committed to ensuring that Americans have access to affordable, high-quality health care. Because of President Clinton=s determined leadership and the tireless efforts of Democrats in Congress, we passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum health reform bill to stop insurance companies from denying coverage to families where one member has a preexisting condition, and to make sure that people can take their health insurance with them when they change jobs. No more Americans should have to turn down a better job because they would lose their health care if they took it. We have expanded the Women, Infants, and Children program that provides prenatal and early childhood nutrition, so that all eligible women, infants, and children will have access to the health and nutrition services they need. We established a comprehensive effort to immunize children, after defeating Republican opposition led by Senator Dole. Last year, the percentage of two-year-olds in America who were fully immunized reached an historic high.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Clinton-Gore Administration has dramatically shortened the approval process for new lifesaving drugs at the Food and Drug Administration and will continue to work to streamline the process further; and we have made AIDS research, prevention, and treatment a top priority, increasing funding by almost 40 percent, including more than doubling the Ryan White Care Act to help care for people with AIDS. We are committed to finding a cure for AIDS, combating HIV-related discrimination, supporting HOPWA funding to help with housing for people living with AIDS, and working to ensure that all Americans living with AIDS have access to new and potentially lifesaving drugs; serious biomedical research which promises breakthroughs for so many diseases; and doing more to help all Americans live longer, healthier lives. We recognize the enormous contribution of our teaching hospitals and medical schools -- they lay the foundation for the best medical care in the world, and we will continue to promote policies that strengthen them.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We have paid special attention to women's health issues, including a 65 percent increase for breast cancer research. We are committed to finding a cure for breast cancer and we pledge to continue supporting funds for innovative research, and access for all women to high quality treatment and care.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Democratic Party is proud that we held the line against the Republicans= mean-spirited Medicare and Medicaid cuts that would risk the health care of millions of Americans, from infants to seniors. Senator Dole voted against Medicare when it was first created, boasts about it today, and now Republican leaders want Medicare to Awither on the vine." The Dole-Gingrich Medicare plan would put millions of our parents into a second class health care system for the first time in their lives, and we will not stand for it. The Dole-Gingrich Medicaid plan would end the guarantee to meaningful health benefits for millions of children, older Americans, and people with disabilities. President Clinton forced Republicans to put aside their attempt to block grant Medicaid, and insisted that welfare reform protects women and children by maintaining the Medicaid guarantee. The Democratic Party wants America to preserve and strengthen Medicare and Medicaid, so we honor our values and protect the health of our children, parents, and grandparents, ensuring they can get the health care they need, from doctors= visits to long-term care.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In 1993 -- without a single Republican vote -- President Clinton and Democrats in Congress extended the Medicare Trust Fund into the 21st century. We have given 12 states more flexibility to run their Medicaid programs more efficiently and expand coverage, while maintaining the guarantee of meaningful benefits. When these plans are implemented, two million more Americans will have health insurance because of them. We have given Medicare beneficiaries more health plan choices and increased benefits. We have cracked down on health care waste, fraud, and abuse, saving more than $15 billion in three years. Now we must finish the job -- we can balance the budget while we preserve and strengthen Medicare and Medicaid, protecting millions of middle class families from being overwhelmed by health care costs for their parents, children, or family members with disabilities.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the next four years, we must take further steps to ensure that Americans have access to quality, affordable health care. We should start by making sure that people get help paying premiums so they do not lose health care while they're looking for a new job. We support expanded coverage of home care, hospice, adult day-care, and community-based services, so the elderly and people with disabilities of all ages can live in their own communities and as independently as possible. We are disappointed Congress walked away from bipartisan efforts to provide mental health parity; we believe health insurance coverage for mental health care is vitally important and we support parity for mental health care.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Retirement. Over the last four years, President Clinton took strong steps to protect the pensions of more than 40 million workers and retirees by fixing the federal pension insurance system and demanding that companies fund their retirement plans fully. We established a nationwide retirement protection program to protect workers= 401K retirement savings from fraud and abuse. We recognize the unique concerns of women when it comes to preparing for retirement and have worked to protect women's pension rights.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Over the next four years, we want to take further steps to make sure that Americans who have worked hard for their whole lives can enjoy retirement in the dignity and security they have earned. We want to make sure people can carry their pensions with them when they change jobs, protect pensions even further, and expand the number of workers with pension coverage. We will continue to support the Railroad Retirement System. Democrats created Social Security, we oppose efforts to dismantle it, and we will fight to save it. We must ensure that it is on firm financial footing well into the next century. We call on Republicans to put politics aside and join us in a serious bipartisan effort to make sure that Social Security will continue to provide true security for future generations, as it has done for millions of older Americans for decades.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Training. We must do more to make sure all Americans have the skills they need to compete. We want a G.I. Bill for Workers to transform the confusing tangle of federal training programs into a simple job-training skill grant that will go directly to unemployed workers so they will be able to get the training that is right for them. We want to strengthen training opportunities for people with disabilities, so they can learn the skills they need to live independent, productive lives.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Standing up for working Americans. We nearly doubled funding for the dislocated worker program and launched special projects to help workers displaced by base closures, natural disasters, and mass layoffs. We are reforming OSHA so it can do a better job to protect worker safety with less red tape, and we continue to oppose Republican efforts to gut it. We beat back efforts to undermine workers= rights to form and join unions and to dismantle the enforcement powers of the National Labor Relations Board. The Democratic Party is committed to prompt, fair, impartial, protection of workers and the traveling and shipping public by improving the speed, efficiency, authority, and efficacy of the FAA and the FRA. We vigorously oppose Republican efforts to pass Right-to-Work legislation, and we are proud the President vetoed efforts to undermine collective bargaining through the TEAM Act. We are working to eradicate sweatshops in the U.S. apparel industry by stepping up enforcement and public education. We oppose the hiring of permanent workers to replace lawful economic strikers; we support the President's action to stop the government from procuring goods and services from companies that do so; and we support legislation to prohibit the permanent replacement of lawfully striking workers. We believe in equal pay for equal work and pay equity.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Promoting economic growth and opportunity for all Americans. We know that it is good for America when small, minority, and women-owned businesses have the opportunity to grow and prosper. These business-owners create new jobs, expand opportunities, and serve as powerful role models for young people. Over the last four years, the President has transformed the Small Business Administration to eliminate burdensome paperwork and deliver real assistance to entrepreneurs as they work to start or expand their businesses. At the same time, since Bill Clinton became President, we have more than doubled the number of loans to small businesses, nearly tripled loans to minority businesses, and quadrupled loans to women-owned businesses. The President ordered all federal agencies to comply with laws designed to ensure that small, minority, and women-owned businesses can compete for their fair share of procurement dollars. We are committed to continued efforts to expand opportunity for small, minority, and women business owners.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Clean, affordable energy. Clean, abundant, and reliable energy is essential to a strong American economy. We support investment in research and development to spur domestic energy production and enhance efficiency. New technologies -- natural gas, energy efficiency, renewable energy -- developed in partnership with American industries and scientists are increasing productivity and creating jobs. We believe America should reduce its dependence on foreign energy sources.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Corporate citizenship. Employers have a responsibility to do their part as well. President Clinton and the Democratic Party stand on the side of working families. We believe that values like loyalty, fairness, and responsibility are not inconsistent with the bottom line. The Democratic Party insists that corporate leaders invest in the long-term, by providing workers with living wages and benefits, education and training, a safe, healthy place to work, and opportunities for greater involvement in company decision making and ownership. Employers must make sure workers share in the benefits of the good years, as well as the burdens of the bad ones. Employers must offer employees the opportunity to share in the profits they help create. Employers must respect the commitment of workers to their families, and must work to provide good pensions and health care. When CEOs put their workers and long-term success ahead of short-term gain, their workers will do better and so will they.

Responsibility

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party knows that the era of big government is over. Big bureaucracies and Washington solutions are not the real answers to today's challenges. We need a smaller government . . . and we must have a larger national spirit. Government's job should be to give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. Americans must take the responsibility to use them, to build good lives for themselves and their families. Personal responsibility is the most powerful force we have to meet our challenges and shape the future we want for ourselves, for our children, and for America.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Fighting crime. Today's Democratic Party believes the first responsibility of government is law and order. Four years ago, crime in America seemed intractable. The violent crime rate and the murder rate had climbed for seven straight years. Drugs seemed to flow freely across our borders and into our neighborhoods. Convicted felons could walk into any gun shop and buy a handgun. Military-style assault weapons were sold freely. Our people didn't feel safe in their homes, walking their streets, or even sending their children to school. Under the thumb of special interests like the gun lobby, Republicans talked tough about crime but did nothing to fight it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Bill Clinton promised to turn things around, and that is exactly what he did. After a long hard fight, President Clinton beat back fierce Republican opposition, led by Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, to answer the call of America's police officers and pass the toughest Crime Bill in history. The Democratic Party under President Clinton is putting more police on the streets and tougher penalties on the books; we are taking guns off the streets and working to steer young people away from crime and gangs and drugs in the first place. And it is making a difference. In city after city and town after town, crime rates are finally coming down.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Community policing. Nothing is more effective in the fight against crime than police officers on the beat, engaged in community policing. The Crime Bill is putting 100,000 new police officers on the street. We deplore cynical Republican attempts to undermine our promise to America to put 100,000 new police officers on the street. We pledge to stand up for our communities and stand with our police officers by opposing any attempt to repeal or weaken this effort. But we know that community policing only works when the community works with the police. We echo the President's challenge to Americans: If 50 citizens joined each of America's 20,000 neighborhood watch groups, we would have a citizen force of one million strong to give our police forces the backup they need.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Protecting our children, our neighborhoods, and our police from criminals with guns. Bob Dole, Newt Gingrich, and George Bush were able to hold the Brady Bill hostage for the gun lobby until Bill Clinton became President. With his leadership, we made the Brady Bill the law of the land. And because we did, more than 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers have been stopped from buying guns. President Clinton led the fight to ban 19 deadly assault weapons, designed for one purpose only -- to kill human beings. We oppose efforts to restrict weapons used for legitimate sporting purposes, and we are proud that not one hunter or sportsman was forced to change guns because of the assault weapons ban. But we know that the military-style guns we banned have no place on America's streets, and we are proud of the courageous Democrats who defied the gun lobby and sacrificed their seats in Congress to make America safer.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party stands with America's police officers. We are proud to tell them that as long as Bill Clinton and Al Gore are in the White House, any attempt to repeal the Brady Bill or assault weapons ban will be met with a veto. We must do everything we can to stand behind our police officers, and the first thing we should do is pass a ban on cop-killer bullets. Any bullet that can rip through a bulletproof vest should be against the law; that is the least we can do to protect the brave police officers who risk their lives to protect us.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Tough punishment. We believe that people who break the law should be punished, and people who commit violent crimes should be punished severely. President Clinton made three-strikes-you're-out the law of the land, to ensure that the most dangerous criminals go to jail for life, with no chance of parole. We established the death penalty for nearly 60 violent crimes, including murder of a law enforcement officer, and we signed a law to limit appeals. The Democratic Party is a party of inclusion, and we respect the conscience of all Americans on this issue.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We provided almost $8 billion in new funding to help states build new prison cells so violent offenders serve their full sentences. We call on the states to meet the President's challenge and guarantee that serious violent criminals serve at least 85 percent of their sentence. The American people deserve a criminal justice system in which criminals are caught, the guilty are convicted, and the convicted serve their time.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Fighting youth violence and preventing youth crime. Nothing we do to fight crime is more important than fighting the crime and violence that threatens our children. We have to protect them from criminals who prey on them -- and we have to teach them good values and give them something to say yes to, so they stay away from crime and trouble in the first place.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Democratic Party understands what the police have been saying for years: The best way to fight crime is to prevent it. That is why we fought for drug-education and gang-prevention programs in our schools. We support well thought out, well organized, highly supervised youth programs to provide young people with a safe and healthy alternative to hanging out on the streets. We made it a federal crime for any person under the age of 18 to possess a handgun except when supervised by an adult. Democrats fought to pass, and President Clinton ordered states to impose, zero tolerance for guns in school, requiring schools to expel for one year any student who brings a gun to school.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

At the same time, when young people cross the line, they must be punished. When young people commit serious violent crimes, they should be prosecuted like adults. We established boot camps for young non-violent offenders. If Senator Dole and the Republicans are serious about fighting juvenile crime, they should listen to America's police officers and support the steps Democrats have taken, because they are making a difference, and then they should join us as we work to do more.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We want parents to bring order to their children's lives and teach them right from wrong, and we want to make it easier for them to take that responsibility. We support schools that adopt school uniform policies, to promote discipline and respect. We support community-based curfews to keep kids off the street after a certain time, so they're safe from harm and away from trouble. We urge schools and communities to enforce truancy laws: Young people belong in school, not on the street.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We also know that we must do everything we can to help families protect their children, especially from dangerous criminals who have made a dark habit of preying on young people. Study after study shows that sex offenders are likely to repeat their crimes again and again. Under President Clinton, we have taken strong steps to help keep children safe. We required every state in the country to compile a registry of sex offenders. The President signed Megan's Law to require that states tell a community whenever a dangerous sexual predator enters its midst. We support the President's directive to the Attorney General, calling on her to work with the states and Congress to develop a national sex offender registry. This will ensure that police officers in every state can get the information they need from any state to track sex offenders down and bring them to justice when they commit new crimes.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Battling illegal drugs. We must keep drugs off our streets and out of our schools. President Clinton and the Democratic Party have waged an aggressive war on drugs. The Crime Bill established the death penalty for drug kingpins. The President signed a directive requiring drug testing of anyone arrested for a federal crime, and he challenged states to do the same for state offenders. We established innovative drug courts which force drug users to get treatment or go to jail. We stood firm against Republican efforts to gut the Safe and Drug Free Schools effort that supports successful drug-education programs like D.A.R.E. The Clinton Administration went to the Supreme Court to support the right of schools to test athletes for drugs. The President launched Operation Safe Home to protect the law-abiding residents of public housing from violent criminals and drug dealers who use their homes as a base for illegal activities. We support the President's decision to tell those who commit crimes and peddle drugs in public housing: You will get no second chance to threaten your neighbors; it is one strike and you're out. We are making progress. Overall drug use in America is dropping; the number of Americans who use cocaine has dropped 30 percent since 1992. Unfortunately casual drug use by young people continues to climb. We must redouble our efforts against drug abuse everywhere, especially among our children.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Earlier this year, the President appointed General Barry McCaffrey to lead the nation's war on drugs. General McCaffrey is implementing an aggressive four part strategy to reach young children and prevent drug use in the first place; to catch and punish drug users and dealers; to provide treatment to those who need help; and to cut drugs off at the source before they cross the border and pollute our neighborhoods. But every adult in America must take responsibility to set a good example, and to teach children that drugs are wrong, they are illegal, and they are deadly.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Ending domestic violence. When it strikes, nothing is a more dangerous threat to the safety of our families than domestic violence, because it is a threat from within. Unfortunately, violence against women is no stranger to America, but a dangerous intruder we must work together to drive from our homes. We know that domestic violence is not a "family problem" or a "women's problem." It is America's problem, and we must all fight it. The Violence Against Women Act in the 1994 Crime Bill helps police officers, prosecutors, and judges to understand domestic violence, recognize it when they see it, and know how to deal with it. In February, the President launched a 24 hour, seven-day, toll-free hotline so women in trouble can find out how to get emergency help, find shelter, and report abuse to the authorities. The number is 1 800 799-SAFE. Everyone who knows it should pass it on to anyone who might need it. Every American must take the responsibility to stop this terrible scourge. As we fight it, we must remember that the victims are not to blame. This is a crime to be punished, not a secret to be concealed.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We must do everything we can to make sure that the victims of violent crime are treated with the respect and the dignity they deserve. We support the President's call for a constitutional amendment to protect the rights of victims. We believe that when a plea bargain is entered in public, a criminal is sentenced, or a defendant is let out on bail, the victims ought to know about it, and have a say. A constitutional amendment is the only way to protect those rights in every courtroom in America.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Immigration. Democrats remember that we are a nation of immigrants. We recognize the extraordinary contribution of immigrants to America throughout our history. We welcome legal immigrants to America. We support a legal immigration policy that is pro-family, pro-work, pro-responsibility, and pro-citizenship, and we deplore those who blame immigrants for economic and social problems.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We know that citizenship is the cornerstone of full participation in American life. We are proud that the President launched Citizenship USA to help eligible immigrants become United States citizens. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is streamlining procedures, cutting red tape, and using new technology to make it easier for legal immigrants to accept the responsibilities of citizenship and truly call America their home.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party also believes we must remain a nation of laws. We cannot tolerate illegal immigration and we must stop it. For years before Bill Clinton became President, Washington talked tough but failed to act. In 1992, our borders might as well not have existed. The border was under-patrolled, and what patrols there were, were under-equipped. Drugs flowed freely. Illegal immigration was rampant. Criminal immigrants, deported after committing crimes in America, returned the very next day to commit crimes again.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

President Clinton is making our border a place where the law is respected and drugs and illegal immigrants are turned away. We have increased the Border Patrol by over 40 percent; in El Paso, our Border Patrol agents are so close together they can see each other. Last year alone, the Clinton Administration removed thousands of illegal workers from jobs across the country. Just since January of 1995, we have arrested more than 1,700 criminal aliens and prosecuted them on federal felony charges because they returned to America after having been deported.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

However, as we work to stop illegal immigration, we call on all Americans to avoid the temptation to use this issue to divide people from each other. We deplore those who use the need to stop illegal immigration as a pretext for discrimination. And we applaud the wisdom of Republicans like Mayor Giuliani and Senator Domenici who oppose the mean-spirited and short-sighted effort of Republicans in Congress to bar the children of illegal immigrants from schools -- it is wrong, and forcing children onto the streets is an invitation for them to join gangs and turn to crime. Democrats want to protect American jobs by increasing criminal and civil sanctions against employers who hire illegal workers, but Republicans continue to favor inflammatory rhetoric over real action. We will continue to enforce labor standards to protect workers in vulnerable industries. We continue to firmly oppose welfare benefits for illegal immigrants. We believe family members who sponsor immigrants into this country should take financial responsibility for them, and be held legally responsible for supporting them.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Welfare reform. Today's Democratic Party knows there is no greater gap between mainstream American values and modern American government than our failed welfare system. When Bill Clinton became President, the welfare system undermined the very values -- work, family, and personal responsibility -- that it should promote. The welfare system should reflect those values: we want to help people who want to help themselves and their children.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Over the past four years, President Clinton has dramatically transformed the welfare system. He has freed 43 states from federal rules and regulations so they can reform their welfare systems. The Clinton Administration has granted 77 waivers -- more than twice as many waivers as granted in the Reagan-Bush years. For 75 percent of all Americans on welfare, the rules have changed for good already, and welfare is becoming what it should be: a second chance, not a way of life. Welfare rolls are finally coming down -- there are 1.8 million fewer people on welfare today than there were when President Clinton took office in January 1993.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Now, because of the President's leadership and with the support of a majority of the Democrats in Congress, national welfare reform is going to make work and responsibility the law of the land. Thanks to President Clinton and the Democrats, the new welfare bill includes the health care and child care people need so they can go to work confident their children will be cared for. Thanks to President Clinton and the Democrats, the new welfare bill imposes time limits and real work requirements -- so anyone who can work, does work, and so that no one who can work can stay on welfare forever. Thanks to President Clinton and the Democrats, the new welfare bill cracks down on deadbeat parents and requires minor mothers to live at home with their parents or with another responsible adult.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We are proud the President forced Congressional Republicans to abandon their wrong-headed and mean-spirited efforts to punish the poor. Republicans wanted to eliminate the guarantee of health care for the poor, the elderly, and the disabled. They were wrong, and we stopped them. Republicans wanted to destroy the food stamp and school lunch programs that provide basic nutrition to millions of working families and poor children. They were wrong, and we stopped them. Republicans wanted to gut child abuse prevention and foster care. They were wrong, and we stopped them. Republicans wanted to cut off young, unwed mothers -- because they actually thought their children would be better off living in an orphanage. They were dead wrong, and we stopped them. The bill Republicans in Congress passed last year was values-backward -- it was soft on work and tough on children, and we applaud the President for stopping it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We know the new bill passed by Congress is far from perfect -- parts of it should be fixed because they go too far and have nothing to do with welfare reform. First, Republicans cut too far into nutritional assistance for working families with children; we are committed to correcting that. Second, Republicans insisted on using welfare reform as a vehicle to cut off help to legal immigrants. That was wrong. Legal immigrants work hard, pay their taxes, and serve America. It is wrong to single them out for punishment just because they are immigrants. We pledge to make sure that legal immigrant families with children who fall on hard times through no fault of their own can get help when they need it. And we are committed to continuing the President's efforts to make it easier for legal immigrants who are prepared to accept the responsibilities of citizenship to do so.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

But the new welfare plan gives America an historic chance: to break the cycle of dependency for millions of Americans, and give them a real chance for an independent future. It reflects the principles the President has insisted upon since he started the process that led to welfare reform. Our job now is to make sure this welfare reform plan succeeds, transforming a broken system that holds people down into a working system that lifts people up and gives them a real chance to build a better life. States asked for this responsibility -- now we have to make sure they shoulder it. We must make sure as many people as possible move from welfare to work. We must make sure that children are protected. In addition to health care and nutritional assistance, states should provide in-kind vouchers to children whose parents have reached the time limit. We challenge states to exempt battered women from time limits and other restrictions. We challenge states to ensure that hard-earned, federal taxpayer dollars are spent effectively and fraud and abuse are prevented. We challenge the business community to provide more of the private sector jobs people on welfare need to build good lives and strong families. We know that passing legislation is not enough; we must make sure people get the skills they need to get jobs, and that there are jobs for them to go to so they leave welfare and stay off. We want to make sure welfare reform will put more people to work and move them into the economic mainstream, not take jobs away from working families.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We call on all Americans to make the most of this opportunity -- never to use welfare reform as an excuse to demonize or demean people, but rather as a chance to bring all our people fully into the economic mainstream, to have a chance to share in the prosperity and the promise of American life.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Child support. Nobody has the right to walk away from the responsibility to care for his or her children. If you owe child support, paying it fully and promptly is just the first step in living up to your responsibility as a parent. The Clinton Administration has made a determined effort to crack down on deadbeat parents, collecting a record $11 billion in 1995 through tough enforcement -- almost a 40 percent increase over 1992. President Clinton issued an Executive Order to track down federal workers who fail to pay child support, and force them to pay. The Clinton Administration is working to put wanted lists of parents who owe child support in the post office and on the Internet. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress insisted that the toughest possible child support enforcement be part of the new welfare reform plan -- including the President's plan to deny drivers licenses and professional licenses to people who do not pay their child support. We are telling deadbeats: If you neglect your responsibility to your children, we will suspend your license, garnish your wages, track you down, and make you pay.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Teen pregnancy. For the first time in years, the teen pregnancy rate has leveled off and begun to drop. But we all know it is still far too high. Government alone cannot solve this problem. That is why President Clinton challenged community, business, and religious leaders together to form a national campaign to keep the teen pregnancy rate going down. And he expanded support for community-based prevention programs that teach abstinence and demand responsibility. We must send the strongest possible signal to young people that it is wrong to get pregnant or father a child until they are married and ready to support that child and raise that child.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We also know that half of all underage mothers were made pregnant by a man in his twenties, or even older. Statutory rape is a crime, but unfortunately the laws that protect young women from it are almost never enforced. We echo the President's call to America's prosecutors: Enforce the statutory rape laws vigorously against men who prey on underage women.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Choice. The Democratic Party stands behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with Roe v. Wade, and regardless of ability to pay. President Clinton took executive action to make sure that the right to make such decisions is protected for all Americans. Over the last four years, we have taken action to end the gag rule and ensure safety at family planning and women's health clinics. We believe it is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual Americans -- not government -- can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Democratic Party is a party of inclusion. We respect the individual conscience of each American on this difficult issue, and we welcome all our members to participate at every level of our party.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Our goal is to make abortion less necessary and more rare, not more difficult and more dangerous. We support contraceptive research, family planning, comprehensive family life education, and policies that support healthy childbearing. For four years in a row, we have increased support for family planning. The abortion rate is dropping. Now we must continue to support efforts to reduce unintended pregnancies, and we call on all Americans to take personal responsibility to meet this important goal.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Reinventing government. The American people have a right to demand that responsibility is the order of the day in Washington. The mission of today's Democratic Party is to expand opportunity, not bureaucracy. We have worked hard over the last four years to rein in big government, slash burdensome regulations, eliminate wasteful programs, and shift problem-solving out of Washington and back to people and communities who understand their situations best.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the last four years, President Clinton, working with the National Performance Review chaired by Vice President Gore, has cut the federal government by almost 240,000 positions, making the smallest federal government in 30 years. We did it the right way, treating workers with respect. The federal government is eliminating 16,000 pages of outdated and unnecessary regulations, has abolished 179 programs and projects, and saved taxpayers billions of dollars. The President fought for and signed unfunded mandates legislation. This stops Congress from requiring state and local governments to implement expensive policies without providing any means to pay for them, and encourages better partnerships and more balance of resources and responsibilities. Beginning with Ulysses S. Grant, Presidents have tried to get the line-item veto and failed; President Clinton signed landmark legislation that will give him and his successors this powerful tool to cut pork-barrel spending from bills passed by Congress.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

For years, Republicans talked about making government smaller while letting it grow -- Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about cutting the deficit while letting it climb -- Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about shifting power back to states and communities -- Democrats are doing it. For years, Republicans talked about making government more businesslike and efficient -- Democrats are doing it. Democrats are bringing responsibility back to Washington. In the last two years, Republicans under Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich shut the federal government down in an irresponsible attempt at partisan blackmail. Democrats under President Clinton said, and America agreed: Partisan threats are no way to run a government. Nobody should ever shut down the government again. The Republican shutdown cost the taxpayers $1.4 billion. Democrats believe government should work better and cost less -- not work less and cost more.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Republican shutdown was an affront to the hardworking public servants in our cities, towns, states, and nation who devote their lives to improving life in our country. Thanks to them our streets are safer, our water is cleaner, and our nation is secure. We condemn Republican tactics to sow cynicism and mistrust by scapegoating those government workers. Front-line federal workers committed to providing quality services have joined the President's efforts to make government work better for the American people. With their help, we are saving money for the taxpayers and improving services for our people. Those workers who are doing more with less deserve our respect and admiration.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the last four years, we have transformed the Federal Emergency Management Agency from an outdated bureaucracy into a swift and effective agent of relief for victims of earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, or other disasters. Americans with life-threatening diseases like cancer and AIDS gain access to new drugs faster, because the Food and Drug Administration has streamlined its approval process, become more flexible in certifications, and eliminated unnecessary paperwork. The Small Business Administration has eliminated half of its regulations, cut loan applications as long as 100 pages down to one, and doubled its loan volume -- all helping Americans to produce record numbers of small businesses in each of the last three years. American homebuyers are saving an average of $1,000 in closing costs because the Department of Housing and Urban Development has eliminated paperwork and other unnecessary burdens.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Over the next four years, the Democratic Party will continue to make responsibility the rule in Washington: cutting bureaucracy further, improving customer service, demanding better performance, holding people and agencies accountable for producing the best results, ensuring all Americans have access to high quality public services, whether they reside in inner cities, suburbs, or rural communities, and forging new partnerships with the private sector including small, minority, and women-owned businesses, and with state and local governments to enhance opportunities for all Americans from technology to transportation to travel and tourism. We concur with the unanimous findings and recommendations of the Department of Labor Task Force on Excellence in State and Local Government outlining further ways to improve the functions of government through labor-management partnerships.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Political reform. Today's Democratic Party knows we have a responsibility to make our democracy work better for America, by limiting the influence of special interests and expanding the influence of the American people. Special interests have too much power in the halls of government. They often operate in secret and have special privileges ordinary Americans do not even know exist. Elections have become so expensive that big money can sometimes drown out the voices of ordinary voters -- who should always speak the loudest.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Shortly after Bill Clinton took office, he implemented the toughest ethics code on executive officials in history: Senior appointees are barred from lobbying their own agencies for five years after they leave, and they can never lobby for foreign governments. After years of Republican delay, Democrats passed and the President signed the Motor Voter Bill to make it easier for people to participate in our democracy and exercise their civic responsibility in the voting booth. The President led the fight to repeal the tax loophole that let lobbyists deduct the cost of their activities, and prevailed. In 1995, after a Republican filibuster, Congress finally answered the President's call to stop taking gifts, meals, and trips from lobbyists; to bring lobbyists out from dark rooms and into the bright light of public scrutiny by requiring full disclosure; and to apply to itself the laws that apply to the rest of the country.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

But we must take further strong action. The President and the Democratic Party support the bipartisan McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill. It will limit campaign spending, curb the influence of PACs and lobbyists, and end the soft money system. Perhaps most important of all, this bill provides free TV time for candidates, so they can talk directly to citizens about real issues and real ideas. Unfortunately, Republicans in Congress will not even let this bill come up for a vote. We call on them to stop stonewalling. It is time to take the reins of democracy away from big money and put them back in the hands of the American people, where they belong. We applaud efforts by broadcasters and private citizens alike, to increase candidates' direct access to voters through free TV.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Finally, we believe all Americans have a right to fair political representation -- including the citizens of the District of Columbia who deserve full self-governance, political representation, and statehood. We recognize the existing status of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the strong economic relationship between the people of Puerto Rico and the United States. We pledge to support the right of the people of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to choose freely, and in concert with the U.S. Congress, their relationship with the United States, either as an enhanced commonwealth, a state, or an independent nation. We support fair participation for Puerto Rico in federal programs and are committed to providing effective incentives for investment based on preserving and creating jobs in the islands. We pledge just and fair treatment under federal policies to the peoples of American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Virgin Islands; we respect their right to be consulted on policies that affect them directly, and to choose freely their future political status; and we will continue to work with Guam to reach agreement on establishing a Commonwealth of Guam.

Security, Freedom, and Peace

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The firm, sustained use of American might and diplomacy helped win the greatest victory for freedom in this half of the century -- the end of the Cold War. But to meet the challenges of this new era of promise and peril, America needed leadership that was able to see the contours of the new world -- and willing to act with steadiness, strength, and flexibility in the face of change to make the most of it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

President Clinton and Vice President Gore have seized the opportunities of the post Cold War era. Over the past four years, their leadership has made America safer, more prosperous, and more engaged in solving the challenges of a new era.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, thousands of Russian nuclear weapons were aimed at American cities. Today, not a single Russian missile points at our children, and through the START treaties, we will cut American and Russian nuclear arsenals by two-thirds from their Cold War height.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, the forces of reform in the former Soviet Union were embattled. Today, U.S. initiatives are helping democracy and free markets take root throughout the region, Russian troops are out of the Baltics, and democracy has triumphed in Russia's elections.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, the Middle East process had not moved beyond a set of principles, and there were no signs of peace in Northern Ireland. Today, in the Middle East we have seen real agreements toward peace, and handshakes of history, and the people of Northern Ireland have seen a 17 month cease-fire and historic negotiations among the parties.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, the North Koreans were operating a dangerous nuclear program. Today, that program is frozen, under international inspection, and slated to be dismantled.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization -- the bulwark of Western security during the Cold War -- was losing direction and support. Today, NATO is keeping the peace in Bosnia with its Partnership for Peace allies and, as a result of American leadership, preparing to welcome new members from Central Europe.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, America stood aloof as war and genocide spread through the former Yugoslavia. Today, thanks to NATO airstrikes, American diplomacy and the deployment of troops from the U.S. and other nations, the war has stopped and Bosnia has its first real chance for a lasting peace.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, dictators ruled in Haiti, abusing human rights and leaving thousands of its citizens desperate to flee to our shores. Today, the dictators are gone, democracy has been restored, and Haiti's mass-exodus has stopped.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, South Africa was struggling under political violence associated with apartheid. Now, following the 1994 elections -- which the United States strongly supported -- there is a national unity government and South Africa is free and democratic.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Four years ago, there was good reason to worry that the world was dividing into separate, isolated, regional trading blocks. Today, thanks to Clinton Administration efforts to find new markets for American products and strengthen our existing ties, America's relations with our trading parties around the world are stronger than ever. We applaud efforts like the Summit of the Americas, the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation meetings, and, especially, the extraordinary leadership of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown on behalf of American industry and workers everywhere. Ron Brown will always be remembered with great pride and the deepest gratitude by the Democratic Party and by all Americans.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Clinton-Gore Administration's record of leadership has deterred America's adversaries and earned respect from our allies and partners. The Dole-Gingrich Congress and the Republican Party have a different approach to America's security. Too often they would force America to go it alone -- or not at all. Their shortsighted approach has cut resources for diplomacy that could strengthen our security, and reflects an inadequate understanding of the threats and opportunities of this new era.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party is unwilling to surrender to the voices of retreat and indifference. We believe the only way to ensure America's security and prosperity over the long run is to continue exerting American leadership across a range of military, diplomatic, and humanitarian, challenges around the world. Led by President Clinton and Vice President Gore, today's Democratic Party has set a far reaching agenda to strengthen our security, and promote peace and freedom.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Strengthening our security. The highest imperative for our security is the protection of our people, our territory, and our key interests abroad. While both parties share a commitment to strong security, there is a real difference. The Republican desire to spend more money on defense than the Pentagon requests cannot obscure their inability to recognize the challenges of a new era and build the balanced defenses we need to meet them.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party is committed to strengthening our military and adapting it to new challenges; reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction; and meeting new challenges to our security such as terrorism, international crime, and drug trafficking.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Strengthening our military. Over the past four years, the Administration has undertaken the most successful restructuring of our military forces in history. Even as the size of our forces has decreased, their capabilities, readiness and qualitative edge have increased. The Administration has ensured that America is prepared to fight alongside others when we can, and alone when we must. We have defeated attempts to cut our defense budget irresponsibly. Three times in three years, President Clinton has increased our defense spending plans -- a total of almost $50 billion -- for readiness, force modernization, and quality of life improvements. We will continue our work to ensure that the men and women who wear American uniforms receive adequate pay and support, including: childcare, education, housing, access to quality health care for themselves and their families, and protection against sexual harassment. The Administration defense plan reverses the downward trend in procurement with a 40% real increase for weapons modernization by 2001. At the same time, as part of its reinventing government program, the Administration has fundamentally reformed government procurement rules in order to get the most for our money. We should also work to increase our efforts to convert unnecessary or obsolete military facilities to serve important economic needs of local communities and, while maintaining military readiness, to continue our initiatives to make our defense industrial base and products applicable to domestic commercial markets.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Repeatedly during the past four years -- from the Persian Gulf to Bosnia -- our men and women in uniform have proven they are the best trained, best equipped, best prepared fighting force in the world. The Democratic Party is committed to build on this record by fully funding the Pentagon's 5-year defense plan; undertaking a second fundamental review of our defense structure; finding new ways for our service branches to work jointly to increase our war fighting capabilities; and ensuring that our troops can dominate the battlefield of the future.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We honor America's veterans; they put their lives on the line to protect our way of life and promote our values around the world. Today's Democratic Party will stand by America's duty to our veterans. President Clinton and Vice President Gore have fought hard to protect veterans' benefits; to expand disability benefits for Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange; aggressively responding to veterans of the Persian Gulf War suffering from undiagnosed illnesses; promoting veterans employment; and improving and strengthening the medical system of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Reducing the threat of weapons of mass destruction. Strengthening our security also requires an aggressive effort against weapons of mass destruction -- nuclear, chemical, and biological -- and their means of delivery. From the nuclear weapons programs in Iraq and North Korea to the Sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway, our nation has seen that this threat is clear and present. To meet it, we must seize the opportunities presented by the end of the Cold War to cut weapons of mass destruction stockpiles while working to prevent lethal weapons and materials from falling into the wrong hands.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

President Clinton and Vice President Gore have pursued the most far reaching arms control and non-proliferation agenda in history. They negotiated an agreement to end the targeting of Russian nuclear missiles on American cities and citizens. They secured ratification of START II which, along with START I, will reduce Russian and American arsenals by two-thirds. They prevented the breakup of the Soviet Union from yielding three new nuclear weapons states, by convincing Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to give up the nuclear weapons left on their territories when the Soviet Union collapsed. They secured the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They acted to freeze North Korea's nuclear program.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Democratic Party supports efforts to sign a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty this year and to bring it into force as soon as possible. We support immediate ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention -- delayed too long by the Dole Senate. We support full funding of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction program to eliminate former Soviet nuclear and chemical weapons and support funds to ensure that nuclear materials in the former Soviet Union are secure and do not fall into the wrong hands. We support vigilant efforts, in cooperation with the Republic of Korea, Japan, and others, to ensure North Korea fully abides by its agreements to dismantle its nuclear program, and we support the Administration's vigorous efforts to prevent Iraq, Iran, and other dangerous states from acquiring or developing weapons of mass destruction.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Democratic Party is committed to a strong and balanced National Missile Defense (NMD) program. The Administration is spending $3 billion a year on six different systems to protect our troops in the field and our allies from short and medium range missiles. To prepare for the possibility of a long range missile attack on American soil by a rogue state, the Clinton Administration is committed to developing by the year 2000 a defensive system that could be deployed by 2003, well before the threat becomes real. The Democratic Party opposes the Republican NMD plan -- spending up to $60 billion on a revival of the Star Wars program that would force us to choose a costly system today that could be obsolete tomorrow. The Republican plan would waste money, weaken America's defenses and violate existing arms control agreements that make us more secure. It is the wrong way to defend America.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Meeting new challenges. Today's Democratic Party knows that stronger security requires vigorous efforts to address the new dangers of this era. Chief among these are the interwoven threats of terrorism, drug trafficking, and international crime. We have seen the terrible toll they have exacted -- the murder of American soldiers in their barracks in Saudi Arabia and of innocent civilians on buses in Israel; corruption and crime from the former Soviet Union to Latin America. We know these vicious criminals may come from within or without and pay no heed to borders; we have seen firsthand the awful, evil work of the forces of terror at the World Trade Center and in Oklahoma City. And we know all too well the havoc drugs wreak when they cross our borders and flow through our neighborhoods.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Clinton-Gore Administration has mounted the most aggressive effort in American history to combat terrorism, drug trafficking, and international crime. We captured and convicted the perpetrators of the World Trade Center bombing. We enacted a strong new anti-terrorism law, in spite of foot dragging by the Republican Congress; now, President Clinton and Democrats are fighting to take further steps to protect American citizens. We convened an historic summit of Mideast leaders at Sharm el-Sheik to coordinate anti-terrorism efforts, and made anti-terrorism a centerpiece of the 1996 G-7 summit. We imposed or maintained strong sanctions against states that sponsor terrorism, including Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Sudan, and made clear to Syria that normal relations depend on concrete steps to end its support for groups involved with terrorism. We opposed irresponsible cuts to U.S. intelligence programs and supported efforts to reorganize and strengthen the full range of intelligence agencies and programs. We opened FBI centers to provide anti-crime and anti-terrorism training. We made Colombia ineligible for most American assistance after that country's leadership failed to cooperate with American anti-narcotics efforts.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Our three front war on terrorism -- abroad, through greater cooperation with our allies; at home, by giving law enforcement the most powerful tools available to fight terrorism; and in our airports and on airplanes, through tough air travel security measures -- is producing results. President Clinton asked the Vice President to chair a commission on the future of air traffic security and safety. We will work to increase the security of our air travel system, the safety of our airplanes, and the safety and security of our air traffic control system.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party is determined to keep the war on global terrorism, narcotics, and crime at the center of our security agenda. We will seek increased cooperation from our allies and friends abroad in fighting these threats. We will continue to work aggressively to shut off foreign drug flows, eradicate foreign drug crops, and assist countries that demonstrate active cooperation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Promoting peace and democracy. Today's Democratic Party knows that peace and democracy are products of decisive strength and active diplomacy. That diplomacy must protect our interests while also projecting our values. The Republican Party too often has neglected diplomatic opportunities, slashed the budgets necessary for diplomatic successes, and overlooked the importance to our own security of democracy and human rights abroad. At its core, the Republican Party is locked in a Cold War mentality, and lacks a coherent strategy to nurture and strengthen the global progress toward peace and democracy.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Democratic Party believes a key to strengthening peace is stable and peaceful relations among the world's major powers. That has been the driving force behind much of the Clinton-Gore Administration's work, from its peace initiative in Bosnia to new security agreements with Japan. We are committed to promoting democracy in regions and countries important to America's security, and to standing with all those willing to take risks for peace, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, where President Clinton was the first U.S. president to engage directly in the search for peace, including making an historic visit to Northern Ireland. And we are committed to doing it with all the tools we have: with diplomacy where possible, with force where necessary, and working with others where appropriate -- our allies, willing partners, the U.N. and other security organizations -- to share the risks and costs of our leadership.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Europe and the former Soviet Union. Today's Democratic Party knows that the security of Europe remains a vital American interest, and that we must remain engaged in Europe, a region in which we have fought the two world wars and the Cold War this century. It is our vision to see, one day, a community of free, democratic, and peaceful nations, bound by political, security, cultural, and economic ties, spanning across North America and Europe. We applaud the Clinton-Gore Administration's efforts to foster a peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe -- including expanded support for reform in former communist states; dramatically increased assistance to Ukraine; the Partnership for Peace program of military cooperation with Europe's new democracies; its steady, determined work to add new Central European members to NATO in the near future; and its efforts to resolve regional disputes such as between Greece and Turkey. We support continued efforts to secure a just and lasting peace in Bosnia, Northern Ireland and Cyprus. We are committed to the success of independence in Ukraine and the Baltics. And we support the continuing evolution of a prosperous and peaceful Russia. And as part of our effort to support we will pursue a relationship in which we seek cooperation when we can, and frankly express disagreements where they exist, such as on Chechnya.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Asia. We know that many of America's most pressing security challenges and most promising commercial opportunities lie in the Asia Pacific region. The Democratic Party applauds the important new security charter with Japan, the Administration's close cooperation with the Republic of Korea toward the goal of a unified and non-nuclear peninsula, and the deployment of an American naval task force to the Taiwan Straits to ensure that China's military exercises did not imperil the security of the region. The Party supports the Administration's policy of steady engagement to encourage a stable, secure, open and prosperous China -- a China that respects human rights throughout its land and in Tibet, that joins international efforts against weapons proliferation, and that plays by the rules of free and fair trade. Today's Democratic Party strongly supports continued American troop presence in East Asia and efforts to promote increased regional security. And we are committed to building long-term relationships with India, Pakistan, and others in South Asia in order to advance America's diverse interests in that region, from democracy and commerce to nuclear non-proliferation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Middle East. President Clinton has overseen a remarkable record of achievement toward peace and security in the Middle East -- the Israeli-Palestinian accords; the peace agreement between Israel and Jordan; new regional security and investment summits; Israel's increased acceptance throughout the Middle East and the world; the dual containment of Iraq and Iran. The Democratic Party is committed to help build on this record, knowing that peace and security are indivisible, and supports the efforts by the Clinton-Gore Administration to achieve a comprehensive and lasting peace among Israel and all its neighbors, including Lebanon and Syria. The Democratic Party remains committed to America's long-standing special relationship with Israel, based on shared values, a mutual commitment to democracy and a strategic alliance that benefits both nations. The United States should continue to help Israel maintain its qualitative edge. Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and should remain an undivided city accessible to people of all faiths. We are also committed to working with our Arab partners for peace to build a brighter, more secure and prosperous future for all the people of the Middle East. To that end, we seek to further and enhance our close ties with states and peoples in the Arab and Islamic world committed to non-aggression and willing to take risks for peace.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Latin America and the Caribbean. The Clinton-Gore Administration forged an historic partnership with the democracies of the Western Hemisphere, as reflected in the 1994 Summit of the Americas. Today, every country in the Hemisphere is a democracy except Cuba. Because democratic stability and prosperity in the countries to our south are in our interest and theirs, President Clinton took bold steps to bolster Mexico's economy when it was threatened by crisis; worked to resolve internal and border conflicts in the Hemisphere; joined with regional partners to combat narcotics trafficking; and tightened the tough sanctions against the repressive Castro regime and those who support that regime, while reaching out to the people of Cuba in their quest for democracy, human rights, and freedom. The Democratic Party is committed to further consolidating democracy, stability, and open markets throughout the hemisphere.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Africa. The Clinton Administration championed South Africa's democratic transition; supported Africa's many emerging democracies and led international efforts to speed the return of democracy in Nigeria; helped save countless lives in Somalia, Rwanda, and elsewhere through conflict resolution, removal of landmines, and humanitarian relief; and took steps to help sub-Saharan Africa's 700 million people develop into strong economies and markets. The Democratic Party believes that continuing to help the people of Africa nurture their continent's extraordinary potential and address its serious problems is both the right thing to do and profoundly in America's interest.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Promoting democracy. America remains a beacon of hope to all who cherish democracy and human rights, and America's security benefits from the enlargement of the community of market democracies. The Clinton-Gore Administration has actively promoted the consolidation and spread of democracy and human rights: in Russia and throughout the former Soviet Union, Central Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. President Clinton directed Vice President Gore to lead bi-national efforts to establish trading relationships to help promote democracy in three strategic areas: Russia, South Africa, and Egypt. The Democratic Party supports the aspirations of all those who seek to strengthen civil society and accountable governance. To this end, we support the MacBride Principles of equal access to regional employment in Northern Ireland. We are committed to the human rights and well-being of Jewish people and other minorities in the countries of the former Soviet Union. We support continued funding for the National Endowment for Democracy, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the Asia Pacific Network, Radio Marti and other efforts to promote democracy and the free flow of ideas. We recognize the Information Age offers new opportunities and responsibilities for our democracy and diplomacy that we must seize and meet.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Resources for diplomacy. There is a price to be paid for America's security and its leadership in world affairs -- and the Republican Party now refuses to pay that price. Even though less than one percent of the federal budget goes to foreign policy spending, the Republican Party has savaged our diplomatic readiness, defaulted on treaty obligations to pay dues to the United Nations, slashed assistance to the poorest and most vulnerable populations on earth, and pushed the United States to dead last among developed nations in the global fight against starvation, infant mortality, natural disasters and environmental degradation and other worldwide problems. The Democratic Party is committed to resist these irresponsible cuts that undermine our security and America's ability to lead. We are committed to strengthen our security and express our values, by strongly supporting the Clinton-Gore Administration's work to ensure adequate resources for American foreign policy.

Community

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Across America, in far too many places, the bonds of community that tie us together and remind us that we rise or fall together, have too often frayed. Today's Democratic Party believes we must reawaken the strong sense of community that has helped America to prosper for 220 years. America is uniquely suited to lead the world into the 21st century because of our great diversity and our shared values. We must never let our differences divide us from each other; instead we must come together on a new common ground, based on the enduring values we share. When Americans work together -- in our homes, our schools, our houses of worship, our civic groups, our businesses, labor unions and professional associations -- we can meet any challenge, and realize every dream.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Putting families first. The first and most sacred responsibility of every parent is to cherish our children and strengthen our families. The family is the foundation of American life. After 12 years of all family-values-talk and no family-values-action by the Republicans, President Clinton took office determined to put families first. We support the fundamental themes of the Families First Agenda -- promoting paycheck, health care, retirement, and personal security; creating greater educational and economic opportunity; and requiring greater responsibility from individuals, businesses, and government.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Standing up for parents. In the first month of Bill Clinton=s Presidency, the Democratic Party ended eight years of Republican gridlock and enacted the Family and Medical Leave Act. Americans blessed with a new child or troubled by a family health crisis can no longer be forced to choose between their families and their jobs. A bipartisan panel reported that 12 million workers have already been able to live up to their family obligations without risking their jobs. And almost 90 percent of businesses found that complying with this law cost them little or nothing. Despite how important this is to American families, Senator Dole led Republican opposition to it and still insists it was wrong. This law is good for families, it is good for America, and it would not be the law today without the Democratic Party. President Clinton fought for and secured tax credits to encourage adoption, and stood firm against Republican attempts to undermine adoption assistance.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Now we want to take the next step. We believe parents should be able to take unpaid leave from work and choose flex time so they can do their job as parents: to do things like go to parent-teacher conferences or take a child to the doctor. We challenge employers to plan and schedule work to allow parents to have time with their children and to afford employees the opportunity to see their families.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Responsible entertainment. President Clinton and Vice President Gore have led the fight to help parents control what their children see on television. Because of their leadership, Congress passed a law requiring all new televisions to include a device called a V-chip that will block violent programs when it is activated by an adult. Senator Dole likes to talk about TV violence, but when it came time to act, he stood with a small minority to oppose the bipartisan V-chip bill. The President achieved a breakthrough agreement with the media and entertainment industries to develop a rating system for TV shows similar to the motion picture rating system, so parents can make informed decisions about what they want their children to watch. When parents control the remote, it is not censorship, it is personal responsibility for their children's upbringing.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We believe in public support for the arts, including the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Public and private investment in the arts and humanities and the institutions that support them is an investment in the education of our children, the strength of our economy, and the quality of American life. We support high-quality, family-friendly programming. America is the leading exporter of intellectual property built on a strong foundation of artistic freedom. We are proud to have stopped the Republican attack on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting -- we want our children to watch Sesame Street, not Power Rangers. And we echo the President's call to the entertainment industry: Work harder to develop and promote movies, music, and TV shows that are suitable -- and educational -- for children. President Clinton has revived and restored the Consumer Product Safety Commission as an effective guardian of children and families in and around their homes. We will continue to work with industry and consumers to protect children and other Americans from dangerous toys and hazardous products.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Tobacco. Cigarette smoking is rapidly becoming the single greatest threat to the health of our children. We know that 3,000 young people start smoking every day, and 1,000 of them will lead shorter lives because of it. Despite that, Senator Dole and other Republicans continue to ignore volumes of medical research to make baffling claims that cigarettes are not addictive. They even argue with distinguished Republican experts like President Reagan=s Surgeon General C. Everett Koop. President Clinton and Vice President Gore understand that we have a responsibility to protect our children's future by cracking down on illegal sales of tobacco to minors and by curbing sophisticated advertising campaigns designed to entice kids to start smoking before they are old enough to make an informed decision. The President has proposed measures to cut off children's access to cigarettes, crack down on those who sell tobacco to minors illegally, and curtail advertising designed to appeal to children. Tobacco companies may market to adults if they wish, but they must take the responsibility to draw the line on children.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Parents= responsibility. Today's Democratic Party knows that governments do not raise children, parents do. That is why President Clinton and Vice President Gore took action to order all federal agencies to make sure everything government does for children promotes responsibility from all parents, fathers as well as mothers. Now we challenge every parent to put their children first: to help them with their homework, to read to them, to know their teachers, and above all, to teach their children right from wrong, set the best example, and teach children how to make responsible decisions.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Community empowerment and cities. Today's Democratic Party understands that we cannot rebuild our poorest communities by imposing cookie-cutter solutions from Washington. We have to give communities the tools they need to create opportunity. Citizens, local government, the private sector, and civic groups must come together and take the responsibility to rebuild their communities from the bottom up.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Encouraging private sector investment, and community-based solutions. After over a decade of sustained Republican neglect and empty Republican promises, President Clinton and Democrats in Congress launched a comprehensive strategy to unleash economic growth and restore opportunity to our distressed neighborhoods. Without a single Republican vote, we created 105 Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities. This effort, chaired by Vice President Gore, is bringing jobs and businesses to our poorest urban and rural areas. Thousands of new businesses have already moved into these areas, or expanded existing operations, bringing new hope and new jobs to these neighborhoods. We reformed the Community Reinvestment Act to shift the focus from process toward results; we implemented low income mortgage purchase requirements on Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac; and we created a Community Development Financial Institutions Fund. Together, these efforts are unleashing billions of dollars in new private sector lending and investment for housing and economic development in our inner cities and poorest rural areas. The President and Vice President have created a brownfields initiative to bring life back to abandoned and contaminated property by reforming outdated regulations and providing incentives for cleanup.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Over the next four years, we want a second round of Empowerment Zones to bring economic growth to more American communities; a significant expansion of the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund to spur more private sector investment in local economies; and a new tax incentive to encourage further cleanup and redevelopment of brownfields. We are committed to American cities. We believe that vast opportunities for private investment exist in America's cities. We want to leverage federal investment to maximize private sector investments in our urban centers and support a comprehensive approach to urban problems. Today's Democratic Party knows that the best way to bring jobs and growth back to our poorest neighborhoods is to harness the job-creating power of the private sector.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Helping people afford safe, secure housing. Safe, secure housing is an essential part of strong communities and strong families. We are proud that after four years of a Democrat in the White House, the percentage of people who own their own house climbed faster than it has in 30 years. Bill Clinton took executive action to make it easier and cheaper for working and middle-class homebuyers to get a home loan. We pledge to stand against Republican efforts to repeal the deductibility of home mortgage interest payments. Fulfilling his 1992 pledge, President Clinton made the low-income housing tax credit permanent, encouraging private developers to build more affordable housing. This tax credit is making it easier for families to get housing, and we will stand against Republican attacks on it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Clinton Administration has made sweeping changes to transform the nation's public housing system after decades of neglect. In the last four years, Democrats demolished more units of unlivable public housing than Republicans did in the previous twelve years, replacing them with lower-density developments that can serve as anchors for neighborhood renewal. In the next four years, we want to transform the worst public housing from a system that traps people in rundown, crime-ridden projects into one which gives families the freedom to choose where they live by providing vouchers to help them with housing costs. We have dramatically increased help for the homeless, and shifted focus from temporary shelters toward permanent solutions designed to move people back into the mainstream, into jobs and a home of their own.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Agriculture and the rural community. America has the most abundant agricultural economy on earth, and it must be preserved and strengthened as we enter a new century. President Clinton and the Democrats have worked hard to promote economic growth in rural areas, protect the family farm, and ensure that farmers get a fair return for their labor and investment and consumers can continue to count on safe and nutritious foods. We support changes to the Farm Bill that would improve the safety net for family farmers. In the face of Republican efforts to gut food safety, the Clinton Administration has revolutionized meat inspection and set a new standard of consumer protection. President Clinton has reinvented the Agriculture Department, reducing regulations and bureaucracy and improving service. The Clinton Administration has cracked down on food stamp fraud, and approved experiments in state after state to reform the food stamp program. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress supported new voluntary conservation programs and saved economic development programs for rural areas through the 1996 Farm Bill. We are committed to expanding agricultural exports by reducing unfair subsidies and trade barriers around the world and protecting our farmers from predatory trade practices.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Protecting our environment. Today's Democratic Party wants all Americans to be able to enjoy America's magnificent natural heritage -- and we want our people to know that the air they breathe is pure, the water they drink is clean, and the land they live on is safe from hazard. We understand we have a sacred obligation to protect God's earth and preserve our quality of life for our children and our children's children. For the 12 Republican years before Bill Clinton and Al Gore took office, protecting the environment was far from a priority. And in the last two years, 25 years of bipartisan environmental progress -- started by a Democratic Congress under a Republican President -- has come under attack from the far right. Time and again, President Clinton and the Democratic Party have stood firm against this onslaught.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Republican Congress, under Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, voted to cut environmental enforcement resources by 25 percent. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress said no. We believe government has a responsibility to enforce the laws that help keep toxic chemicals from our water, pesticides from our food, and smog from our air.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Republican Congress, under Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, let lobbyists for the polluters write their own loopholes into bills to weaken laws that protect the health and safety of our children. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress said no. We believe America's elected officials have a responsibility to protect America's families from threats to their health, and that trust must never be abdicated -- especially not by placing control of environmental safeguards in the hands of the very polluters those safeguards are meant to keep in line.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The Republican Congress, under Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich, tried to make taxpayers pick up the tab for toxic wastes, and let polluters who caused the problem and can afford to fix it off the hook. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress said no. We believe America should insist that toxic waste cleanup is paid for by those responsible for it in the first place -- and not foisted off on the taxpayers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

In the last four years, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have taken strong action to make our air and water cleaner. They reformed the Superfund program -- in each of the last two years nearly as many toxic dumps were cleaned as in the previous decade. They dramatically strengthened Community Right-to-Know efforts, because Americans should be informed about toxic chemicals being released into the air and water so they can take steps to protect themselves and their families. They took measures to cut toxic air pollution from chemical plants by 90 percent, and after years of Republican neglect they cleaned up hundreds of nuclear weapons sites and are committed to finishing the job.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Today's Democratic Party knows that we can protect the environment and expand the economy. We believe we can create more jobs over the long run by cleaning the environment. We want to challenge businesses and communities to take more initiative in protecting the environment, and we want to make it easier for them to do it. President Clinton and Vice President Gore launched Project XL which tells businesses: If you can find a cheaper, more efficient way than government regulations require to meet even tougher pollution goals, do it ­­ as long as you do it right. This new approach offers business flexibility, incentives, and accountability.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Environmental protection should include more education on compliance for small and medium sized business, more strategies to increase compliance for all businesses, and tough enforcement -- including criminal prosecution -- for those who put human health and the environment at risk.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We are committed to protecting the majestic legacy of our National Parks and enhancing recreational opportunities. We are determined to continue working to restore the Florida Everglades, to preserve our wildlife refuges, and to fight any effort to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. We will be good stewards of our old-growth forests, oppose new offshore oil drilling and mineral exploration and production in our nation's many environmentally critical areas, and protect our oceans from oil spills and the dumping of toxic and radioactive waste.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The President and Vice President announced an historic partnership with the Big Three American automakers to develop the technology to produce cars up to three times more fuel efficient than those made today -- cleaner cars for a cleaner environment. We will continue to support responsible recycling, and encourage energy efficiency that makes our economy more efficient and less reliant on foreign oil. We believe that adequate investments in better mass transit, cleaner cars, and renewable energy sources are good for the environment and good for the economy.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

After years in which Republicans neglected the global environment, the Clinton Administration has made America a leader in the fight to meet environmental challenges that transcend national borders and require global cooperation. The Clinton-Gore Administration led the world in calling for a global ban on ocean-dumping of low-level radioactive waste and for a legally binding treaty to phase out persistent organic pollutants such as DDT and PCBs. We will seek a strong international agreement to further reduce greenhouse gas emissions worldwide and protect our global climate. We are committed to preserving the planet's biodiversity, repairing the depleted ozone layer, and working with other nations to stabilize population growth.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Democrats recognize that sustainable development is the key to protecting the environment and promoting economic growth. That is why the Clinton-Gore Administration has reformed our foreign aid programs to focus on sustainable development. At home, Democrats know that sound economic development means sound environmental protection.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

The American community. Today's Democratic Party knows that when America is divided we will likely fail, but when America is united we will always prevail. Americans will always have differences, and when we reach across those differences, we are stronger for it. And we share an abiding set of values that define us as Americans. Our task is to draw strength from both -- from our great diversity and our constant values -- to fashion the future we want for our children.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Fighting discrimination and protecting civil rights. Today's Democratic Party knows we must renew our efforts to stamp out discrimination and hatred of every kind, wherever and whenever we see it. We deplore the recent wave of burnings that has targeted African-American churches in the South, as well as other houses of worship across the country, and we have established a special task force to help local communities catch and prosecute those responsible, prevent further arsons, and rebuild their churches. We believe everyone in America should learn English so they can fully share in our daily life, but we strongly oppose divisive efforts like English-only legislation, designed to erect barriers between us and force people away from the culture and heritage of which they are rightly proud. The Clinton Administration is committed to strengthening the government-to-government relationship between the federal government and the American Indian and Alaska Native tribal governments. The President will continue implementation of the Self-Governance/Self-Determination Act amendments which he signed in 1994 that will eventually open up the self-governance program to all tribal governments who wish to participate, giving these governments full control of where and how certain federal resources are spent on their reservations. We must remember we do not have an American to waste. We continue to lead the fight to end discrimination on the basis of race, gender, religion, age, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation. The Democratic Party has always supported the Equal Rights Amendment, and we are committed to ensuring full equality for women and to vigorously enforce the Americans with Disabilities Act. We support continued efforts, like the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, to end discrimination against gay men and lesbians and further their full inclusion in the life of the nation. Over the last four years, President Clinton and the Democrats have worked aggressively to enforce the letter and spirit of civil rights law. The President and Vice President remain committed to an Administration that looks like America, and we are proud of the Administration's extraordinary judicial appointments -- they are both more diverse and more qualified than any previous Administration. We know there is still more we can do to ensure equal opportunity for all Americans, so all people willing to work hard can build a strong future. President Clinton is leading the way to reform affirmative action so that it works, it is improved, and promotes opportunity, but does not accidentally hold others back in the process. Senator Dole has promised to end affirmative action. He's wrong, and the President is right. When it comes to affirmative action, we should mend it, not end it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Religious freedom. Today's Democratic Party understands that all Americans have a right to express their faith. The Constitution prohibits the state establishment of religion, and it protects the free exercise of religion. The President fought for and signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, to reaffirm the great protection the Constitution gives to religious expression, and to recognize the historic role people of faith have played in America. Americans have a right to express their love of God in public, and we applaud the President's work to ensure that children are not denied private religious expression in school. Whenever the religious rights of our children -- or any American -- are threatened, we will stand against it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

Responsibility to our community and our country. Today's Democratic Party believes every American has a duty and a responsibility to give something back to their community and their country. In the past three years, 45,000 Americans have performed national service as part of the AmeriCorps program President Clinton and the Democrats fought so hard to create -- and we applaud those Republicans who joined a bipartisan effort to preserve AmeriCorps when Speaker Gingrich"s House tried to kill it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

We applaud the American spirit of voluntarism and charity. As we balance the budget, we must work even harder in our own lives to live up to the duties we owe one another. We must shrink the government, but we cannot shrink from our challenges. We believe every school and college in America should make service a part of its basic ethic, and we want to expand national service by helping communities give scholarships to high school students for community service. We challenge Americans in all walks of life to make a new commitment to taking responsibility for themselves, their families, their communities, and their country.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

If we do our job, we will make the next American century as great as each one that has come before it. We will enter the 21st century with the American Dream alive for all, with America still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom, and with the American community coming together, enriched by our diversity and stronger than ever.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Democratic Party Platform

America's best days lie ahead, as we renew our historic pledge to uphold and advance the promise of America -- One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Republican Platform of 1996

The 1996 Republican Platform

Adopted August 12, 1996

The 1996 Republican Platform was adopted on August 12, 1996 by the delegates to the 1996 Republican National Convention in San Diego, California.

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Preamble

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We meet to nominate a candidate and pass a platform at a moment of measureless national opportunity. A new century beckons, and Americans are more than equal to its challenges. But there is a problem. The Clinton administration has proven unequal to the heritage of our past, the promise of our times, and the character of the American people. They require more and demand better. With them, we raise our voices and raise our sights.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We are the heirs of world leadership that was earned by bravery and sacrifice on half a thousand battlefields. We will soon nominate for the presidency a man who knew battle and so loves peace, a man who lives bravely and so walks humbly with his God and his fellow citizens. We walk with him now as he joins one more battle, every bit as crucial for our country's future as was the crusade in which he served.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Just when America should be leading the world, we have an administration squandering the international respect it did not earn and does not value. Just when America should be demonstrating anew the dynamic power of economic freedom, we have an administration working against both history and public opinion to expand the reach and burden of government. Just when Americans are reasserting their deepest values, we have an administration locked into the counterculture battles of its youth.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Americans are right to say we are on the wrong track. Our prestige in the world is declining. Economic growth here at home is anemic. Our society grows more violent and less decent. The only way the Clinton administration can magnify its questionable accomplishments is to lower our expectations. Those who lead the Democrat party call America to smaller tasks and downsized dreams.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

That is not the calling of an American president.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Today's Democrat leaders do not understand leadership. They reduce principles to tactics. They talk endlessly and confront nothing. They offer, not convictions, but alibis. They are paralyzed by indecision, weakened by scandal and guided only by the perpetuation of their own power.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We asked for change. We worked for reform. We offered cooperation and consensus. Now, the asking is over. The Clinton administration cannot be reinvented, it must be replaced.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans do not duplicate or fabricate or counterfeit a vision for the land we love. With our fellow citizens, we assert the present power of timeless truths.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This is what we want for America: real prosperity that reaches beyond the stock market to every family, small business and worker. An economy expanding as fast as American enterprise and creativity will carry it, free from unnecessary taxes, regulation and litigation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This is what we want for America: the restoration of self-government by breaking Washington's monopoly on power. The American people want their country back. We will help them to regain it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This too we want for America: moral clarity in our culture and ethical leadership in the White House. We offer America, not a harsh moralism, but our sincere conviction that the values we hold in our hearts determine the success of our lives and the shape of our society. It matters greatly that our leaders reflect and communicate those values, not undermine or mock them.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The diversity of our nation is reflected in this platform. We ask for the support and participation of all who substantially share our agenda. In one way or another, every Republican is a dissenter. At the same time, we are not morally indifferent. In this, as in many things, Lincoln is our model. At a time of great crisis, he spoke both words of healing and words of conviction. We do likewise, not for the peace of a political party, but because we citizens are bound together in a great enterprise for our children's future.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The platform that follows marshals these principles and sends them into action. We aim at nothing less than an economy of dynamic growth; a renewal of community, self-government and citizenship; and a national reaffirmation of the enduring principles on which America's greatness depends. We will count our victories, not in elections won or in economic numbers on a chart, but in the everyday achievements of the American dream: when a man or woman discovers the dignity and confidence of a job; when a child rejects drugs and embraces life; when an entrepreneur turns an idea into an industry; when a family once again feels the security of its savings and has control over the education of its children.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

None of the extraordinary things about our country are gifts of government. They are the accomplishments of free people in a free society. They are achievements, not entitlements - and are sweeter for that fact. They result when men and women live in obedience to their conscience, not to the state. All our efforts as Republicans are guided by the fixed star of this single principle: that freedom always exceeds our highest expectations.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This is the greatest task before the Republican Party: to raise the bar of American expectations. Of the potential of our economy. Of the order and civility of our culture. Of what a president can be, and what the presidency must be again.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

There is a continuing revolution in the yellowed parchment and faded ink of the American creed...a revolution that will long outlive us. It can carry the weight of all our hopes. It can reward every dreamer. It is the reason that America's finest hour is never a memory and always a goal.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

With trust in God and in fidelity to generations past and generations to come, we respectfully submit this platform to the American people.

Principles of the 1996 Republican Platform

Introduction

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because Americans are a diverse and tolerant people, they have differences of opinion on many issues. But as a people, we share a common dream and common goals:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A strong America that protects its citizens and champions their democratic ideals throughout the world,

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

An America with a vibrant and growing economy that improves the standard of living for all,

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

An America with a smaller, more effective and less intrusive government that trusts its people to decide what is best for them,

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

An America whose people feel safe and secure in their homes, on their streets, and in their communities,

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

An America where our children receive the best education in the world and learn the values like decency and responsibility that made this country great,

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

And an America with the compassion to care for those who cannot care for themselves.

Principles

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because the American Dream fulfills the promise of liberty, we believe it should be attainable by all through more and secure jobs, home ownership, personal security, and education that meets the challenges of the century ahead.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because a dynamic and growing economy is the best way to create more and better paying jobs, with greater security in the work place, we believe in lower taxes within a simpler tax system, in tandem with fair and open trade and a balanced federal budget.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because wasteful government spending and over-regulation, fueled by higher taxes, are the greatest obstacles to job creation and economic growth, we believe in a Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution and a common-sense approach to government rules and red tape.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because we recognize our obligation to foster hope and opportunity for those unable to care for themselves, we believe in welfare reform that eliminates waste, fraud and abuse; requires work from those who are capable; limits time on public assistance; discourages illegitimacy; and reduces the burden on the taxpayers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because all Americans have the right to be safe in their homes, on their streets, and in their communities, we believe in tough law enforcement, especially against juvenile crime and the drug traffic, with stiff penalties, no loopholes, and judges who respect the rights of law-abiding Americans.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because institutions like the family are the backbone of a healthy society, we believe government must support the rights of the family; and recognizing within our own ranks different approaches toward our common goal, we reaffirm respect for the sanctity of human life.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because our children need and are entitled to the best education in the world, we believe in parental involvement and family choice in schooling, teacher authority and accountability, more control to local school boards, and emphasis upon the basics of learning in safe classrooms.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because older Americans have built our past and direct us, in wisdom and experience, toward the future, we believe we must meet our nation's commitments to them by preserving and protecting Medicare and Social Security.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because a good society rests on an ethical foundation, we believe families, communities, and religious institutions can best teach the American values of honesty, responsibility, hard work, compassion, and mutual respect.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because our country's greatest strength is its people, not its government, we believe today's government is too large and intrusive and does too many things the people could do better for themselves.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because we trust our fellow Americans, rather than centralized government, we believe the people, acting through their State and local elected officials, should have control over programs like education and welfare - thereby pushing power away from official Washington and returning it to the people in their communities and states.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because we view the careful development of our country's natural resources as stewardship of creation, we believe property rights must be honored in our efforts to restore, protect, and enhance the environment for the generations to come.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because we are all one America, we oppose discrimination. We believe in the equality of all people before the law and that individuals should be judged by their ability rather than their race, creed, or disability.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because this is a difficult and dangerous world, we believe that peace can be assured only through strength, that a strong national defense is necessary to protect America at home and secure its interests abroad, and that we must restore leadership and character to the presidency as the best way to restore America's leadership and credibility throughout the world.

Building a Better America

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"This is no time for diminished expectations. This is no time to sell America's potential short. This is a time to let go of the 20th Century and embrace the 21st - to seize the promise of the new era by liberating the genius of the American people." Bob Dole, September 5, 1995 in Chicago, Illinois

Improving the Standard of Living

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We are the party of America's earners, savers, and taxpayers - the people who work hard, take risks and build a better future for our families and our communities. Our party believes that we can best improve the standard of living in America by empowering the American people to act in their own behalf by: cutting the near-record tax burden on Americans; reducing government spending and its size, while balancing the budget. creating jobs; using the benefits of science, technology and innovations to improve both our lives and our competitiveness in the global economy; dramatically increasing the number of families who can own their own home; and unleashing the competitiveness and will to win of individual Americans on the world trade scene with free but fair trade.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

That's not wishful thinking; it's what we, the American people, used to take for granted before the growth of big government began to shadow our days and smother our hopes. In the 1980s - when we cut taxes, restrained regulation, and reduced government spending as a share of the nation's economy - prosperity made a comeback. Jobs were created, incomes rose and poverty fell for seven straight years. Then the Democrat-controlled Congress forced the tax hikes of 1990 and jammed through Bill Clinton's tax bill of 1993.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Since then, Clintonomics has produced an economy that is squeezing the middle class between high taxes and low growth. The astounding fact is that we were growing 50% faster in 1992, when Bill Clinton described the economy as the worst in five decades. We've managed to avoid a recession only because the Republican Congress put the brakes on Bill Clinton's rush to ruin by substantially reducing government spending over the last two years. But we cannot go on like this. For millions of families, the American Dream is fading. Our goal is to revive it, renew it, and extend it to all who reach for it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our formula for growth, opportunity, and a better family life is simple: Trust the people, cut their taxes, scale back the size and scope of government, foster job creation, and get out of the way. We've done it before, we can do it again.

Tax Relief for Economic Growth

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

American families are suffering from the twin burdens of stagnant incomes and near-record taxes. This is the key cause of middle-class anxiety. It is why people feel they are working harder, but falling further behind; why they fear the current generation will not be as successful as the last generation; why they believe their children will be worse off; and why they feel so anxious about their own economic future.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

After averaging 1.7 percent growth annually during the expansion following the 1981 tax cut, family incomes have failed to grow at all under Bill Clinton. Since 1990, families have actually lost much of the ground they gained during the low-tax, high-growth 1980s.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Anemic economic growth under Bill Clinton is largely responsible for this lost ground. The current economic expansion has not only failed to compare to the growth seen in the decade preceding his administration, it is the slowest recovery in the last 100 years. Since 1992, the economy has grown by only 2.4 percent per year, compared to 3.2 percent in the previous 10 years and 3.9 percent between 1983 and 1989.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton has demonstrated that he fails to understand the role excessive tax burdens play on the economy and family incomes. In the first year of his administration, he pushed through the largest tax increase in history, raising taxes on families, senior citizens, and small businesses. Confronted with Republican attempts to cut family and business taxes, he vetoed the 1995 Balanced Budget Act which included the $500 per child tax credit as well as incentives to increase savings, economic growth and job creation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Clinton tax increase has produced the second-highest tax burden in American history. Federal tax collections now consume more than one-fifth of our total economic output. Federal, state, and local taxes take more than 38 cents out of every dollar the American family earns. The federal tax burden alone is now approaching a record 25 percent of family income.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

American families deserve better. They should be allowed to keep more of their hard-earned money so they can spend on their priorities, as opposed to sending ever-increasing amounts to Washington to be spent on the priorities of federal bureaucrats.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In response to this unprecedented burden confronting America, we support an across-the-board, 15-percent tax cut to marginal tax rates. Fifteen percent represents the total increase in the federal tax burden since Bill Clinton took office, and we believe such a cut should be the first step towards reducing overall tax burdens while promoting the economic growth that will raise family incomes and our overall standard of living.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Another drag on family finances has been government's failure to maintain the personal and dependent exemption at historic levels. If the personal and dependent exemption that was $600 in 1950 had kept pace with inflation, it would be $3,800 rather than the current $2,500. That is why Republicans have made the $500-per-child family tax credit one of the primary features of our tax cut package.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Job creation and increasing family incomes depend on economic growth, and a precondition for economic growth is a healthy rate of saving and investment. Nevertheless, Bill Clinton vetoed Republican bills to provide these incentives, including expanded and more generous IRAs - and new spousal IRAs - which could be used for health care, education, and home-buying. As a result, today's personal savings rate is less than half what it was two decades ago. Republicans support expansion of IRAs and the establishment of spousal IRAs to encourage savings and investment.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton also vetoed provisions to reduce the capital gains tax rate. Excessive taxes on investment cripple the American economy and kill American jobs by increasing the cost of capital, locking in resources, and stifling small business growth and entrepreneurial activity. Largely because of these excessive taxes, American businesses face a competitive disadvantage with respect to our major trading partners, hurting their ability to export products abroad and create jobs. To remove impediments to job creation and economic growth, we support reducing the top tax rate on capital gains by 50 percent.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In 1993, Bill Clinton raised taxes on millions of middle-class retirees by dramatically increasing the income tax on Social Security benefits. This targeted attack on the economic security of our elderly was unfair and misguided. Republicans believe that this Clinton initiative must be repealed.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

These proposals making the current tax code fairer and less burdensome should be viewed as an interim step towards comprehensive tax reform. The current tax code is ridiculously complex and unfair. It is also an unnecessary drag on the economy. At a time when business investment plans are greatly diminished and savings rates are unacceptably low, we must reform our tax system to remove existing artificial, government-induced bias against saving and investment.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

To that end, we firmly commit to a tax code for the 21st century that will raise revenue sufficient for a smaller, more effective and less wasteful government without increasing the national debt. That new tax system must be flatter, fairer, and simpler, with a minimum of exclusions from its coverage, and one set of rules applying to all. It must be simple enough to be understood by all and enforced by few, with a low-cost of compliance which replaces the current stack of endless forms with a calculation which can be performed on the back of a postcard.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

It must expand the economy and increase opportunity by rewarding initiative and hard work. It must foster job creation and end bias against saving. It must promote personal freedom and innovation. It must do all this in order to boost wages and raise living standards for all of America's working families.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A simple, fair tax system that is pro-growth and pro-family will not need today's burdensome IRS. That agency has become a nightmare for law-abiding taxpayers. It must be dramatically downsized - with resources going to more important efforts like drug enforcement - and made less intrusive.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

To protect the American people from those who would undo their forthcoming victory over big government, we support legislation requiring a super-majority vote in both houses of Congress to raise taxes.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We also support a government that keeps its word. Retroactive taxation, like Bill Clinton's infamous 1993 tax hike, breaks that word. We pledge a legislative or constitutional remedy to prohibit its repetition. Because of their vital role in fostering charity and patriotism, we oppose taxing religious and fraternal benefit societies. We will not tolerate attempts to impose taxes by federal judges.

Balancing the Budget and Reducing Spending

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"We didn't dig ourselves into a $5 trillion debt because the American people are undertaxed. We got that $5 trillion debt because government overspends."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"The budget deficit is a 'stealth tax' that pushes up interest rates and costs the typical family $36,000 on an average home mortgage, $1,400 on an ordinary student loan, and $700 on a car loan." Bob Dole

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Raising tax rates is the wrong way to balance the budget. It enables the Clinton tax addicts to wastefully spend the public's money. Republicans support a Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution, phased in over a short period and with appropriate safeguards for national emergencies. We passed it in the House of Representatives, but Bill Clinton and his allies - especially the Senate's somersault six, who switched their long-standing position on the issue - blocked it by a single vote. As president, Bob Dole will lead the fight for that amendment, and in the States, Republicans will finish the fight for its speedy ratification.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Once and for all, we declare:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

the budget deficit and high taxes are two halves of the vise that is producing the Clinton middle class squeeze;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

a balanced budget and lower taxes go hand in hand, not in separate directions;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

reducing the budget deficit by shrinking government produces a fiscal dividend in stronger growth and lower interest rates;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

ending that deficit will make possible a dramatic return of resources to the American people;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

tax relief is the only way to return the economy to the growth rates our country enjoyed from World War II to the coming of Bill Clinton; and

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

we will not mortgage our children's future by incurring deficits

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A president should be Commander-in-Chief in the nation's budget battle as well as in military conflicts. Bill Clinton has been AWOL - Absent Without Leadership. Congressional Republicans had to fight his Senate allies for over a year just to give him a line-item veto for appropriation bills. Instead of helping us strengthen the presidency in this way, he set an historic precedent: vetoing whole appropriation bills because they spent too little money! His vetoes essentially shut down much of the government.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We make this promise: A Republican president will veto money bills that spend too much, not too little, and will use the line-item veto to lead the charge against wasteful spending. A Republican president will build on the achievements of our Republican Congress which has cut spending in excess of $53 billion over the last two years.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Clinton Administration's tactic of using irresponsible monetary policy to hide the effects of their bad fiscal policies leads to:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

higher inflation;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

lower growth;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

fewer jobs; and

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

scarcity of capital to fund small businesses.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This is not only bad economics; it is a hidden tax against both income and savings. We pledge a non-political monetary policy to keep prices stable and maintain public confidence in the value of the dollar.

Creating Jobs for Americans

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our goal is to empower the American people by expanding employment and entrepreneurial opportunities. Fundamentally, jobs are created in the private sector.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Small businesses are the engines of growth and job creation. They generate 75 percent of new jobs and 55 percent of our gross domestic product. The Republican Party is committed to the survival, the revival, and the resurgence of small business. In addition to our overall program of lower taxes, regulatory reform, and less spending, we will:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

allow small businesses to deduct the costs of their health insurance;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

restore the fair home-office deduction so important to start-up businesses;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

assure that no one who inherits a small business or farm has to sell it to pay inheritance taxes;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

make the IRS stop its discrimination against independent contractors;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

enact both legal reform and product liability legislation to shield small businesses and protect jobs from the threat of unfair litigation; and

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

transfer from the public sector services that can be provided by the private sector more efficiently and cost effectively.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Small business is a force for enormous progress, socially, politically, and economically. This is both an economic and a civil rights agenda. Small businesses owned by women now employ more people than all the Fortune 500 companies combined. Republican-created enterprise zones will offer dramatic opportunities to workers employed by small businesses, particularly minorities and the "Forgotten Workers." Republicans support the creation of jobs in all areas of the country, from the inner city to rural America.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We must create the workplace of the future so that it becomes a vehicle for personal liberation for those who seek a foothold on the opportunity ladder. We advocate increased access to capital for businesses to expand, export, and bring new products and technologies to market. We propose to consolidate federal training programs and to transfer their administration to the States and local governments.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Restraining the size and spending of government is only part of the job. We must transform official policies and attitudes toward productive Americans. Many of our labor laws and job training programs are out of date and out of touch with the needs of today's workers. Both the Davis-Bacon Act and the Service Contract Act, for example, have come to restrict opportunity, increase costs, and inhibit innovation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Congressional Republicans have already launched a fight against the union bosses' ban on flex-time and comp-time in private industry. Those innovations are especially important to families with children. Government has no business forbidding America's workers to arrange their schedules to suit the needs of their own families.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In the same spirit, we will enact the TEAM Act to empower employers and employees to act as a team, rather than as adversaries, to advance their common interests. (It is opposed only by those who profit from labor conflict, for whom Bill Clinton has vetoed the bill.) Another way to replace conflict with concerted action is to transform OSHA from an adversarial agency into a pioneering advocate of safer productivity. We will mesh its activities with the work of councils formed under the TEAM Act to advance worker protection from the ground up.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In contrast, the Clinton Administration has produced no regulatory reform, no tax relief, no product liability reform, and no legal reform.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our vision is that everyone who seeks a job will have a job. We will break the "job lock" and bring employment opportunities to all Americans. Science, Technology, and Innovation in the 21st Century

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our goal is to empower the American people by using the benefits of advanced science to improve their quality of life without undue restraint from government. Our bottom line is more jobs, better jobs, and a higher standard of living for the families of America.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

As we prepare for the dawn of a new century, it is essential that our public policies keep pace with an evolving economy. Increased productivity is essential to expand the economy and improve the standard of living of all Americans. A recent report by the Office of Technology Assessment attributes at least half of all economic growth in the United States to advances in technology.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

America is expanding its leadership role as a country that fosters innovation and technological advances, the essential ingredients of increased productivity. Leading these efforts are the men and women - and high technology businesses - that foster creative solutions to world problems. We must create policies that enable these thoughtful leaders to continue to invest in research and development. U.S. research and development (R&D) investment has increased significantly over the past two decades and currently accounts for about 2.6 percent of the nation's gross domestic product. The private sector has been the main engine behind this growth, contributing over 60 percent of the national R&D investment. Such investment has led to increased employment and high-quality jobs. Businesses that invest heavily in R&D tend to create more jobs, and to employ high-skilled workers in those new jobs at above average wage levels.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Research and development is our commitment to the future. It is our investment in the future. We must design tax and regulatory policies that encourage private sector research and experimentation, while lowering the cost of such investments.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We believe the marketplace, not bureaucrats, can determine which technologies and entrepreneurs best meet the needs of the public. American companies must use the most advanced production technologies, telecommunications, and information management systems. Technological advance means economic growth, higher productivity, and more security. We therefore support private-sector funding of applied research, especially in emerging technologies, and improved education in science and engineering. American workers must have the knowledge and training to effectively utilize the capabilities of those new systems.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Federal science programs must emphasize basic research. The tax code must foster research and development. These policies will increase the pace of technological developments by de-emphasizing the role of government and strengthening the role of the private sector. We will advance the innovative ideas and pioneering spirit that make possible the impossible.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

New discoveries to bolster America's international competitiveness are essential. The fruits of federally funded research led to the creation of the biotechnology industry through the Bayh-Dole Act. This is an example of innovation and risk-taking, creating 2,000 biotechnology companies employing thousands of employees and selling billions of dollars of products to keep us first and foremost in the global marketplace.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The communications revolution empowers individuals, enhances health care, opens up opportunity for rural areas, and strengthens families and institutions. A Dole-led Congress passed the Telecommunications Act of 1996 to promote the full and open competition and freedom of choice in the telecommunications marketplace. In contrast, the Clinton-Gore Administration repeatedly defended big-government regulation. This micromanagement of the Information Age is an impediment to the development of America's information superhighway.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support the broadest access to telecommunications networks and services, based upon marketplace capabilities. The Internet today is the most staggering example of how the Information Age can and will enhance the lives of Americans everywhere. To further this explosion of new-found freedoms and opportunities, privacy, through secured communications, has never been more important. Bob Dole and the Republican Party will promote policies that ensure that the U.S. remains the world leader in science, technology, and innovation.

Homeownership

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Homeownership is central to the American Dream. It is a commitment to a safe and stable community. It is not something government gives to the people, but rather something they can attain for themselves in a non-inflationary, growing economy. For most Americans, our home is our primary asset. Mortgage interest should remain deductible from the income tax.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We applaud Republican congressional efforts to pursue federal budget policies that will result in lower interest rates. Lower interest rates will open up more housing opportunities for more Americans than any program Washington could devise.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans support regulatory reform efforts that make buying a house easy, understandable, and affordable.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We affirm our commitment to open housing, without quotas or controls, and we condemn the Clinton Administration's abuse of fair housing laws to harass citizens exercising their First Amendment rights.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In addition, we support transforming public housing into private housing, converting low-income families into proud homeowners. Resident management of public housing is a first step toward that goal, which includes eliminating the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). HUD's core functions will be turned over to the States. Its civil rights component will be administered by the appropriate federal agency while enforcement will remain with the Department of Justice.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

With the housing sector representing such a significant segment of the Nation's economy, housing policy is and should continue to be a priority. We believe in a federal role which supplements, not directs or competes with, States and localities. We believe in federal programs which augment, not displace, private sector capital and resources.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Federal Government should not impose prescriptive solutions on State and local governments. Republicans believe that States and localities should have maximum flexibility to design programs which meet the individual needs of their communities. Washington must abandon the "one size fits all" approach and concentrate on adding value to the efforts of States, localities, private and faith-based organizations and individuals. Republicans believe we can and will accomplish this without disrupting services to the elderly, disabled and families with children.

Promoting Trade and International Prosperity

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans believe that the United States, as the sole superpower in the world today, has a responsibility to lead - economically, militarily, diplomatically, and morally - so that we have a peaceful and prosperous world.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans support free and fair trade. In the American Century ahead, our country will lead in international trade. American workers will be the winners in any fair competition, and American technology will drive a prosperity revolution around the world. Exports already fuel our economy; their continuing expansion is essential for full employment and long-term prosperity. That is possible only within the context of expanding trade, and we can do it better without a Department of Commerce.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our country's merchandise trade deficit exploded to $175 billion in 1995 and will likely set an all-time record in 1996, siphoning American wealth into the hands of foreigners. Trade deficits with all our major trading partners were worse in 1995 than in 1992. With China alone, the deficit more than doubled to $35 billion in the last three and a half years. With Japan, Bill Clinton announced a series of hollow agreements that have done little to improve market access. With Russia, he approved a $1 billion Export-Import Bank loan to foster competition with the American aircraft industry. With Canada, he tolerates discrimination against the United States beverage industry and focused on our lumber crisis too late to help closed logging mills. With Mexico, he ignored injury to American agriculture from massive surges in imports.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We should vigorously implement the North American Free Trade Agreement, while carefully monitoring its progress, to guarantee that its promised benefits and protections are realized by all American workers and consumers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans are for vigorous enforcement of the trade agreements we already have on the books, unlike the Clinton Administration that uses United States trade policy as a bargaining chip and as a vehicle for pursuing a host of other social agenda items. Republicans will enforce United States trade laws, including our antidumping laws, and will use the Super 301 investigations that give the President authority to challenge foreign barriers to our exports. And we will use the Export Enhancement Program to boost American farm exports. To advance economic freedom, we insist that United States foreign aid, whether bilateral or through the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, promote market reforms, limit regulation, and encourage free trade. Republicans will stop subsidizing socialism in the less developed nations. Republicans will not allow the World Trade Organization to undermine United States sovereignty and will support a World Trade Organization oversight commission.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Free market capitalism is the right model for economic development throughout the world. The Soviet model of a state-controlled economy has been discredited, and neither stage of development nor geographic location can justify economic authoritarianism. Human nature and aspirations are the same everywhere, and everywhere the family is the building block of economic and social progress. We therefore will protect the rights of families in international programs and will not fund organizations involved in abortion. The cost of turning our back on the global marketplace is the loss of opportunity and millions of jobs for United States citizens.

Changing Washington From the Ground Up

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"On November 8, 1994, the American people sent a message to Washington.... Their message is my mandate: To rein in government and reconnect it to the values of the American people. That means making government a whole lot smaller, a lot less arrogant, and getting it out of matters best left to the states, cities, and families across America." Bob Dole, March 10, 1995 in Washington, D. C.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We are the party of small, responsible and efficient government, joining our neighbors in cities and counties, rather than distant bureaucrats, to build a just society and caring communities. We therefore assert the power of the American people over government, rather than the other way around. Our agenda for change, profound and permanent change in the way government behaves, is based on the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

For more than half a century, that solemn compact has been scorned by liberal Democrats and the judicial activism of the judges they have appointed. We will restore the force of the Tenth Amendment and, in the process, renew the trust and respect which hold together a free society. As its first initiative enacted into law, the new Republican majority on Capitol Hill launched that effort early in 1995 by forbidding the imposition of new unfunded mandates upon State and local taxpayers. From now on, if official Washington promises benefits, official Washington must pay for them. We will apply that same principle to the ill-conceived Motor-Voter Act, the Democrats' costly invitation to ballot fraud.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

To permanently restore balance in the federal system, States must have the proper tools to act as a counterforce to the Federal Government. Our country's founders attempted to carefully balance power between the two levels. The Tenth Amendment, as well as the ability of State legislatures to initiate constitutional amendments, and other constitutional tools given to States to protect their role in the system have now been either eroded away, given away, or rendered impossible to use. Thus, States lack the tools necessary to do their job as a counterbalance to the national government.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We call upon Congress, governors, State legislators and local leaders to adopt structural reforms that will permanently restore balance in our federal system. In this Information Era of uncertainty and rapid change, it is government close to home, controlled by neighborhood and community leaders, that can best respond to the needs and values of all citizens.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

As a first step in reforming government, we support elimination of the Departments of Commerce, Housing and Urban Development, Education, and Energy, and the elimination, defunding or privatization of agencies which are obsolete, redundant, of limited value, or too regional in focus. Examples of agencies we seek to defund or to privatize are the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and the Legal Services Corporation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In addition, we support Republican-sponsored legislation that would require the original sponsor of proposed federal legislation to cite specific constitutional authority for the measure.

A Citizens' Congress

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Even with these structural changes, a system of government is only as good as the women and men who serve within it. When the voters of 1994 elected Republican majorities in both the House and Senate for the first time in forty years, Capitol Hill had been an institution steeped in corruption and contemptuous of reform. Congressional Republicans changed things, from the ground up. They:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

applied all laws to Congress, so that those who make the rules will have to live by them;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

slashed congressional spending and cut back the staff on Capitol Hill;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

ordered an unprecedented audit of the House of Representatives, with devastating exposure of the Democrats' four decades of mismanagement;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

streamlined legislative procedures by reducing the number of committees and subcommittees;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

imposed term limits for House committee chairs and Leadership positions - something the Democrats still refuse to do;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

abolished proxy voting in House committees, ending the scandal of absentee Members casting phony votes;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

required any Representative charged indicted of a felony offense to relinquish positions of authority within Congress until cleared of wrongdoing;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

ended the Democrats' secret sessions by opening to the press and the public all committee meetings;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

brought to a vote, in both the House and Senate, a constitutional amendment to impose term limits on Members of Congress. It failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the House, where 80 percent of Republicans voted for it and 80 percent of Democrats voted against it. Every Senate Republican voted to allow a vote on term limits, but the Democrats killed it by a filibuster. It will take expanded Republican majorities in the 105th Congress to send to the States a term limits constitutional amendment; and

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

passed historic legislation banning gifts to Members of Congress and their staff.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will continue our fight against gerrymandered congressional districts designed to thwart majority rule. We will eliminate made-in-Washington schemes to rig the election process under the guise of campaign reform. True reform is indeed needed: ending taxpayer subsidies for campaigns, strengthening party structures to guard against rogue operations, requiring full and immediate disclosure of all contributions, and cracking down on the indirect support, or "soft money," by which special interest groups underwrite their favored candidates.

Cleaning Up Government

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In 1992, Bill Clinton promised "the most ethical Administration in the history of the Republic." Instead, the Clinton Administration has been rife with scandal. An unprecedented four Independent Counsels have been appointed since the Clinton Inauguration to investigate various allegations of wrongdoing by members of this Administration. The Clinton White House has abused executive power in both the White House Travel Office firings situation and in the FBI files matter. The FBI Director said there have been "egregious violations of privacy" in the gathering of FBI files of officials who worked in the White House under Republican administrations. We believe that misuse of law enforcement authorities for partisan political ends is no trivial matter. Such abuses strike at the heart of the relationship between citizen and government and undermine the rule of law and confidence in our leaders.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Scandals in government are not limited to possible criminal violations. The public trust is violated when taxpayers money is treated as a slush fund for special interest groups who oppose urgently needed reforms. For example, the Democrats have denied school vouchers for poor children in the nation's capital at the demand of special interest unions. They have blocked urgently needed legal reforms at the command of the trial lawyers, now the biggest source of revenue for the Democrat party. They have rejected reforms to improve the workplace to please union bosses who committed $35 million to aid the Clinton reelection effort.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

It is time to restore honor and integrity to government. We propose to:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

revoke pension rights of public officials who have been convicted of crimes;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

strengthen citizen privacy laws and reform the FBI to guard against the politicization of law enforcement that we have seen by the Clinton White House;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

refuse to allow special interest groups to block innovative solutions for the poor or to block workplace or legal reforms that would help all working Americans; and

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

recruit for public service, at all levels, men and women of integrity and high ethical standards.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will end welfare for lobbyists. Every year, the federal government gives away billions of dollars in grants. Much of that money goes to interest groups which engage in political activity and issue advocacy at the taxpayers' expense. This is an intolerable abuse of the public's money. A Republican Congress will enact legislation, currently blocked by Bill Clinton's congressional allies, to make groups choose between grants and lobbying.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will establish Truth in Testimony, requiring organizations which receive government funds and testify before Congress to disclose those funds. Our "Let America Know" legislation will force public disclosure of all taxpayer subsidies and lobbying by groups seeking grants. We will permit "private attorney general" lawsuits against federal grantees to ensure better enforcement of anti-lobbying restrictions. A Republican administration will impose accountability on grantees, to reveal what the public is getting for its money, and will end the process of automatic grant renewal. We will halt the funding of frivolous and politicized research grants.

Streamlining Government

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans believe we can streamline government and make it more effective through competition and privatization. We applaud the Republican Congress and Republican officials across the country for initiatives to expand the use of competition and privatization in government. It is greater competition - not unchallenged government bureaucracies - that will cut the cost of government, improve the delivery of services, and ensure wise investment in infrastructure. A Dole administration will make competition a centerpiece of government, eliminating duplication and increasing efficiency.

Honest Budgets and Real Numbers

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We have a moral responsibility not to leave our children a legacy of monstrous debt. Spending $1.6 trillion a year should be more than an accounting exercise. Restraining government spending, discussed elsewhere in this platform, is part of the solution. Reforming the entire budget process is the rest of it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our goal is clarity, simplicity, and accountability in the nation's budget. The keystone of that agenda is the enactment of a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget which a majority of congressional Democrats have vigorously opposed. We do not take that step lightly; but then, a $5 trillion debt is no laughing matter for tomorrow's taxpayers. We vow to offer that amendment again and again, until Congress sends it to the States for ratification.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In addition, we must eliminate all built-in biases toward spending. For example, the "current service baseline" builds in automatic budget increases for inflation and other factors and works like this: If the Democrats want a $1 billion program to grow to $2 billion, they then count an increase to $1.5 billion as a half-billion dollar cut - and the media dutifully reports it as such. This is a deceptive and reprehensible shell game that must be stopped.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A Republican president will fight wasteful spending with the line-item veto which was finally enacted by congressional Republicans this year over bitter Democrat opposition, 120 years after President Grant first proposed it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Even more important, we will stop the runaway growth of entitlement spending - the programs which automatically grow without any action required by Congress or the President. This spending has jumped 11-fold since 1970 and consumes more than half the federal budget. We will take entitlements off automatic pilot and make Congress accountable for their funding. To end outdated and wasteful programs, we will make the Government Performance and Results Act an integral part of our budget process.

Regulatory Reform

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Regulatory reform is needed more than ever. Bill Clinton promised to "reinvent government," but he returned to the old mindset of controls and red tape. To make matters worse, he vetoed a comprehensive regulatory reform bill crafted by Republicans in the House and Senate. That measure will become law when Bob Dole is President.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We commend House Speaker Newt Gingrich and congressional Republicans in their innovative efforts to rescind, overturn and zero-out absurd bureaucratic red tape and rules through the process known as "Corrections Day."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A Republican administration will require periodic review of existing regulations to ensure they are effective and do away with obsolete and conflicting rules. We will encourage civil servants to find ways to reduce regulatory burdens on the public and will require federal agencies to disclose the costs of new regulations on individuals and small businesses. A new regulatory budget will reveal the total cost of regulations on the American people.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will target resources on the most serious risks to health, safety, and the environment, rather than on politically inspired causes, and will require peer-reviewed risk assessments based on sound science. We will require agencies to conduct cost-benefit analyses of their regulations and pursue alternatives to the outdated Clinton command-and-control approach. These common-sense reforms will restore fairness and predictability to government rules and, even more important, will enable us to achieve equal or superior levels of protection for the public at lower cost.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Just as important, we recognize that all too often, in its ever-present zeal to expand into every aspect of our daily lives, the federal government intrudes into the private economy by establishing new services in direct competition with already existing private firms. We oppose the use of taxpayer funds to provide a competitive advantage for government agencies seeking to compete with private firms in the free market.

Restoring Justice to the Courts

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"When I am president, only conservative judges need apply." Bob Dole, May 28, 1996, in Aurora, Colorado

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The American people have lost faith in their courts, and for good reason. Some members of the federal judiciary threaten the safety, the values, and the freedom of law-abiding citizens. They make up laws and invent new rights as they go along, arrogating to themselves powers King George III never dared to exercise. They free vicious criminals, pamper felons in prison, frivolously overturn State laws enacted by citizen referenda, and abdicate the responsibility of providing meaningful review of administrative decisions.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The delicate balance of power between the respective branches of our national government and the governments of the 50 states has been eroded. The notion of judicial review has in some cases come to resemble judicial supremacy, affecting all segments of public and private endeavor. Make no mistake, the separation of powers doctrine, complete and unabridged, is the linchpin of a government of laws. A Republican Congress and president will restore true separation of powers and guarantee the American people a government of law.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The federal judiciary, including the U.S. Supreme Court, has overstepped its authority under the Constitution. It has usurped the right of citizen legislators and popularly elected executives to make law by declaring duly enacted laws to be "unconstitutional" through the misapplication of the principle of judicial review. Any other role for the judiciary, especially when personal preferences masquerade as interpreting the law, is fundamentally at odds with our system of government in which the people and their representatives decide issues great and small.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

No systemic reform of the judiciary can substitute for the wise exercise of power of appointment vested in the president of the United States. A Republican president will ensure that a process is established to select for the federal judiciary nominees who understand that their task is first and foremost to be faithful to the Constitution and to the intent of those who framed it. In that process, the American Bar Association will no longer have the right to meddle in a way that distorts a nominee's credentials and advances the liberal agenda of litigious lawyers and their allies.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Justice is mocked by some of today's litigation practices, which hinder our country's competitiveness, and drain billions of dollars away from productive Americans. While we fully support the role of the judiciary in vindicating the constitutional and statutory rights of individuals and organizations, we believe the proliferation of litigation hits the consumer with higher prices and cripples the practice of medicine. Despite bipartisan congressional efforts to enact legal reforms, Bill Clinton vetoed such legislation at the behest of his financial friends: the trial lawyers. A Republican president will sign that bill, and more. We encourage State governments to adopt reforms similar to those we propose to restore fairness to the federal system:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

strengthen judicial sanctions for lawsuits that are substantially without merit, thereby hitting unethical lawyers in their pocketbooks;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

apply the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations law (RICO) as originally intended, to criminal proceedings, not civil litigation;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

award punitive damages on a fair and reasonable basis after clear proof of wrongdoing, with limits that discourage opportunistic litigation. Since punitive damages are intended to punish egregious wrongdoing, a substantial portion of the amount awarded should go to a crime-victim compensation fund or similar program;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

restore limited liability to non-profit organizations - churches, civic and community groups, and the volunteers who sustain them - to provide protection against profit-seeking lawsuits and to encourage volunteerism;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

increase sanctions for abuses of the discovery process used to intimidate opponents and drive up the costs of litigation;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

reform medical malpractice to reduce health care costs and keep doctors practicing in critical areas like obstetrics;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

eliminate the use of "junk science" by opportunistic attorneys by requiring courts to verify that the science of those called as expert witnesses is reasonably acceptable within the scientific community, and forbid the practice of making their fees conditional upon a favorable verdict. This action will reduce the practice of so-called hired-gun "experts" who make up theories to fit the facts of the case in which they are testifying;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

eliminate joint and several liability in order to ensure that responsible parties pay their "fair share" in proportion to their degree of fault; and

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

guard against non-meritorious lawsuits that are designed to have a chilling effect on First Amendment rights.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A federal products liability law goes hand in hand with legal reform. Its absence not only penalizes consumers with higher costs and keeps needed products off the market, but also gives foreign nations a competitive edge over American workers. Bill Clinton doesn't mind that. He vetoed Republican reforms that would have saved the public tens of billions of dollars.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton even vetoed the Securities Litigation Reform Act, a Republican initiative to protect shareholders against avaricious litigation. That obstructionism was too much for even the Democrats in Congress, many of whom joined in overriding his veto. A Republican president will work with Congress to restore justice to the nation's courts and fair play to the practice of law.

The Nation's Capital

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The District of Columbia should be an example for the rest of the country. Instead, decades of domination by the Democrat party has left the city bankrupt and dangerous. Its residents - and all Americans - deserve better than that.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We reaffirm the constitutional status of the District of Columbia as the seat of government of the United States and reject calls for statehood for the District.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We call for structural reform of the city's government and its education system. For both efficiency and public safety, we will transfer water and sewer management in the District to the Army Corps of Engineers or to a regional entity.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We endorse proposals by the congressional Republican Leadership for dramatic reductions in federal taxes - and the city's own outrageous marginal tax rate - within the District. Bill Clinton opposes that idea. A Republican president will make it part of a comprehensive agenda to transform the nation's capital into a renewal community, an enterprise zone leading the way for the rest of urban America to follow.

Americans in the Territories

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We welcome greater participation in all aspects of the political process by Americans residing in Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, the Northern Marianas, and Puerto Rico. No single approach can meet the needs of those diverse communities. We therefore emphasize respect for their wishes regarding their relationship to the rest of the Union. We affirm their right to seek the full extension of the Constitution, with all the rights and responsibilities it entails.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support the Native American Samoans' efforts to preserve their culture and land-tenure system, which fosters self-reliance and strong extended family values.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We recognize that the people of Guam have voted for a closer relationship with the United States of America, and we affirm our support of their right to mutually improve their political relationship through commonwealth.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support the right of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico to be admitted to the Union as a fully sovereign state after they freely so determine.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We endorse initiatives of the congressional Republican leadership to provide for Puerto Rico's smooth transition to statehood if its citizens choose to alter their current status, or to set them on their own path to become an independent nation.

Individual Rights and Personal Safety

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"We are discovering as a nation that many of our deepest social problems are problems of character and belief. We will never solve those problems until the hearts of parents are turned toward their children; until respect is restored for life and property; until a commitment is renewed to love and serve our neighbor. The common good requires that goodness be common." Bob Dole, May 23, 1996 in Philadelphia

Upholding the Rights of All

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This section of our platform deals with rights and responsibilities. But it deals also with something larger: the common good, our shared sense of what makes a society decent and noble. That takes us beyond government policies and programs to what we are as a people, and what we want to be.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We are the party of the open door. As we approach the start of a new century, the Republican Party is more dedicated than ever to strengthening the social, cultural, and political ties that bind us together as a free people, the greatest force for good the world has ever seen. While our party remains steadfast in its commitment to advancing its historic principles and ideals, we also recognize that members of our party have deeply held and sometimes differing views. We view this diversity of views as a source of strength, not as a sign of weakness, and we welcome into our ranks all Americans who may hold differing positions. We are committed to resolving our differences in a spirit of civility, hope, and mutual respect.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Americans do not want to be afraid of those they pass on the street, suspicious of strangers, fearful for their children. They do not want to have to fight a constant battle against brutality and degradation in what passes for entertainment. We oppose sexual harassment in the workplace, and must ensure that no one in America is forced to choose between a job and submitting to unwelcome advances. We also oppose indoctrination in the classroom. Americans should not have to tolerate the decline of ethical standards and the collapse of behavioral norms. Most important, they should not have to doubt the truthfulness of their elected leaders.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Reversing those trends won't be easy, but our homes and our children are worth the effort. Government has a small, but vital, role. But most of the burden must be ours: as parents, as consumers, as citizens whose right of free speech empowers us to stand up for the weak and vulnerable - and speak out against the profiteers of violence and moral decay.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

That needs to be done, both in our house and in the White House. Bill Clinton can't - or won't - do it. So we will do it without him, and with new national leadership of character and conscience.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We are the party of individual Americans, whose rights we protect and defend as the foundation for opportunity and security for all. Today, as at our founding in the day of Lincoln, we insist no one's rights are negotiable.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

As we strive to forge a national consensus on the divisive issues of our time, we call on all Republicans and all Americans to reject the forces of hatred and bigotry. Accordingly, we denounce all who practice or promote racism, anti-Semitism, ethnic prejudice, and religious intolerance. We condemn attempts by the EEOC or any other arm of government to regulate or ban religious symbols from the work place, and we assert the right of religious leaders to speak out on public issues. We condemn the desecration of places of worship and are proud that congressional Republicans led the fight against church arsons. We believe religious institutions and schools should not be taxed. When government funds privately operated social, welfare, or educational programs, it must not discriminate against religious institutions, whose record in providing services to those in need far exceeds that of the public sector.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The sole source of equal opportunity for all is equality before the law. Therefore, we oppose discrimination based on sex, race, age, creed, or national origin and will vigorously enforce anti-discrimination statutes. We reject the distortion of those laws to cover sexual preference, and we endorse the Defense of Marriage Act to prevent states from being forced to recognize same-sex unions. Because we believe rights inhere in individuals, not in groups, we will attain our nation's goal of equal rights without quotas or other forms of preferential treatment. We scorn Bill Clinton's notion that any person should be denied a job, promotion, contract or a chance at higher education because of their race or gender. Instead, we endorse the Dole-Canady Equal Opportunity Act to end discrimination by the federal government. We likewise endorse this year's Proposition 209, the California Civil Rights Initiative, to restore to law the original meaning of civil rights.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We renew our historic Republican commitment to equal opportunity for women. In the early days of the suffragist movement, we pioneered the women's right to vote. We take pride in this year's remarkable array of Republican women serving in and running for office and their role in leadership positions in our party, in Congress, and in the states. Two women serve in our House Leadership - a record untouched by the Democrats during their 40 years in power. The full exercise of legal rights depends upon opportunity, and economic growth is the key to continuing progress for women in all fields of endeavor. Public policy must respect and accommodate women whether they are full-time homemakers or pursue a career.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Under Senator Dole's sponsorship, the Americans with Disabilities Act was enacted to ensure full participation by disabled citizens in our country's life. Republicans emphasize community integration and inclusion of persons with disabilities, both by personal example and by practical enforcement of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, the Air Carriers Access Act, and other laws. We will safeguard the interests of disabled persons in Medicare and Medicaid, as well as in federal work force programs. Under a Republican renewal, the abilities of all will be needed in an expanding economy, which alone can carry forward the assistive technology that offers personal progress for everyone. We support full access to the polls, and the entire political process, by disabled citizens. We oppose the non-consensual withholding of health care or treatment because of handicap, age, or infirmity, just as we oppose euthanasia and assisted suicide, which, especially for the poor and those on the margins of society, threaten the sanctity of human life.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution and we endorse legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to unborn children. Our purpose is to have legislative and judicial protection of that right against those who perform abortions. We oppose using public revenues for abortion and will not fund organizations which advocate it. We support the appointment of judges who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our goal is to ensure that women with problem pregnancies have the kind of support, material and otherwise, they need for themselves and for their babies, not to be punitive towards those for whose difficult situation we have only compassion. We oppose abortion, but our pro-life agenda does not include punitive action against women who have an abortion. We salute those who provide alternatives to abortion and offer adoption services. Republicans in Congress took the lead in expanding assistance both for the costs of adoption and for the continuing care of adoptive children with special needs. Bill Clinton vetoed our adoption tax credit the first time around - and opposed our efforts to remove racial barriers to adoption - before joining in this long overdue measure of support for adoptive families.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Worse than that, he vetoed the ban on partial-birth abortions, a procedure denounced by a committee of the American Medical Association and rightly branded as four-fifths infanticide. We applaud Bob Dole's commitment to revoke the Clinton executive orders concerning abortion and to sign into law an end to partial-birth abortions.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We reaffirm the promise of the Fifth Amendment: "nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." This Takings Clause protects the homes and livelihood of Americans against the governmental greed and abuse of power that characterizes the Clinton Administration; we will strictly enforce it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We defend the constitutional right to keep and bear arms. We will promote training in the safe usage of firearms, especially in programs for women and the elderly. We strongly support Bob Dole's National Instant Check Initiative, which will help keep all guns out of the hands of convicted felons. The point-of-purchase instant check has worked well in many states and now it is time to extend this system all across America. We applaud Bob Dole's commitment to have the national instant check system operational by the end of 1997. In one of the strangest actions of his tenure, Bill Clinton abolished Operation Triggerlock, the Republican initiative to jail any felon caught with a gun. We will restore that effort and will set by law minimum mandatory penalties for the use of guns in committing a crime: 5 years for possession, 10 years for brandishing, and 20 for discharge.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We affirm the right of individuals to participate in labor organizations and to bargain collectively, consistent with State laws. Because that participation should always be voluntary. we support the right of States to enact Right-to-Work laws. We will restore the original scope of the Hobbs Act, barring union officials from extortion and violence. We will vigorously implement the Supreme Court's Beck decision to ensure that workers are not compelled to subsidize political activity, like the $35 million slush fund extorted this year from rank and file members by Washington-based labor leaders. We will reverse Bill Clinton's unconscionable Executive Order that deprived workers of their right to know how their union dues are spent.

A Sensible Immigration Policy

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

As a nation of immigrants, we welcome those who follow our laws and come to our land to seek a better life. New Americans strengthen our economy, enrich our culture, and defend the nation in war and in peace. At the same time, we are determined to reform the system by which we welcome them to the American family. We must set immigration at manageable levels, balance the competing goals of uniting families of our citizens and admitting specially talented persons, and end asylum abuses through expedited exclusion of false claimants.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton's immigration record does not match his rhetoric. While talking tough on illegal immigration, he has proposed a reduction in the number of border patrol agents authorized by the Republicans in Congress, has opposed the most successful border control program in decades (Operation Hold the Line in Texas), has opposed Proposition 187 in California which 60 percent of Californians supported, and has opposed Republican efforts to ensure that non-citizens do not take advantage of expensive welfare programs. Unlike Bill Clinton, we stand with the American people on immigration policy and will continue to reform and enforce our immigration laws to ensure that they reflect America's national interest.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We also support efforts to secure our borders from the threat of illegal immigration. Illegal immigration has reached crisis proportions, with more than four million illegal aliens now present in the United States. That number, growing by 300,000 each year, burdens taxpayers, strains public services, takes jobs, and increases crime. Republicans in both the House and Senate have passed bills that tighten border enforcement, speed up deportation of criminal aliens, toughen penalties for overstaying visas, and streamline the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Illegal aliens should not receive public benefits other than emergency aid, and those who become parents while illegally in the United States should not be qualified to claim benefits for their offspring. Legal immigrants should depend for assistance on their sponsors, who are legally responsible for their financial well-being, not the American taxpayers. Just as we require "deadbeat dads" to provide for the children they bring into the world, we should require "deadbeat sponsors" to provide for the immigrants they bring into the country. We support a constitutional amendment or constitutionally-valid legislation declaring that children born in the United States of parents who are not legally present in the United States or who are not long-term residents are not automatically citizens.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We endorse the Dole/Coverdell proposal to make crimes of domestic violence, stalking, child abuse, child neglect and child abandonment committed by aliens residing in this country deportable offenses under our immigration laws.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We call for harsh penalties against exploiters who smuggle illegal aliens and for those who profit from the production of false documents. Republicans believe that by eliminating the magnet for illegal immigration, increasing border security, enforcing our immigration laws, and producing counterfeit-proof documents, we will finally put an end to the illegal immigration crisis. We oppose the creation of any national ID card.

From Many, One

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

America's ethnic diversity within a shared national culture is one of our country's greatest strengths. While we benefit from our differences, we must also strengthen the ties that bind us to one another. Foremost among those is the flag. Its deliberate desecration is not "free speech," but an assault against our history and our hopes. We support a constitutional amendment that will restore to the people, through their elected representatives, their right to safeguard Old Glory. We condemn Bill Clinton's refusal, once again, to protect and preserve the most precious symbol of our Republic.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

English, our common language, provides a shared foundation which has allowed people from every corner of the world to come together to build the American nation. The use of English is indispensable to all who wish to participate fully in our society and realize the American dream. As Bob Dole has said: "For more than two centuries now, English has been a force for unity, indispensable to the process of transforming untold millions of immigrants from all parts of the globe into citizens of the most open and free society the world has ever seen." For newcomers, learning the English language has always been the fastest route to the mainstream of American life. That should be the goal of bilingual education programs. We support the official recognition of English as the nation's common language. We advocate foreign language training in our schools and retention of heritage languages in homes and cultural institutions. Foreign language fluency is also an essential component of America's competitiveness in the world market.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will strengthen Native Americans' self-determination by respecting tribal sovereignty, encouraging a pro-business and pro-development climate on reservations. We uphold the unique government-to-government relationship between the tribes and the United States, and we honor our nation's trust obligations to them. In fulfillment thereof, we will ensure that the resources, financial and otherwise, which the United States holds in trust are well-managed, audited, and protected. We second Bob Dole's call for legislation authorizing tribal governments to reorganize the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service. We endorse efforts to ensure equitable participation in federal programs by Native Americans, Native Alaskans and Native Hawaiians and to preserve their culture and languages.

Getting Tough on Crime

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"Women in America know better than anyone about the randomness and ruthlessness of crime. It is a shameful, national disgrace that nightfall has become synonymous with fear for so many of America's women." Bob Dole, May 28, 1996 in Aurora, Colorado

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

During Bill Clinton's tenure, America has become a more fearful place, especially for the elderly and for women and children. Violent crime has turned our homes into prisons, our streets and schoolyards into battlegrounds. It devours half a trillion dollars every year. Unfortunately, far worse could be coming in the near future. While we acknowledge the extraordinary efforts of single parents, we recognize that a generation of fatherless boys raises the prospect of soaring juvenile crime.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This is, in part the legacy of liberalism - in the old Democrat Congress, in the Clinton Department of Justice, and in the courts, where judges appointed by Democrat presidents continue their assault against the rights of law-abiding Americans. For too long government policy has been controlled by criminals and their defense lawyers. Democrat Congresses cared more about rights of criminals than safety for Americans. Bill Clinton arbitrarily closed off Pennsylvania Avenue, the nation's Main Street, for his protection, while his policies left the public unprotected against vicious criminals. As a symbol of our determination to restore the rule of law - in the White House as well as in our streets - we will reopen Pennsylvania Avenue.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

After the elections of 1994, the new Republican majorities in the House and Senate fought back with legislation that ends frivolous, costly, and unnecessarily lengthy death-row appeals, requires criminals to pay restitution to their victims, speeds the removal of criminal aliens, and steps up the fight against terrorism. Congressional Republicans put into law a truth-in-sentencing prison grant program to provide incentives to states which enact laws requiring violent felons to serve at least 85% of their sentences and replaced a myriad of Democrat "Washington knows best" prevention programs with bloc grants to cities and counties to use to fight crime as they see fit. They put an end to federal court early-release orders for prison overcrowding and made it much harder for prisoners to file frivolous lawsuits about prison conditions.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

There's more to do, once Bill Clinton's veto threats no longer block the way. We will establish no-frills prisons where prisoners are required to work productively and make the threat of jail a real deterrent to crime. Prisons should not be places of rest and relaxation. We will reform the Supreme Court's fanciful exclusionary rule, which has allowed a generation of criminals to get off on technicalities.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Juvenile crime is one of the most difficult challenges facing our nation. The juvenile justice system is broken. It fails to punish the minor crimes that lead to larger offenses, and lacks early intervention to keep delinquency from turning into violent crime. Truancy laws are not enforced, positive role models are lacking, and parental responsibility is overlooked. We will stress accountability at every step in the system and require adult trials for juveniles who commit adult crimes.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In addition, not only is juvenile crime on the rise, but unsupervised juveniles (especially at night) are most often the victims of abuse in our society. Recognizing that local jurisdictions have a clear and concise understanding of their problems, we encourage them to develop and enact innovative programs to address juvenile crime. We also encourage them to consider juvenile nocturnal curfews as an effective law enforcement tool in helping reduce juvenile crime and juvenile victimization.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Juvenile criminal proceedings should be open to victims and the public. Juvenile conviction records should not be sealed but made available to law enforcement agencies, the courts, and those who hire for sensitive work in schools and day-care centers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because liberal jurists keep expanding the rights of the accused, Republicans propose a Constitutional amendment to protect victims' rights: audio and visual testimony of victims kept on file for future hearings, full restitution, protection from intimidation or violence by the offender, notification of court proceedings, a chance to be heard in plea bargains, the right to remain in court during trials and hearings concerning the crimes committed against them, a voice in the sentencing proceedings, notice of the release or escape of offenders. Bill Clinton hypocritically endorsed our Victim's Rights Amendment while naming judges who opposed capital punishment, turned felons loose, and even excused murder as a form of social protest. Bob Dole, the next Republican president will end that nonsense and make our courts once again an instrument of justice.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

While the federal government's role is essential, most law enforcement must remain in the hands of local communities, directed by State and local officials who are closely answerable to the people whose lives are affected by crime. In that regard, we support community policing; nothing inhibits local crime like an officer in the neighborhood. Bill Clinton promised 100,000 more police officers on the beat but, according to his own Attorney General, delivered no more than 17,000. He ignored local law enforcers by tying the program in knots of red tape and high costs. Now he is diverting millions of its dollars, appropriated by congressional Republicans to fight street crime, to state parks and environmental projects. It's time to return those anti-crime resources to communities and let them decide what works best to keep their homes, schools, and workplaces safe. This would result in far more new police officers than Bill Clinton's program and give communities additional crime fighting resources they need.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will work with local authorities to prevent prison inmates from receiving disability or other government entitlements while incarcerated. We support efforts to allow peace officers, including qualified retirees, to assist their colleagues and protect their communities even when they are out of their home jurisdictions to the extent this is consistent with applicable state and local law. We will amend the Fair Labor Standards Act so that corrections officers can volunteer to assist local law enforcement.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Crimes against women and children demand an emphatic response. Under Bob Dole and Dick Zimmer's leadership, Republicans in Congress pushed through Megan's Law - the requirement that local communities be notified when sex offenders and kidnappers are released - in response to the growing number of violent sexual assaults and murders like the brutal murder of a little girl in New Jersey. We call for special penalties against thugs who assault or batter pregnant women and harm them or their unborn children. We endorse Bob Dole's call to bring federal penalties for child pornography in line with far tougher State penalties: ten years for a first offense, fifteen for the second, and life for a third. We believe it is time to revisit the Supreme Court's arbitrary decision of 1977 that protects even the most vicious rapists from the death penalty. Bob Dole authored a tough federal statute which provides for the admissibility of prior similar criminal acts of defendants in sexual assault cases. This important law enforcement tool should serve as a model for the states. We continue our strong support of capital punishment for those who commit heinous federal crimes; including the kingpins of the narcotics trade.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We wish to express our support and sympathy for all victims of terrorism and their families. Acts of terrorism against Americans and American interests must be stopped and those who commit them must be brought to justice. We recommend a Presidentially appointed "blue ribbon" commission to study more effective methods of prosecuting terrorists.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Only Republican resolve can prepare our nation to deal with the four deadly threats facing us in the early years of the 21st Century: violent crime, drugs, terrorism, and international organized crime. Those perils are interlocked - and all are escalating. This is no time for excuses. It's time for a change.

Solving the Drug Crisis

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The verdict is in on Bill Clinton's moral leadership: after 11 years of steady decline, the use of marijuana among teens doubled in the two years after 1992. At the same time, the use of cocaine and methamphetamines dramatically increased.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

That shocks but should not surprise. For in the war on drugs - an essential component of the fight against crime - today's Democratic Party has been a conscientious objector. Nowhere is the discrepancy between Bill Clinton's rhetoric and his actions more apparent. Mr. Clinton's personal record has been a betrayal of the nation's trust, sending the worst possible signal to the nation's youth. At the urging of the Secret Service, the White House had to institute a drug-testing program for Clinton staffers who were known to be recent users of illegal narcotics. At the same time, he drastically cut funding for drug interdiction. The Office of National Drug Control Policy was cut by 80 percent, and federal drug prosecutions dropped 25 percent. His Attorney General proposed to reduce mandatory minimum sentences for drug trafficking and related crimes, and his Surgeon General advocated legalization of narcotics. Hundreds of suspected drug smugglers have been allowed to go free at the border. Simultaneously, the use of marijuana, cocaine, and heroin has increased, especially among young people. Now narcotics are again fueling the acceleration of crime rates, putting the nation on a collision course with the future.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton's weakness in international affairs has worsened the situation here at home. One case in point: He certified that Mexico has cooperated with our drug interdiction effort when 70 percent of drugs smuggled into the U. S. come across our southern border - and when the Mexican government ignored 165 extradition orders for drug criminals. Discredited at home and abroad, he lacks both the stature and the credibility to lead us toward a drug-free America.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A war against drugs requires moral leadership now lacking in the White House. Throughout the 1980s, the Republican approach - no legalization, no tolerance, no excuses - turned the tide against drug abuse. We can do it again by emphasizing prevention, interdiction, a tough international approach, and a crack-down on users. That requires reversing one of Bill Clinton's most offensive actions: his shocking purge of every U. S. Attorney in the country shortly after he took office. This unprecedented firing destroyed our first line of defense against drug traffickers and other career criminals. Our country's most experienced and dedicated prosecutors were replaced with Clintonite liberals, some of whom have refused to prosecute major drug dealers, foreign narcotics smugglers, and child pornographers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In a Dole Administration, U. S. Attorneys will prosecute and jail those who prey upon the innocent. We support upgrading our interdiction effort by establishing a Deputy Commissioner for Drug Enforcement within the Customs Service. We will intensify our intelligence efforts against international drug traffickers and use whatever means necessary to destroy their operations and seize their personal accounts.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support strong penalties, including mandatory minimum sentences, for drug trafficking, distribution and drug-related crimes. Drug use is closely related to crime and recidivism. Drug testing should be made a routine feature of the criminal justice process at every stage, including the juvenile justice system. Test results should be used in deciding pretrial release, sentencing, and probation revocation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A safer America must include highways without drunk or drug-impaired drivers. We support the toughest possible State laws to deal with drivers impaired by substance abuse and advocate federal cooperation, not compulsion, toward that end.

The Bottom Line: From The Top Down

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Making America safe again will be a tremendous undertaking, in its own way as heroic as was the liberation of Europe from a different kind of criminal half a century ago. At the grassroots, that crusade already has enlisted the men and women of local law enforcement. Now they need a leader worthy of their cause - someone whose life reflects respect for the law, not evasion of it. Bill Clinton need not apply.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bob Dole will be a president committed to the protection and safety of all Americans. However, his strength is diminished without a court system supportive of the national fight against violent crime. That is the bottom line of this year's presidential election: Who should chart the course of law enforcement for the next generation by naming as many as an additional 30 percent of our federal judges and the next several justices to the U. S. Supreme Court? Bill Clinton, the master of excuse and evasion? Or Bob Dole, whose life has been an exercise in honor and duty?

Families and Society

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"The alternative to cold bureaucracy is not indifference. It is the warmth of families and neighborhoods, charities, churches, synagogues and communities. These value-shaping institutions have the tools to reclaim lives - individual responsibility, tough love, and spiritual renewal. They do more than care for the body; they restore the spirit." Bob Dole, May 23, 1996, in Philadelphia

Stronger Families

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We are the party of the American family, educating children, caring for the sick, learning from the elderly, and helping the less fortunate. We believe that strengthening family life is the best way to improve the quality of life for everyone.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Families foster the virtues that make a free society strong. We rely on the home and its supportive institutions to instill honesty, self-discipline, mutual respect and the other virtues that sustain democracy. Our goal is to promote those values by respecting the rights of families and by assisting, where appropriate, the institutions which mediate between government and the home. While recognizing a role for government in dealing with social ills, we look to mediating institutions - religious and community groups, private associations of all kinds - to take the lead in tackling the social ills that some government programs have only worsened.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This is the clearest distinction between Republicans and Clinton Democrats: We believe the family is the core institution of our society. Bill Clinton thinks government should hold that place. It's little wonder, then, that today's families feel under siege. They seem to work harder with less reward for their labor. They can no longer expect that life will be better for their children than it was for them.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Their problem starts in the White House. Bill Clinton has hit families with higher taxes, vetoed their tax relief, and given their money to special interest groups. He has meddled in their schools, fought family choice in education, and promoted lifestyles inimical to their values. He repeatedly vetoed pro-family welfare reforms before surrendering to the demands of the American people. He tried to impose a ruinous government takeover of health care; led a scare campaign against Republican efforts to preserve, protect, and strengthen Medicare; and appointed to major positions in his administration social theorists whose bizarre views are alien to those of most Americans.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans want to get our society back on track - toward good schools with great teachers, welfare that really helps, and health care responsive to the needs of people, not government. We want to make sure our most important programs - like Social Security and Medicare - are there when people need them. In all those cases, we start with the family as the building block of a safe and caring society.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our agenda for more secure families runs throughout this platform. Here we take special notice of the way congressional Republicans have advanced adoption assistance, promoted foster care reform, and fought the marriage penalty in the tax code. They have worked to let parents have flex-time and comp-time in private industry, and have safeguarded family choice in child care against the Democrats' attempts to control it. They passed the Defense of Marriage Act, which defines "marriage" for purposes of federal law as the legal union of one man and one woman and prevents federal judges and bureaucrats from forcing states to recognize other living arrangements as "marriages." Further, they have advanced the Family Rights and Privacy Act - a bill of rights against the intrusions of big government and its grantees.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In the House and Senate, Republicans have championed the economic rights of the family and made a $500 per child tax credit the centerpiece of their reform agenda. But that overdue measure of relief for households with children was vetoed.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We salute parents working at the State level to ensure constitutional protection for the rights of the family. We urge State legislators to review divorce laws to foster the stability of the home and protect the economic rights of the innocent spouse and children.

Improving Education

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"At the center of all that afflicts our schools is a denial of free choice. Our public schools are in trouble because they are no longer run by the public. Instead, they're controlled by narrow special interest groups who regard public education not as a public trust, but as political territory to be guarded at all costs." Bob Dole, July 17, 1996, in Minneapolis

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The American people know that something is terribly wrong with our education system. The evidence is everywhere: children who cannot read, graduates who cannot reason, danger in schoolyards, indoctrination in classrooms.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

To this crisis in our schools, Bill Clinton responds with the same liberal dogmas that created the mess: more federal control and more spending on all the wrong things. He opposes family rights in education and opportunity scholarships for poor children. When it comes to saving our schools, he flunks.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Americans should have the best education in the world. We spend more per pupil than any other nation, and the great majority of our teachers are dedicated and skilled educators, whose interests are ignored by political union bosses. Our goal is nothing less than a renaissance in American education, begun by returning its control to parents, teachers, local school boards and, through them, to communities and local taxpayers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our formula is as simple as it is sweeping: the federal government has no constitutional authority to be involved in school curricula or to control jobs in the work place. That is why we will abolish the Department of Education, end federal meddling in our schools, and promote family choice at all levels of learning. We therefore call for prompt repeal of the Goals 2000 program and the School-To-Work Act of 1994, which put new federal controls, as well as unfunded mandates, on the States. We further urge that federal attempts to impose outcome- or performance-based education on local schools be ended.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We know what works in education, and it isn't the liberal fads of the last thirty years. It's discipline, parental involvement, emphasis on basics including computer technology, phonics instead of look-say reading, and dedicated teaching.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Abstinence education in the home will lead to less need for birth control services and fewer abortions. We support educational initiatives to promote chastity until marriage as the expected standard of behavior. This education initiative is the best preventive measure to avoid the emotional trauma of sexually-transmitted diseases and teen pregnancies that are serious problems among our young people. While recognizing that something must be done to help children when parental consent or supervision is not possible, we oppose school-based clinics, which provide referrals, counseling, and related services for contraception and abortion.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We encourage a reform agenda on the local level and urge State legislators to ensure quality education for all through programs of parental choice among public, private, and religious schools. That includes the option of home schooling, and Republicans will defend the right of families to make that choice. We support and vigorously work for mechanisms, such as opportunity scholarships, block grants, school rebates, charter schools, and vouchers, to make parental choice in education a reality for all parents.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

On the federal level, we endorse legislation - like the Watts-Talent Low-Income Educational Opportunity Act, which is part of the Community Renewal Act of 1996, and the Coats-Kasich Educational Choice and Equity Act - to set up model programs for empowering the families who need good schooling the most.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will continue to work for the return of voluntary prayer to our schools and will strongly enforce the Republican legislation that guarantees equal access to school facilities by student religious groups. We encourage State legislatures to pass statutes which prohibit local school boards from adopting policies of denial regarding voluntary school prayer.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We endorse Bob Dole's pledge that all federal education policies will be guided by his Education Consumer's Warranty. The Education Consumer's Warranty says that all American children should expect to:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

attend a safe school;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

be free from educational malpractice at the hands of bad schools, incompetent teachers, timid principals, and intrusive bureaucrats;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

find out exactly how well they and their school are doing (in terms of achievement) in relation to how well they ought to be doing;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

learn the three R's through proven methods;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

learn the nation's history and democratic values and study the classics of western civilization;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

attend a school that is free to innovate and isn't tied down by federal red tape;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

be confident that their high school diploma signifies a solid education, suitable for college or a good job;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

choose the school that's right for them;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

know that their tax dollars are reaching the classroom, not being siphoned off into overhead and bureaucracy; and,

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

count on being able to arrive at college prepared to do freshman-level work.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

To reinforce our American heritage, we believe our nation's Governors, State legislators, and local school boards should support requiring our public schools to dedicate one full day each year solely to studying the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

America's families find themselves on a college treadmill: the more they work to pay tuition, the faster it seems to increase. Tuition has escalated far in excess of inflation, in defiance of market factors, and shows no sign of slowing down. Billions of dollars are wasted on regulations, paperwork, and "political correctness," which impedes the ability of the faculty to teach. We call for a national reassessment of the economics of higher education, to stop the treadmill and restore fiscal accountability to higher education. Congressional Republicans budgeted a 50 percent increase in student loans while fighting Bill Clinton's intrusion of Big Government into their financing. Heeding the outcry from the nation's campuses, we will end the Clinton Administration's perverse direct lending program. We support proposals to assist families to prepare for the financial strains of higher education, like the American Dream Savings Account, passed by congressional Republicans but vetoed.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

To protect the nation's colleges and universities against intolerance, we will work with independent educators to create alternatives to ideological accrediting bodies. We believe meeting the higher education needs of America will require new, public and private institutions that are flexible, able to apply new technologies, willing to provide access to all those who need it, cost-effective and that place no burden on the American taxpayer.

Improving America's Health Care

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our goal is to maintain the quality of America's health care—the best in the world, bar none—while making health care and health insurance more accessible and more affordable. That means allowing health care providers to respond to consumer demand through consumer choice.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

That approach stands in stark contrast to Bill Clinton's health plan of 1993. "Clintoncare" would have been a poison pill for the nation's health care system. Congressional Republicans countered with the right prescription:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

make insurance portable from job to job;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

ensure that persons are not denied coverage because of preexisting health conditions when changing employment;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

crack down on Medicare and Medicaid fraud, while preserving the confidentiality of medical records from inappropriate scrutiny and without imposing criminal penalties for clerical errors and billing mistakes;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

reform malpractice laws, to reduce the costly practice of "defensive medicine" and to make it easier for doctors to specialize in fields like obstetrics. We also recognize the vital importance of maintaining the confidentiality of the national practitioners data base;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

let individuals set up tax-free Medical Savings Accounts (MSAs), so they can plan for their own medical needs instead of relying on government or insurance companies. Republicans believe that Medicare and Medicaid recipients should also have the option to utilize Medical Savings Accounts, which would result in huge savings for the American taxpayers;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

overhaul the Food and Drug Administration to get better products on the market faster and at less cost to consumers;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

change IRS rules that restrict coverage: let employer groups offer tax-exempt policies and make premiums 100% deductible for farmers, small businesses, and all the self-employed;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

promote a private market for long-term care insurance;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

reduce paperwork through electronic billing;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

change anti-trust laws to let health care providers cooperate in holding down charges;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

avoid mandatory coverages that make consumers pay for more insurance than they need;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

allow multi-employer purchasing groups and form "risk pools" in the States to make employee health insurance more affordable;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

remove regulatory barriers to the use of managed care for those who choose it. Traditionally, all Americans have had the freedom to choose their health care plans, as well as the providers who treat them. To ensure quality of care, it is imperative that patients continue to enjoy the freedoms to which they have become accustomed. Communications between providers and patients should be free and open, and allow for full discussion of the patient's medical care. Financial arrangements should not be a barrier to a patient's receiving quality medical care;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

permit families with incomes up to twice the poverty level to buy into Medicaid;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

promote rural health care through telecommuni-cations and emergency air transport; and

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

increase funding for Community and Migrant Health Centers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton and most congressional Democrats opposed many of these reforms, especially Medical Savings Accounts and changes in malpractice laws. Congressional Republicans rallied the nation to win a long overdue victory for consumers and for commonsense. Three months away from the November elections, Bill Clinton caved in and promised to sign into law the Republican solution to America's health care problems.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

But the Clinton Democrats are still blocking Republican efforts to preserve, protect, and strengthen Medicare. Until Medicare is financially secure again, our job is not finished. More than 38 million people depend on Medicare, which is rushing toward bankruptcy even more quickly than predicted. Bill Clinton doesn't seem to mind. Despite repeated Republican efforts to work with his administration to save Medicare, his response has been a barrage of propaganda. We proposed Medisave; he indulged in Mediscare. We say this with solemn deliberation: Bill Clinton lied about the condition of Medicare and lied about our attempts to save it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We reaffirm our determination to protect Medicare. We will ensure a significant annual expansion in Medicare. That isn't "cutting Medicare." It's a projected average annual rate of growth of 7.1 percent a year - more than twice the rate of inflation - to ensure coverage for those who need it now and those who will need it in the future. We propose to allow unprecedented patient choice in Medicare, so that older Americans can select health care arrangements that work best for them, including provider-sponsored organizations offering quality care with strong consumer protections.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our commitment is to protect the most vulnerable of our people: children, the elderly, the disabled. That is why we are determined to restructure Medicaid, the federal-State program of health care for the poor. Rife with fraud, poorly administered, with no incentives for patient or provider savings, Medicaid has mushroomed into the nation's biggest welfare program. Its staggering rate of growth threatens to overwhelm State budgets, while thwarting congressional progress towards a federal balanced budget. Bill Clinton's response has been to ignore the problem - and attack Republicans for trying to solve it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We must find better ways to ensure quality health care for the poor. Medicaid should be turned over to State management with leeway for restructuring and reform. Low-income persons should have access to managed care programs and Medical Savings Accounts, just as other persons do, and State officials should have authority to weed out substandard providers and to eliminate excess costs. We endorse Republican legislation extending federal tort claim coverage to health care professionals who provide free medical services to persons who cannot afford them.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Preventive care is key to both wellness and lower medical bills, and strong families are the most powerful form of preventive care. Responsible families mean less child abuse, lower infant mortality, fewer unvaccinated youngsters, fewer teen pregnancies, and less involvement with drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. To help low-income families toward those goals, we will unify scattered federal resources into block grants.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We reaffirm our traditional support for generous funding of medical research, especially through the National Institutes of Health, and for continuing federal support for teaching hospitals and medical schools. We remain committed to, and place a high priority on, finding a cure for HIV disease. We support increased funding for research targeted at conditions that touch the families of most Americans, like Alzheimer's, breast cancer, prostate cancer, and diabetes. We call for an increased emphasis on prevention of diseases that threaten the lives of women. This requires dramatic expansion of outreach and education to expand public awareness. We call for fetal protection in biomedical research and will enforce the rights of human subjects in all federally funded studies.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The value of medical research and preventive care to wellness and lower health care spending can be highlighted by the example of diabetes. Approximately 16 million people in the U.S. have diabetes, and 50 percent of people above age 65 are at risk for developing some form of the disease. Diabetes is a leading cause of adult blindness, kidney disease, heart disease, stroke and amputations, and reduces life expectancy by up to 30 percent. As much as 25 percent of Medicare expenditures are incurred in the treatment of diabetes-related complications. Scientific discoveries, made possible by federal funding of medical research, have led to new efforts to prevent diabetes, as well as new treatment strategies to forestall the development of its debilitating and life-threatening complications. Today, people stricken with diabetes can, in concert with their health care providers, delay or prevent the serious and deadly complications of the disease. In other words, we now have the opportunity to reduce the burden of diabetes.

Renewing Hope and Opportunity

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"Thirty years ago, the `Great Society' was liberalism's greatest hope, its greatest boast. Today, it stands as its greatest shame, a grand failure that has crushed the spirit, destroyed the families, and decimated the culture of those who have become enmeshed in its web." Bob Dole, May 21, 1996, in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Within a few weeks, Bill Clinton will sign into law a Republican reform of welfare. With a straight face, after twice vetoing similar legislation, he will attempt to take credit for what we have accomplished.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

So be it. Our cause is justice for both the taxpayers and for the poor. Our purpose in welfare reform is not to save money but to bring into the mainstream of American life those who now are on the margins of our society and our economy. We will, in the words of the Speaker of the House of Representatives Newt Gingrich, replace the welfare state with an opportunity society for all. The Clinton administration's "Reinventing Government" program to reform the welfare state bureaucracy has failed. In fact, management reforms of the Reagan years were repealed and new labor-management councils that diluted efficient management were added as additional bureaucracy and red tape. We will revoke these Clinton administration policies and oppose the liberal philosophy that bureaucracy can reform welfare.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The current welfare system has spent $5 trillion in the last thirty years and has been a catastrophic failure. Despite this massive effort, conditions in our nation's poor communities have grown measurably worse. Poverty used to be an economic problem; now it is a social pathology.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The key to welfare reform is restoring personal responsibility and encouraging two-parent households. The path to that goal lies outside of official Washington. In the hands of State and local officials, and under the eye of local taxpayers, welfare can again become a hand up instead of a handout. All able-bodied adults must be required to work, either in private sector jobs or in community work projects. Illegal aliens must be ineligible for all but emergency benefits. And a firm time limit for receipt of welfare must be enforced.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because illegitimacy is the most serious cause of child poverty, we will encourage States to stop cash payments to unmarried teens and set a family cap on payments for additional children. When benefits of any kind are extended to teen mothers, they must be conditioned upon their attendance at school and their living at home with a parent, adult relative, or guardian. About half the children of today's teen welfare mothers were fathered in statutory rape. We echo Bob Dole's call to our nation's governors to toughen and enforce State laws in this regard, as well as those concerning enforcement of child support.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Restoring common sense to welfare programs is only one side of the Republican equation for hope and opportunity. The other side is giving low-income households the tools with which they can build their own future. We propose to do this along the lines of the American Community Renewal Act, a Republican congressional initiative that would establish throughout the nation up to 100 renewal communities where residents, businesses, and investors would have unprecedented economic freedom and incentives to create prosperity. School choice for low-income families is an integral part of that initiative.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We call for the removal of structural impediments which liberals throw in the path of poor people: over-regulation of start-up enterprises, excessive licensing requirements, needless restrictions on formation of schools and child-care centers catering to poor families, restrictions on providing public services in fields like transport and sanitation, and rigged franchises that close the opportunity door to all but a favored few.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Not everyone can make it on their own. Government at various levels has a role - and some aid programs do work well - and so do private individuals and charitable and faith-based organizations, whose record of success far outshines that of any public welfare program. To promote personal involvement with anti-poverty efforts, we call for a Charity Tax Credit that will be consistent with the fundamental changes we propose in the nation's system of taxation. To ensure that religiously affiliated institutions can fulfill their helping mission, we endorse Republican legislation to stop discrimination against them in government programs.

Older Americans

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our commitment to older Americans runs throughout this platform. It strengthens our call for tax fairness, shows in our action agenda against violent crime, and motivates our crusade to preserve, protect, and strengthen Medicare.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Republican Party has always opposed the earnings limitation for Social Security benefits, a confiscatory tax that discourages older Americans from active engagement in all walks of life. While Bill Clinton imposed his new tax on Social Security benefits, he also initially vetoed our legislation to reform the earnings limitation, just as he vetoed our estate tax reform.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Social Security system remains the cornerstone of personal security for millions of the elderly. In 1983, a Republican president, working with the Republican Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee - Bob Dole - saved the Social Security system from fiscal disaster. We have a legal and moral responsibility to America's seniors and will continue to do everything in our power to ensure that government honors our commitment to Social Security beneficiaries, now and in the future. We will keep it financially sound and keep politics out of its administration. We will work to ensure the integrity and solvency of the Social Security trust funds.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Those who are not older Americans now will one day be so. Our common goal is a secure economic future. To that end, public policy should encourage cooperative efforts by businesses and employees alike to expand the availability of savings vehicles for all. We want to expand retirement options so that individual choice, not government fiat, steers the decision-making process. We must increase both the amount and the portability of personal savings, especially in today's rapidly changing and unpredictable economy. We salute congressional Republicans for their landmark legislation simplifying pension law, cutting away the red tape that prevented many businesses from offering pension plans, and establishing a new pension system designed to meet the needs of workers in small businesses.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We also salute Congressional Republicans for making long-term care more affordable and more available to those who need it. Too many seniors live in fear that they one day will incur long-term care costs that will wipe out their life savings and burden their children. The Republican Congress has passed legislation giving long-term care insurance policies the same tax-preferred treatment that health insurance policies now receive. Over the years, this legislation will give millions of Americans peace of mind and the financial wherewithal to obtain nursing home care of the highest quality.

A Cleaner, Safer, Healthier America

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"Those of us who grew up in rural America grew up with a common set of values, a code of living that stays with us all our lives. Love of God and country and family. Commitment to honesty, decency and personal responsibility. Self-reliance tempered by a sense of community.... Those values made us the greatest country on earth. And the secret to getting our country back on track is simply to return to them as a matter of national policy." Bob Dole, August 19, 1995, in Ames, Iowa

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We are the party of America's farmers, ranchers, foresters, and all who hold the earth in stewardship with the Creator. Republican leadership established the Land Grant College System under Abraham Lincoln, the National Park System under Ulysses Grant, the National Wildlife Refuge System under Teddy Roosevelt, and today's legal protections for clean air and water in more recent decades. We reaffirm our commitment to agricultural progress, environmental improvement, and the prudent development of our natural resources.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our goal is to continue the progress we have made to achieve a cleaner, safer, healthier environment for all Americans - and to pass on to our children and grandchildren a better environment than we have today. We must recognize the unique role our States, localities, and private sector have in improving our environment. The States and communities are the laboratories of environmental innovation. Inflexible requirements hurt the environment, add unnecessary costs, and reduce technology development. While we have made substantial environmental progress, we must reject failed approaches created by fearmongering and centralized control which will not serve our environment well in the century ahead.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Superfund program to clean up abandoned toxic waste sites is a classic case in point. More than half of the $30 billion already spent on Superfund has gone for litigation and administration. In other words, trial lawyers have profited from the current flawed and unfair liability scheme, while toxic waste sites wait to be cleaned up. Without the opposition of Bill Clinton, we will fix the broken Superfund law. We will direct resources to clean-up sites where there are real risks, and cooperate with citizens, States, and localities who want to help, rather than harassing them with unwarranted lawsuits.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The States have been leaders in returning contaminated sites to productive use under "brownfields" programs. These programs tailor clean-up standards appropriate for expected future use, thus enabling environmental cleanup and economic development. Accordingly, as an essential component of our comprehensive Superfund reform, we will remove disincentives in current Federal law in order to allow States to expand their innovative "brownfields" programs.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Inconsistent Federal policies have created a nightmare for our Nation's ports at a critical time of growth and change in international trade. We must protect the environment while recognizing the unique situation of each port. There must be a coordination of State, local, and Federal roles in encouraging our ports to expand to meet current and future needs.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans trust Americans to honor their shared desire to live and raise their children in a clean and healthy environment. For all environmental problems, we propose a common sense approach based on flexibility and consensus, that builds a better future on free enterprise, local control, sound science, and technology development. This is our positive and proactive agenda:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

assure that the air and water are clean and safe for our children and future generations;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

assure that everyone has access to public outdoor recreation areas; and that historic and environmentally significant wilderness and wetlands areas will be protected without compromising our commitment to the rights of property owners;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

set reasonable standards for environmental improvement that incorporate flexibility, acknowledge geographic differences, and create incentives for development of new technologies;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

base all government environmental decisions on the best peer-reviewed scientific evidence, while encouraging advancements in research;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

achieve progress, as much as possible, through incentives rather than compulsion, and improve compliance by letting States and localities play a greater role in setting and maintaining standards. Many States have enacted environmental education and "voluntary self-audit" laws to encourage people to find and correct pollution; the Congress should remove disincentives for States to achieve these goals; and

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

assure private property owners of due process to protect their rights, and make environmental decisions in concert with those whose homes, businesses, and communities are directly affected.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our commitment to an improved environment is best embodied in the recently enacted amendments to the Safe Drinking Water Act. This Republican initiative will guarantee all Americans a safe and clean source of drinking water and will grant local communities the flexibility to avoid unnecessary requirements.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Clinton Democrats disagree with our principles. They have increased spending by creating new bureaucratic programs, creating new paperwork requirements, and funding pet projects of their special interest friends. However, the Clinton Administration has failed to reduce regulatory burdens on States, localities, and individuals. It has failed to create incentives for environmental improvements or use sound science and cooperation to achieve environmental goals. Today, they are planning to impose scientifically unsupported, massive new regulations on ozone and particulates. These rules will impose new requirements on cities, add unnecessary costs, and destroy jobs without adequate justification.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans support the ongoing efforts of the States and communities to ensure reliable and safe water supplies. As the Federal government moves away from its past role as a grant giver and direct lender in the development of water-related infrastructure, we will encourage the establishment of public-private partnerships to build and finance our nation's water infrastructure.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We recognize the Great Lakes encompass one-fifth of the fresh water supply of the entire world and we oppose any diversion of Great Lakes water.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans have always advocated conserving our animal and plant resources, but we recognize the current Endangered Species Act is seriously flawed and, indeed, is often counterproductive because of its reliance on Federal command-and-control measures. The adherence of Clinton Democrats to these discredited ESA provisions has devastated the environment they pretend to protect by virtually encouraging landowners to remove habitat for marginal species to avoid government seizure of their property. We will improve the ESA by implementing an incentive-based program in cooperation with State, local, and tribal governments and private individuals to recognize the critical relationship between a healthy environment and a healthy economy founded on private property rights and responsibilities.

Securing Property Rights

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans consider private property rights the cornerstone of environmental progress. That lesson has been confirmed in the tragic environmental record of Communist rule and of socialist regimes in the less developed world. By safeguarding those rights - by enforcing the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment and by providing compensation - we not only stand true to the Constitution but advance sound environmentalism as well. Republicans, led by Senator Dole, have spearheaded efforts in Congress to protect private property rights.

Improving Public Lands

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The nation's public lands - half the territory in the West - must be administered both for today's multiple uses and for tomorrow's generations. We support multiple use conducted in an environmentally and economically sustainable manner. We will preserve priority wilderness and wetlands - real wetlands of environmental significance, not the damp grounds of a bureaucrat's imagination.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support a thorough review of the lands owned by the federal government with a goal of transferring lands that can best be managed by State, county, or municipal governments. This review should ensure that the federal government retains ownership to unique property worthy of national oversight. Properties transferred from federal control must recognize existing property and mineral rights, including water, mining claims, grazing permits, rights of access, hunting, fishing, and contracts.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We recognize the historic use of public lands for livestock production in compliance with legal requirements. Our renewable rangeland should continue to be available under conditions that ensure both expanded production of livestock and protection of the rangeland environment. We condemn the Clinton Administration's range war against this pillar of the western economy.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We recognize the need to keep our National Park System healthy and accessible to all. Our National Parks have a backlog of more than four billion dollars in maintenance and infrastructure repair projects. The nation's natural crown jewels are losing some of their luster, tarnished by neglect and indifference. Our park system needs to be rebuilt, restructured, and reinvigorated to ensure that all Americans can enjoy and be proud of their parks.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We stand for sustainable forestry to stabilize and provide continuity for our timber industry and to improve the health of the country's public forests. This requires active management practices, such as the responsible salvage harvesting of dead and diseased trees. The Democrats' hands-off approach has made our great forests vulnerable to ravaging fires, insects, and disease.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Democrats' policies have devastated the economy of timber-dependent communities across the Pacific Northwest and in the Tongass National Forest, the Nation's largest and most productive, to please elite special interests. We join families and communities in rural America who rely on public forests for their livelihood in calling for the federal government to carefully evaluate the socioeconomic impacts of its actions and to live up to its commitments to provide an adequate timber supply to dependent communities through sustainable forest management.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We reaffirm the traditional deference by the federal government to the States in the allocation and appropriation of water. We deplore the Clinton Administration's disregard for State primacy through attempts to preempt State law with respect to water usage and watershed protection. We also recognize the need to protect adequate supplies of water for agriculture without unreasonable government mandates.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support the original intent of the Mining Law of 1872: to provide the certainty and land tenure necessary for miners to risk tremendous capital investment on federal lands, thus preserving jobs - indeed, whole industries - and bolstering our domestic economy. We support appropriate changes to the law to ensure the taxpayer will receive a reasonable return for the value of extracted minerals. We oppose extremist attempts to shut down American mining in favor of our international competitors.

Power for Progress

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our goal is an energy supply available to all - competitively priced, secure, and clean - produced by healthy industries operating in an environmentally responsible manner using domestically available resources to the greatest extent practicable.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

No one should take that for granted. Today's energy boom was hard won by Republican reforms in the 1980s, ending more than three decades of ruinous Federal meddling that drove up prices and drove down supplies. Now that progress is under attack from the same quarters that brought us energy crises, gas rationing, and dangerous dependence on unreliable supplies of foreign oil. That dependency is 50 percent today, and will be two-thirds in only a few short years.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

It does not have to be this way. The Clinton Administration has learned nothing from the collapse of liberalism. It clings to outdated regulation that stifles production and drives up consumer prices. Clinton proposed a punishing BTU energy tax that would have penalized consumers and cost thousands of jobs. After Republicans derailed that bad idea, Bill Clinton championed - and congressional Democrats approved - a 4.7-cent per gallon gas tax hike, not to improve roads and bridges, but for general spending.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Now the Clinton Administration demands lighter cars and family trucks to meet its Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) goals, at the cost of thousands of lives lost every year in auto accidents - not to mention the cost in jobs lost to foreign auto makers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Nowhere has the failure of presidential leadership been more apparent than in Clinton's position on finding a reasonable long-term solution to our Nation's nuclear waste disposal problem. We support the federal government's obligation under contract to take possession of nuclear waste and remove it from temporary storage in over 30 states across the country. At the same time, we believe that the siting and licensing of both permanent and interim storage facilities should be based on sound science and not solely upon political expediency.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Clinton approach hobbles the nation's progress. Our program of energy renewal, on the other hand, is an essential component of broader opportunity for all. We must finish the job of preparing America's energy capacity to meet the challenges of the 21st Century.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Today, Republican Governors and the States are leading the way to true and meaningful electric utility industry deregulation and competition and lower rates for all consumers. Restructuring the electric utility industry presents both great opportunities and challenges for our Nation. We support greater competition as we move toward a market-based approach, with true and meaningful deregulation, after an appropriate and fair transition period that allows for competitive retail markets while ensuring reliability of service in a cost-effective manner for all consumers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support elimination of the Department of Energy to emphasize the need for greater privatization and to reduce the size of the federal government. The Department of Energy's defense concerns should be transferred to an independent agency under the Defense Department. Other necessary programs should be farmed out to other departments and offices.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support environmentally responsible energy extraction from public and private lands. We will not tolerate poor reclamation or pollution from mining or drilling. We advocate environmentally sound oil production in the largest known onshore or offshore petroleum reserve in the Nation - the small coastal plain portion of the 19-million acre Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Oil produced there, traveling through an existing pipeline, will bring billions of dollars in revenues to reduce the federal budget deficit. On the other hand, without ANWR coastal plain development, we will lose hundreds of thousands of potential jobs and untold billions of American dollars will be paid to foreign governments for the oil not produced from our home reserves.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We continue to support and encourage the development of our domestic natural gas industry. Natural gas is a clean, abundant, and domestically available resource, which can be provided, transported, and consumed in an environmentally responsible manner.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will delegate management and collection of federal oil and gas royalties to the States, thereby increasing receipts both to the States and to the federal Treasury. This action will reduce bureaucratic involvement and administrative costs to the federal government. We urge the federal government to expedite and streamline the exploration, leasing, and permitting process for the domestic oil and gas industry.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The coal industry now supplies more than half of all electric generation and is vital for our entire economy. We encourage research for cleaner coal combustion technologies and will require that objective, peer-reviewed science be the basis for environmental decisions that increase costs for electric rate payers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Because no single source of energy can reliably supply the needs of the American people, we believe in fostering alternative and renewable energy sources to assist in reducing dependence on unreliable foreign oil supplies. We anticipate the continuing development of energy from coal, oil, natural gas, agricultural products such as ethanol and biodiesel, nuclear, and hydro sources and where economically competitive, from wind, solar, and geothermal power.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The United States should continue its commitment to addressing global climate change in a prudent and effective manner that does not punish the U.S. economy. Despite scientific uncertainty about the role of human activity in climate change, the Clinton Administration has leapfrogged over reasoned scientific inquiry and now favors misdirected measures, such as binding targets and timetables, imposed only on the United States and certain other developed countries, to further reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Republicans deplore the arbitrary and premature abandonment of the previous policy of voluntary reductions of greenhouse gas emissions. We further deplore ceding U.S. sovereignty on environmental issues to international bureaucrats and our foreign economic competitors.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Energy policy and transportation policy go hand in hand. To prepare the National Highway System and the National Aviation System for the 21st Century, we will maintain the integrity of the Federal transportation trust funds and respect the call by Republican governors to ensure those funds are returned to the States with a minimum of federal red tape. Trusting the people, congressional Republicans passed the National Highway System Designation Act of 1995, returning to the States decisions about highway safety. We support reasonable speed limits, reflecting local needs and geography, and prudent personal safety measures, but we oppose Washington's one-size-fits-all approach to the mobility of the American people.

Agriculture in the 21st Century

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The moral strength abundant on America's farms and rural communities has been the foundation and source of strength for our Nation since its earliest days. America's settlers built their farming communities on values like faith, hard work, dedication, and self-sacrifice.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans see a very bright future for agriculture and rural America. Our program to strengthen rural America will benefit every sector of the economy and every part of the Nation. First and foremost, we will reduce the tax burden - both the estate tax and the capital gains levy - on those who produce America's food and fiber. This is essential to preserve production agriculture. Just like urban small businesses, rural producers need full deductibility of health insurance premiums and an overall tax structure that is simpler and fairer.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Deficit spending by government is death by strangulation for agriculture. Our farms are major users of capital, with over $150 billion in current borrowing. Interest payments are one of their heaviest burdens. The Republican balanced budget of last year, vetoed by Bill Clinton, would have saved farmers more than $15 billion in interest costs by the year 2002. We stand with the American farmer in demanding an end to the spending excesses in official Washington.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The elections of 1994 were a resounding victory for American agriculture. The first Republican majorities in both the House and Senate in 40 years won an historic breakthrough with the "Freedom to Farm" act. For the first time in six decades, Federal policy will allow individual farmers to grow what makes sense on their own land, not what a bureaucrat wants grown there. "Freedom to Farm" will permit them to respond to world trade opportunities for value-added exports that bring new jobs and broader prosperity to rural America.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Moreover, the Republican "Freedom to Farm" act is the most pro-environment farm bill ever. By liberating high-tech, high-yield U.S. agriculture to pursue ever greater levels of efficiency, it will enable growers to produce more from less land, saving wildlife habitat and fragile soils from the plow. The new law allows farmers to rotate crops, thereby reducing use of pesticides, herbicides, and fertilizer. It continues the Conservation and Wetland Reserve Programs and creates a new Environmental Quality Incentive Program to help farmers do what they do best - conserve the land and pass it on, enriched and enhanced, to future generations.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

While promising to modernize farm programs, the Clinton Administration instead advanced failed "New Deal" policies. Throughout the ensuing debate, they fought every effort by Congress to get the hand of government out of agriculture. Finally, having agreed to "Freedom to Farm," Bill Clinton is threatening to repeal this historic legislation, undercutting long-term planning by farmers across the country.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In contrast, "Freedom to Farm" ends the command-and-control policies that have choked the entrepreneurial spirit of rural America. "Freedom to Farm" permits experimentation with new crops and new markets, just in time to meet an explosion in worldwide demand for food, fiber, fuels and industrial products. We reaffirm our historical and continuing support for the expanded use of biodiesel and ethanol to improve the rural economy and reduce our dependence on imported oil.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Experts predict the need for U.S. producers to triple their output over the next 40 years. "Freedom to Farm" positions them to meet the challenge of feeding a hungry and troubled world.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

While "Freedom to Farm" greatly reduced USDA paperwork imposed on farmers, much remains to be done to reduce the regulations that add about $6,000 per farm per year to the cost of farming. Our extensive program of regulatory reform is explained elsewhere in this platform.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans worked hard for and applaud the repeal of the Delaney Clause and the reform of food safety laws. These changes allow a responsible approach toward crop production and ensure the quality of the Nation's food supply, with special protections for our children.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We reaffirm the Republican Party's historic commitment to agricultural progress through research and education, starting with the system of land grant colleges established in 1862. For the new century, as in the days of Lincoln, farming must look ahead to innovation and constant improvement, especially biotechnology and precision farming techniques.

Restoring American World Leadership

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"It's time to restore American leadership throughout the world. Our future security depends on American leadership that is respected, American leadership that is trusted, and when necessary, American leadership that is feared." Bob Dole

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We are the party of peace through strength. Republicans put the interests of our country over those of other nations - and of the United Nations. We believe the safety and prosperity of the American home and workplace depend upon ensuring our national security in a dangerous world. This principle was proven in our long struggle against Communism, and - as recent events have tragically shown - it is still true today. The gains we made for democracy around the world under two Republican presidents are now imperiled by a rudderless foreign policy. We vigorously support restoring the promotion of democracy worldwide as a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. Democracy is the best guarantor of peace and will ensure greater respect for fundamental human rights and the rule of law.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The international situation - and our country's security against the purveyors of evil - has worsened over the last three and a half years. Today, Russia's democratic future is more uncertain than at any time since the hammer and sickle was torn from the Kremlin towers. With impunity, Fidel Castro has shot American citizens out of the skies over international waters. North Korea has won unprecedented concessions regarding its nuclear capability from the Clinton Administration. Much of Africa has dissolved in tragedy - Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia. The Clinton Administration objected to lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia while it facilitated the flow of Iranian weapons to that country. Bill Clinton made tough campaign pledges on China but subsequently failed in his attempt to bluff the Chinese government - diminishing American prestige while not addressing the serious issues of human rights, regional stability, and nuclear proliferation. Bill Clinton's weakness, indecision, and double-talk, have undermined America's role as leader of the free world.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In 1996, the nation's choice is clear: either we return responsible leadership to the White House , or Bill Clinton's lack of international purpose results in catastrophe. We must keep our country strong and sovereign, and assert the interests and values of the United States in the international arena.

The Atlantic Alliance and Europe

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"Let us begin by reaffirming that Europe's security is indispensable to the security of the United States, and that American leadership is absolutely indispensable to the security of Europe." - Bob Dole, June 25, 1996

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Atlantic Alliance: Our relations with the nations of Europe must continue to be based on the NATO alliance, which remains the worlds' strongest bulwark of freedom and international stability. Our policy will strive to consolidate our Cold War victory in Europe and to build a firm foundation for a new century of peace. In the same spirit that Ronald Reagan called for the integration of Spain into the NATO alliance, we call for the immediate expansion of the framework for peace to include those countries of Central Europe which demonstrate the strongest commitment to the democratic ideals NATO was created to protect.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

With the people of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary we have special bonds. These nations - and others - are rightfully part of the future of Europe. As Bob Dole said, "It is an outrage that the patriots who threw off the chains of Soviet bondage have been told by Bill Clinton that they must wait to join the NATO alliance." We strongly endorse Bob Dole's call for Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary to enter NATO by 1998.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bosnia: We support America's men and women in uniform who are serving in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, we did not support the ill-conceived and inconsistent policies that led to their deployment. In 1992, candidate Bill Clinton pledged to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia, but once in office he ignored his promises. For three years, Bill Clinton upheld the illegal and unjust arms embargo on Bosnia and allowed genocidal aggression to go virtually unchallenged, while Bob Dole successfully led the effort in the Congress to lift the U.S. arms embargo. Once again, Bill Clinton subordinated American national interests to the United Nations in vetoing bipartisan legislation that would have lifted the U.S. arms embargo and rendered the deployment of American forces unnecessary. At the same time Bill Clinton was opposing congressional efforts to lift the arms embargo, he made a secret decision to allow the terrorist Iranian regime to supply arms to Bosnia. This duplicitous policy has endangered U.S. and Allied forces and given Iran a foothold in Europe.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We look forward to a timely withdrawal of U.S. forces from Bosnia and recognize that providing the Bosnian Federation with adequate weapons and training is the only realistic exit strategy. We support the democratic process in Bosnia and, when conditions exist, the conduct of free and fair elections. We support bringing indicted war criminals to justice. We encourage the peoples of the region - and in particular those of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia and Montenegro - to play a constructive role in fostering peace and stability there. We note with concern that repression and human rights abuses are escalating in Kosova and support the appointment of a U.S. special envoy to help resolve the situation there.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Russia: We salute the people of Russia in their quest for democracy and a free market economy. During this crucial period, the Clinton Administration has pursued an accommodationist and misguided policy toward Moscow. Bill Clinton's comparison of Russia's extreme brutality in Chechnya to the American Civil War is offensive. The Clinton Administration's passivity in the face of Russia's intimidation and economic blackmail against countries of the former Soviet Union has encouraged the rise of extreme nationalist and undemocratic forces. Its willingness to accept Russian changes to already agreed-to arms control treaties has undermined security. Its complacency over Russia's sale of nuclear technology to Iran and Cuba has contributed to the threat of nuclear proliferation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Our foreign policy toward Russia should put American interests first and consolidate our Cold War victory in Europe. We have a national interest in a security relationship with a democratic Russia. Specifically, we will encourage Russia to respect the sovereignty and independence of its neighbors; support a special security arrangement between Russia and NATO - but not Moscow's veto over NATO enlargement; support Russian entry to the G-7 after its reforms have been achieved; and link U.S. assistance to Russian adherence to international treaty obligations.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Newly Independent States: We reaffirm our party's historic commitment to the independence of all former Captive Nations still recovering from the long night of Soviet Communism, especially Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Armenia, and Ukraine. We endorse Republican legislation to establish in Washington, D. C., funded by private contributions, an international memorial to the one hundred million victims of Communism.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Ireland: We support efforts to establish peace with justice in Northern Ireland through a peace process inclusive of all parties who reject violence. During this difficult period in Irish history, we encourage private U. S. investment in the North, fully consistent with the MacBride principles for fair employment, in order to address the systemic discriminatory practices that still exist, especially against Catholics, in the workplace and elsewhere. We call on all parties to renounce terrorism in the Northern Ireland conflict.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Cyprus: We encourage a peaceful settlement for Cyprus and respect by all parties for the wishes of the Cypriot people. Concerned about continuing tension in the Aegean Sea, we will maintain close ties to both Greece and Turkey and urge all parties to refrain from precipitous actions and assertions contrary to legally established territorial arrangements.

Defending America Against Missile Attack

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We face two scandalous situations. First, most Americans do not realize our country has no defense against long-range missile attack. Second, the current occupant of the Oval Office refuses to tell them of that danger. So we will.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This is the frightening truth: The United States provided the technology to Israel to protect it from Iraqi missile attacks during the Persian Gulf War, but President Clinton refuses to provide the technology - technology that is readily available - to the American people to protect our country from the growing threat posed by long-range ballistic missiles. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) of the last two Republican administrations has been dismantled by Bill Clinton, who - contrary to the national security interests of the United States - clings to the obsolete Cold War ABM Treaty. Clinton slashed the funding budgeted by past presidents for missile defense and even violates the law by slowing down critical theater missile defenses. He has pursued negotiations to actually expand the outdated ABM Treaty, further tying America's hands, and hobbling our self-defense. He now seeks new limitations that will hinder the United States from developing and deploying even theater ballistic missile defenses to protect our troops abroad.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In a peaceful world, such limitations would be imprudent. In today's world, they are immoral. The danger of a missile attack with nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons is the most serious threat to our national security. Communist China has mocked our vulnerability by threatening to attack Los Angeles if we stand by our historic commitment to the Republic of China on Taiwan. We are vulnerable to blackmail - nuclear or otherwise - from a host of terrorist states that are now trying to acquire the instruments of doom. In the face of those dangers, Bill Clinton has ignored his responsibilities. In the most egregious instance, he directed that a National Intelligence Estimate focus only on the missile threat to the continental United States, deliberately ignoring the near-term menace posed to Alaska and Hawaii by long-range missiles now being developed or otherwise acquired by the Communists who rule North Korea.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

America will be increasingly threatened by long-range ballistic missiles in the near future, but there also exists today a more immediate threat from the proliferation of shorter-range, or "theater" missiles. Bill Clinton says that theater missile defense (TMD) is a top priority of his administration, yet refuses to provide adequate funding for our most promising and effective TMD programs. For example, not only has he recently cut funding by 40% for the Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) program, but he has also failed to request sufficient funds to develop and deploy the Navy Upper Tier system. Republicans will fully fund and deploy these and other TMD systems to protect American troops and vital interests abroad.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Republican Party is committed to the protection of all Americans - including our two million citizens in Alaska and Hawaii - against missile attack. We are determined to deploy land-based and sea-based theater missile defenses as soon as possible, and a national system thereafter. We will not permit the mistakes of past diplomacy, based on the immoral concept of Mutual Assured Destruction, to imperil the safety of our nation, our Armed Forces abroad, and our allies. Arms control will be a means to enhance American national security, not an end in itself. We therefore endorse the Defend America Act of 1996, introduced by Senator Bob Dole which calls for a national missile defense system for all fifty States by the year 2003.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

To cope with the threat of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the United States will have to deter the threat or use of weapons of mass destruction by rogue states. This in turn will require the continuing maintenance and development of nuclear weapons and their periodic testing. The Clinton Administration's proposed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is inconsistent with American security interests.

Rebuilding America's Strength

Republicans are committed to ensuring the status of the United States as the world's preeminent military power. We must reverse the decline in what our nation spends for defense. In just three and a half years, an amateur approach to military matters and dramatic reductions in defense spending under the Clinton Administration have had a serious negative impact on the readiness and capabilities of our armed forces. In 1994, three of the Army's primary combat divisions reported unacceptably low levels of readiness, and all forward-deployed Army divisions reported below par readiness ratings. Not since the "Hollow Army" days of Jimmy Carter have Army readiness levels been so low. Funding shortfalls and shortages of spare parts and munitions are limiting training opportunities and thus the combat readiness of our forces. At the same time, Bill Clinton's peacekeeping operations and other global ventures have increased the operational demands on the limited forces available, extended the duration of their deployments, and put immense strains on service members and their families - without any discernible benefit to U.S. national security.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans faced a similar situation with a deteriorating military in 1981, but then two Republican presidents turned things around and restored America's world leadership. We must do it again, and quickly. The All-Volunteer force is composed of the finest military personnel in the world today. These outstanding men and women deserve a civilian leadership committed to providing them with the resources, technology, and equipment they need to safely and successfully perform their missions. They deserve nothing but the best from the people they protect.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We recognize that today's military research and development, as well as procurement, is tomorrow's readiness. We are committed to readiness not just today, but also tomorrow. Bill Clinton has decimated our research and development effort, and slashed procurement for our armed forces. Not since 1950 have we spent so little on new weapons for our military. Fortunately, the Republican Congress has restored some of the funding Bill Clinton sought to cut for research and development and for procurement. Only a Commander-in-Chief who fully understands and respects the military can rebuild America's defense capabilities.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Clinton Administration's own inadequate defense "strategy" has been underfunded. The mismatch between strategy, forces, and resources poses an enormous potential risk to America's military personnel and vital interests. This mismatch must be resolved now, before regional crises erupt and find our nation unprepared. A Republican president will immediately conduct a thorough review that will require resources and programs to be redirected according to goals set by the President instead by the bureaucracy.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Money alone is not the answer. It must be spent the right way, with long-term efficiencies in mind. We call for reductions in the overhead and infrastructure of the Defense Department and successful demonstrations of weapons and equipment prior to full scale purchases. Budgetary decisions must be made with an eye to preserving the nation's defense industrial base, accelerating procurement of key military and dual-use technologies, incorporating emerging technologies into military operations, and maintaining an adequate, safe and reliable capability in nuclear weapons.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Only a Republican president and a Republican Congress can fulfill these duties.

Protecting American Interests

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We scorn the Clintonite view that soon "nationhood as we know it will be obsolete; all states will recognize a single global authority." This is nonsense, but it explains why the Democrat Administration has lurched from one foreign policy fiasco to the next - and why Bill Clinton vetoed the first legislative restructuring of America's diplomatic institutions in a half century. A Republican president will reform the Department of State to ensure that America's interests always come first.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Republicans will not subordinate United States sovereignty to any international authority. We oppose the commitment of American troops to U.N. "peacekeeping" operations under foreign commanders and will never compel American servicemen to wear foreign uniforms or insignia. We will insist on an end to waste, mismanagement, and fraud at the United Nations. We will ensure American interests are pursued and defended at the United Nations, will not tolerate any international taxation by the organization, nor will we permit any international court to seize, try, or punish American citizens. Before his departure from the Senate, Bob Dole introduced legislation prohibiting U.S. payments to the United Nations and any of its agencies if they attempt to implement global taxes. We support the passage of the Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 1996 to preserve America's sovereignty and the American taxpayer's right to taxation with representation.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A Republican president will withdraw from Senate consideration any pending international conventions or treaties that erode the constitutional foundations of our Republic and will neither negotiate nor submit such agreements in the future. We will ensure that our future relations with international organizations not infringe upon either the sovereignty of the United States or the earnings of the American taxpayer.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

American citizens must retain ownership of their private property, and must maintain full control of our national and state parks, without international interference.

International Terrorism

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Terrorist states have made a comeback during Bill Clinton's Administration. He has treated their rulers with undue respect and failed to curb their acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. Although congressional Republicans passed anti-terrorism legislation earlier this year, the Clinton Administration has not implemented many key provisions of the law. It has not been used to freeze terrorists' assets, deny terrorists' visas, cut off foreign aid to supporters of terrorist states, or halt terrorist fundraising in the United States. The Clinton Administration has not implemented the anti-terrorist research program established and funded by Congress in the 1990 Aviation Security Act.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A Republican president will forcefully lead the world community to isolate and punish state sponsors of terrorism. It is vital to our security that we actively work to reverse the threat posed by these regimes - through imposition and enforcement of sanctions, banning investment, and leading our allies in effective policies. The governments of North Korea, Iran, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, and Cuba must know that America's first line of defense is not our shoreline, but their own borders. We will be proactive, not reactive, to strike the hand of terrorism before it can be raised against Americans.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We denounce terrorist attacks made on American citizens at home or abroad. We must take all legitimate steps to swiftly apprehend and severely punish persons committing terrorists acts. However, we must also denounce any attempts to deprive law-abiding citizens of their God-given, constitutionally-protected rights while fighting terrorism. To take away the liberty of the American people while fighting terrorism is repugnant to the history and character of our nation. We firmly oppose any legislation that would infringe upon the rights of American citizens to freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly; the right to keep and bear arms; and the right to judicial due process.

Africa

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support those U. S. aid programs to Africa which have proven records of success, especially the Child Survival Program of vitamins, immunizations, sanitation, and oral rehydration. We hail the social and economic progress of those nations which have used the free market to liberate the talent and striving of their people. They deserve our attention, but our outreach must be on a case-by-case basis. Our hope for the future of South Africa, for example, stands in contrast with the military rule now imposed on Nigeria, the continent's most populous country.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Republican Party's commitment to freedom and human rights in Africa is as old as the establishment of the Republic of Liberia. Today, the tragic fate of that small nation symbolizes the larger tragedy that has befallen much of the continent. The Clinton Administration's dismal performance in Somalia, resulting in needless American deaths, set the stage for international passivity in the face of genocide in Rwanda and Burundi. The Clinton Administration has even failed to rally the world against the slave trade sponsored by the government of the Sudan, whose persecution of Sudanese Christians and others is nothing short of genocide. A Republican president will not tolerate this unconscionable treatment of children and women.

Asia

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton's foreign policy failures loom large in Asia. Four years ago, most of that continent was rushing toward democratic reform. Today it threatens to slip backwards into conflict and repression. A Republican Administration will keep the mutual security treaties with Japan and with the Republic of Korea as the foundation of our role in the region. We will halt Bill Clinton's efforts to appease North Korea by rewarding treaty-breaking with American taxpayer-financed oil and nuclear reactors. We will make further improvement of relations with Vietnam and North Korea contingent upon their cooperation in achieving a full and complete accounting of our POW's and MIA's from those Asian conflicts.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

China and Taiwan: We support the aspiration of the Chinese people for both economic and political liberty, which includes respect for the human rights of the people of Tibet. Our relationship with the Chinese government will be based on vigilance with regard to its military potential, proliferation activities, and its attitude toward human rights, especially in Hong Kong. The Taiwan Relations Act must remain the basis for our relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan. We reaffirm our commitment to Taiwan's security and will regard any threat to alter its status by force as a threat to our own security interests. We will make available to Taiwan the material it needs for self-defense, particularly theater missile defense and coastal patrol submarines. In recognition of its growing importance in the global economy, we support a larger role for Taiwan in international organizations.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Philippines: We reaffirm our historic friendship with the Philippine people, which has endured through changing circumstances.

The Middle East

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Peace through strength continues to be central in the Middle East. Saddam Hussein reminded us just five years ago of the potential for aggression by radical states in this region. Republicans understand the importance of maintaining a robust U.S. military capability in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, cooperating with our allies to ensure regional stability. Republicans also understand the need to be willing to use force to deter aggression and, where deterrence fails, to defeat it. That is why Republicans were the bedrock of support for the congressional vote to authorize the use of force against Iraq's aggression in 1991, while most Democrats voted against Operation Desert Storm.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Middle East remains a region vital to American security. Our enduring goals there are to promote freedom and stability, secure access to oil resources, and maintain the security of Israel, our one democratic ally in the region with whom we share moral bonds and common strategic interests. Most of the world's oil exports flow from the Middle East, and thus its strategic significance remains. But it is still the most volatile region in the world. Islamic radicalism, increasing terrorism, and rogue states like Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Libya threaten regional and international stability.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In this environment, Israel's demonstrated strategic importance to the U.S. as our most reliable and capable ally in this part of the world is more critical than ever. That is why Israel's security is central to U.S. interests in the region. That is why Republican Administrations initiated efforts with Israel to pre-position military equipment, to conduct joint contingency planning and joint military exercises. That is why we advocate continuing cooperation on the Arrow Missile, boost phase intercept, and the Nautilus programs. That is why we look toward the greater integration of Israel into our regional defense planning and wish to explore ways to enhance our strategic cooperation. That is why we have continued to support full funding for aid to Israel despite cuts in the foreign assistance budget, and why we applaud the country's commitment toward economic self-sufficiency.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We reaffirm that Republican commitment to maintain Israel's qualitative military advantage over any adversary or group of adversaries. While we fully support Israel's efforts to find peace and security with its neighbors, we will judge the peace process by the security it generates both for Israel and for the United States. In that context, we support Israel's right to make its own decisions regarding security and boundaries. We strongly oppose the Clinton Administration's attempts to interfere in Israel's democratic process.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We applaud the Republican Congress for enacting legislation to recognize Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel. A Republican administration will ensure that the U.S. Embassy is moved to Jerusalem by May 1999.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We honor the memory of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and express our support for the new government of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. We applaud those leaders in the Arab world, President Mubarak and King Hussein, who have spoken courageously and acted boldly for the cause of peace. We endorse continued assistance and support for countries which have made peace with Israel - led by Egypt and later joined by Jordan. Republican leadership will support others who follow their example, while isolating terrorist states until they are fit to rejoin the community of nations.

Western Hemisphere

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The U.S. commitment to democratic institutions and market economies in the Western Hemisphere has paralleled our enduring interest in the security of the region, as laid out in the Monroe Doctrine. The success of Republican national security policies in the 1980s halted Soviet imperialism and promoted the process of economic and political reform in Latin America - defeating totalitarianism of the right and of the left. During the last decade and a half, Latin American countries have made enormous progress developing democratic institutions. We applaud their progress and offer our assistance to further expand and deepen democratic conditions in the region.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Hemispheric progress toward free and democratic societies has stalled during the Clinton Administration. A government bought and paid for by drug traffickers holds power in Colombia. Mexico - with whom we share hundreds of miles of border - is increasingly tainted by narcotics-related corruption at all levels of society. Similarly, there are signs of backsliding on democracy in Latin America, most notably in Paraguay, where a coup was narrowly averted earlier this year.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We call for a new partnership among the democratic nations of the Western Hemisphere to protect our hard-won victories against dictatorial government. This new partnership must address the most recent and dangerous threat to the hemisphere - narcotics traffickers and their trade. The emergence of the Western Hemisphere as an area - apart from Cuba - which shares our ideals of economic and political liberty must also mean close cooperation with the United States on a range of security issues. The Clinton Administration's policy of denying most Latin American nations the opportunity to replace their obsolescent military equipment, raise the professional competence of their armed forces, and cooperate fully with the United States in joint military training and exercises will be reversed by a Republican Administration.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We cherish our special relationship with the people of Mexico and Canada. In a spirit of mutual respect, we believe the forthright discussion of economic and social issues that may divide us is in the best interest of all three nations.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton's outreach to Castro has only delayed the emergence of "Cuba Libre," extending the duration of Communist tyranny. The Republican Party has not wavered and will not waver in its goal of a democratic Cuba. We affirm our policy of isolating the Castro regime, including full implementation of the Helms-Burton Act to penalize foreign firms which do business there.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Bill Clinton's awkward and misguided intervention in Haiti has cost American taxpayers some $3 billion and risked the lives of American military personnel for a less than vital interest. We reject Clinton administration claims of "success" in its military intervention in Haiti. Human rights abuses by government forces go unpunished, promised economic reforms have not been made, and the democratic process is deeply flawed.

Security and Foreign Assistance

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

America is and must remain the leader of the world. We did not win the Cold War without allies and friends, and we hope to face future challenges with them. Our country should not bear world burdens alone. Providing friendly nations with access to U.S. defense equipment can protect American security interests abroad and reduce the likelihood that American forces will have to be directly engaged in military conflict. The Clinton Administration has been blind to that wisdom.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We have seen the result in Bosnia, where American ground forces have been deployed because the Clinton Administration denied Bosnia the opportunity to acquire defense equipment in the United States.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Clinton administration has diverted aid from our friends to support U.N. operations and social welfare spending in the Third World. Congressional Republicans have done all they could to resist this folly. Only a Republican president can put an end to it.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Clinton administration's failure to couple American interests abroad with foreign aid has produced wasteful spending and has presented an impediment to achieving a balanced budget. A Republican administration will ensure foreign aid is cost-effective and based on its important role in directly promoting American national interests.

Protecting America's Technological Edge

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

American scientific and industrial leadership is one of the critical factors sustaining American security. Our technological edge is at risk not only because of the Clinton Administration's refusal to sustain an adequate investment in defense modernization, but also its virtual abandonment of national security-related export controls. Acquisition of technology by aspiring proliferators of weapons of mass destruction has been irresponsibly facilitated. A Republican Administration will protect the American technological edge. It will do so by expanding investment in defense modernization, ensuring that the Defense Department has a key role in approving exports of militarily critical technology, and restoring the effectiveness of export control regimes.

The Men and Women of Defense

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

As Commander-in-Chief, Bill Clinton has been out of touch with the needs of the troops under his command. Bob Dole has served in the military and will protect military families against inflation, restore appropriate funding levels for billets and family housing, and ensure an environment where promotions and awards are made on the basis of military merit. A Republican president who has been on active duty will not casually disrupt military family life by sending troops on non-military missions around the world.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We have a solemn obligation to those who fight for America. Our military personnel should not be denied a cost of living increase, as Bill Clinton proposed in his first year in office. A Republican president will ensure a high priority for the quality of life of our military personnel and their families.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We will maintain the All-Volunteer force and will resist attempts to bring back the draft, whether directly or through Democrat schemes for compulsory national service. We will maintain our Armed Forces as a meritocracy, a model for the rest of our society, without special preferences or double standards for any group.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We salute the men and women of the National Guard and Reserve, citizen soldiers who have been - and must continue to be - a tradition in America. They perform important military functions as an integral part of our warfighting capability, and provide a critical link between our national security efforts and every community in the country. Our National Guard and Reserve forces must not be treated as an afterthought.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We oppose Bill Clinton's assault on the culture and traditions of the Armed Forces, especially his attempt to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military. We affirm that homosexuality is incompatible with military service.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We support the advancement of women in the military. We reaffirm our support for the exemption of women from ground combat units and are concerned about the current policy of involuntarily assigning women to combat or near-combat units. A Republican president will continue to reevaluate and revise, as necessary, current policies in light of evidence with regard to the effect on military morale, discipline, and overall readiness. We will not tolerate sexual harassment or misconduct toward anyone in the uniform, but we oppose politically motivated witch-hunts that smear the innocent and destroy honorable careers. To promote the dignity of all members of the Armed Forces and their families, we endorse the efforts of congressional Republicans to halt the sale, in military facilities, of pornographic materials.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We deplore Bill Clinton's shameless attempt to use protections afforded active duty military personnel under the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940 to protect himself from a sexual harassment lawsuit. We will amend the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940 to make clear that its protection against civil suits while on active duty does not extend to the occupant of the Oval Office.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Republican Party has always been the advocate of the nation's veterans and remains unequivocally committed to the faithful fulfillment of America's obligations to them. We have no greater duty than providing for the courageous men and women who have risked their lives in defense of our country, a major reason why we defeated Bill Clinton's plan to replace veterans' health care with socialized medicine. We will continue to meet the nation's promises to those who make the military their career. That is why Republicans proposed and created a separate Department of Veterans Affairs, support veterans' preference in federal employment education and retraining programs, and pledge sufficient funding for veterans' hospitals, medical care, and employment programs.

Intelligence

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The intelligence community should be our first line of defense against terrorism, drug trafficking, nuclear proliferation, and foreign espionage. Bill Clinton's neglect of our country's intelligence service is one of his most serious sins of omission. He has underfunded, misutilized, and marginalized critical intelligence missions and capabilities. No wonder his first appointee as Director of Central Intelligence has endorsed Bob Dole. The nation's security - and the personal safety of our citizens - cannot be placed at risk.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Effective intelligence can be expensive. But what it costs is measured in dollars rather than lives - an important lesson of the Gulf War. A Republican Administration will reverse the decline in funding for intelligence personnel and operations while better managing the development of futuristic capabilities. We will not constrain U.S. intelligence personnel with "politically correct" standards that impede their ability to collect and act on intelligence information. We will conduct whatever intelligence operations are necessary to safeguard American lives against the terrorists who bomb our airplanes and buildings.

Space

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Republican Party led America into space and remains committed to its exploration and mastery. We consider space travel and space science a national priority with virtually unlimited benefits, in areas ranging from medicine to micro-machinery, for those on earth. Development of space will give us a growing economic resource and a source of new scientific discoveries. We look toward our country's return to the moon and to completion of the International Space Station, not just as a unique orbiting laboratory but also a framework for world cooperation in pursuit of expanding human knowledge.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Those and other ventures require leadership now lacking at the White House. The Democrat Party approaches space issues with a confined vision and misplaced appropriations, encouraging inefficient investments and pork barrel spending. Bill Clinton gives lip service to our space program but denies it crucial resources. A Republican president and a Republican Congress will work together to make space an American frontier again. We will develop the Reusable Launch Vehicle, promote markets for commercial space launch services, and push technology to its creative limits. Commercial space development holds the key to expanding our aerospace industry and strengthening our technology base, but it can be promoted only by removing unnecessary and artificial regulatory, legal, and tax barriers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Space exploration and exploitation are a matter of national security. Our Armed Forces already rely on space assets to support their operations on earth, and space technology will rapidly become more critical to successful military operations. Space is the ocean of tomorrow, and we cannot allow its domination by another power. We must ensure that America can work and prosper there, securely and without outside influence. A new Republican team will secure the high frontier for peace on earth and for unlimited human opportunity.

The Goal is Freedom

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

America stands on the brink of a new century. After victory in the "long twilight struggle" against Soviet Communism, Americans can feel justifiably proud of the role they played in defeating history's most corrupt and predatory empire. The end of the Cold War has not spelled the end of history, but it has instead unleashed forces contained for nearly fifty years of superpower confrontation. Today America faces new challenges and new threats to our vital interests which can only be protected by our continued engagement in the world. Our nation must resist the temptation to turn inward and neglect the exercise of American leadership and our proper role in the world. Will the 21st Century confer new opportunities and new benefits on America, or will it prove to be an era of weakness and decline? This will depend on whether we have a strong, decisive leader like Bob Dole who will protect Americans at home and abroad and vigorously pursue the nation's interests around the globe.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The U.S. Constitution, the finest document for human governance ever devised, establishes the mission of providing for the common defense as a chief purpose of the federal government, in order to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity. The president's primary constitutional duty and most sacred responsibility is the role of Commander-in-Chief. Above all else, he must be able to ensure that the American people and our interests are defended. That requires strong, combat ready military forces and a sound foreign policy. If the President fails in this office, then America's freedom, independence, and prosperity will be jeopardized, and all other issues - domestic and economic - become moot.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The bravery, skill, and sacrifice of America's fighting forces; the dedication, industry, and ingenuity of the American people; the superiority of U.S. technology; and the abundance of America's wealth and resources are sufficient to overcome any foreign threat or challenge. But these gifts are cause for gratitude and humility, not complacency. And these national treasures can be used to safeguard the nation effectively in a time of volatile change only if genuine leadership, wisdom, discernment, courage, and honor are present in the Commander-in-Chief and in the officials he or she appoints to critical national security posts. With such a president at the helm, America will know a new birth of freedom, security, and prosperity. And this nation, and the benefits it has bestowed upon mankind throughout our history, shall not perish from the earth.

Conclusion

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

As we begin a new era and a new millennium, we deem it essential to reaffirm the truths of the Declaration of Independence:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

That all men are created equal;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

That they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

That government derives its just powers only from the consent of the governed.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We close this platform with the wisdom of our forefathers who had the courage to set their names to the Declaration of Independence as they too began a new era. Like them, we appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions. With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we pledge to each other and to the American people an unfaltering commitment to restore to America a deep respect for the values of human freedom.

Appendix I

Minority Views: Amendments Considered by the Full Committee on Resolutions

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Individual Rights and Personal Safety

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In this section, 33 amendments were agreed to, 6 were withdrawn and 9 were not accepted, as follows:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 32, strike language in the second paragraph and insert: "The Republican party believes that Republicans are people of principle on each side of the abortion issue who firmly and intractably hold those beliefs; by establishing a party position, we recognize that a resolution will not change these beliefs, but will serve to divide the party on other issues; and urge all Republicans to firmly debate these beliefs and vote their consciences in the November referendum."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 32, remove reference to "indoctrination in the classroom."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 34 and 35, replace paragraph on abortion with the following: "The Republican Party welcomes individuals on each side of the abortion issue, encourages their open discussion, solicits their active participation in the Party, and respects their positions and beliefs."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 34 and 35, replace paragraph on abortion with the following: "As Republicans, we share a reverence for life and a deep belief in the traditional nuclear family and in parents as the best provider to children of love, moral values, and the sense of duty and responsibility that all children need to become decent and responsible adults.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"We are committed as a party and as individuals to significantly reducing the number of abortions in America.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"We believe that the decline in abortions we seek will be far better achieved by persuasion of individuals to choose - as a matter of individual conscience - behavior that will not produce unwanted pregnancies, than by governmental mandate and invasion of privacy.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"We believe that parents - fathers and mothers who provide their children with the love, guidance and direction they need - should be the major influence in shaping their child's character, values, and conduct through teaching that love, marriage, and pre-marital abstinence are the right, moral and responsible choices.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"We believe that both men and women who do not practice abstinence, but are unwilling or unprepared to accept the heavy responsibility of parenthood, have the strongest moral obligation to take effective contraceptive measures to prevent pregnancy and thereby prevent circumstances that lead to abortions or alternatively, to the epidemic social pathology caused by tragic childhoods of abuse, neglect and fatherlessness.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"We believe that the role of government is to reinforce the teachings of parents, not replace them. Government should encourage abstinence among youth and contraception among adults unprepared for the responsibility of parenthood. We should vigorously prosecute statutory rape, vigorously enforce payment of child support, reform welfare laws that reward irresponsible behavior, and otherwise create strong disincentives for irresponsible sexual behavior on the part of men and women.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"For children who lack the love and guidance of a responsible parent in their lives, government should better promote adoption or encourage the influence of some other adult mentor in a child's life.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"Upon all foregoing points we agree as Republicans, whether conscientiously pro-life or conscientiously pro-choice. As Republicans, we acknowledge and respect the honest convictions that divide us on the question of abortion. Unlike the Democratic Party, we will not censor members of our party who hold opposing views on this issue. We are a party confident enough in our beliefs to tolerate dissent.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

"And while differing on this issue, both pro-life and pro-choice Republicans are totally united in our belief that Bob Dole will provide the integrity, courage and leadership America needs to lead the free world into a 21st Century that will offer our children unparalleled individual freedom and opportunity if they meet the challenge of exercising personal responsibility."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 32, toward the end of the second paragraph, after the words "who may hold differing positions" add "on issues such as abortion and capital punishment."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 42, strike "it is time to revisit the Supreme Court's arbitrary decision of 1977 that protects even the most vicious rapists from the death penalty."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 42, in the same sentence strike "arbitrary."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 42, at the bottom insert: "Safety on college and university campuses was mandated by law, passed and signed by President Bush in 1990. Clinton's administration has refused to enforce the law, and crimes against students continue to increase at alarming rates. Without this enforcement, students will continue to suffer from unacceptably high rates of crime during their college careers. A Dole administration will assure maximum safety for our future leaders of this country by enforcing the 1990 Campus Security Act, and enacting the Open Police Campus Logs Act of 1995 so that crimes on campus can be detected and punished."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 43, add to the second paragraph the word "domestic."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Withdrawn:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 32, strike language in the second paragraph and insert: "As we approach the beginning of a new century, the Republican Party is more dedicated than ever to strengthening the social, cultural, and political ties that bind us together as a free people, the greatest force for good the world has ever seen. While the party remains steadfast in its commitment to advancing its historic principles and ideals, we also recognize that members of our Party have deeply-held and sometimes differing views on issues of personal conscience like abortion and capital punishment. We view this diversity of views as a source of strength, not as a sign of weakness, and we welcome into our ranks all Americans who may hold differing positions on these and other issues. Recognizing that tolerance is a virtue, we are committed to resolving our differences in a spirit of civility, hope, and mutual respect. As we struggle to forge a national consensus on the divisive issues of our time, we call on all Republicans and all Americans to reject the forces of hatred and bigotry."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Families and Society

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In this section, 13 amendments were agreed to, 2 were withdrawn, 2 were not accepted, as follows:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 56, in the third paragraph after the words "We call for an increased emphasis on prevention of diseases that threaten the lives of women," insert "in particular of cervical cancer as the sexually transmitted disease with the greatest impact on women, and of induced abortion as the single most avoidable known risk factor for breast cancer."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 59, at the top insert: "We support a small business renaissance in our inner cities. We call upon city governments to cut taxes and eliminate burdensome regulations to unleash the spirit of enterprise and entrepreneurship."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Restoring American World Leadership

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In this section, 9 amendments were agreed to, 1 was not accepted:

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Page 81, add the following new paragraph: " Because we believe in treating tyrannies differently than other governments, we favor denying most favored nation privileges to regimes that practice religious persecution or coercive abortion or that engage in slave labor."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

A Cleaner, Safer, Healthier America

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In this section, 8 amendments were agreed to, 1 was withdrawn.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Changing Washington From the Ground Up

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In this section, 7 amendments were agreed to.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Building a Better America

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

In this section, 3 amendments were agreed to.

Appendix II

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Remarks by Bob Dole Republican Candidate for President of the United States Satellite Broadcast to RNC Platform Committee Washington, D.C. Tuesday, August 6, 1996

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

It's good to visit with you today. I'm proud of our party, and proud to be the Republican nominee. And I'm absolutely confident of victory on November fifth.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Yesterday in Chicago I outlined my economic growth plan to repeal the current tax code, to end the IRS as we know it and to get the American family's income moving up again.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

Not surprisingly, the Clinton team denounced my growth plan even before they heard the details. Why? Because to them, specifics aren't important; they simply don't believe in cutting taxes. They believe in raising taxes. They don't want to control spending, they want to increase spending. The dividing line in this campaign is crystal clear: I believe Washington takes too much of your hard-earned money. Bill Clinton does not.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The Clinton team says my plan isn't realistic. But how can anyone in America believe Bill Clinton when it comes to taxes? After all, he ran for President promising middle-class tax relief, then as President hit the American people with the largest tax increase in history. Those are the facts. And as John Adams put it, "facts are stubborn things."

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

President Clinton suggested yesterday that my plan will cause the deficit to go up. I'm touched by his new-found concern for a balanced budget. But here again, the facts tell a different story. It was Bill Clinton, not Bob Dole, who pressured six Democrats to switch sides on the Balanced Budget Amendment, causing it to lose narrowly in the Senate. So here is my challenge to president Clinton: if you're truly worried about the deficit, sit down right now with two Democratic senators and persuade them to support the Balanced Budget Amendment. Then we can have another vote. Help us get the job done, Mr. President. Find two votes. Make the calls today. If you're so eager to balance the budget, then take this action. If you're not - if your concern is just a ploy - then the American people will know it quickly.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

The issue of credibility in this campaign will come down to a contrast between words and actions -- President Clinton's words, and my actions. He'll use the rhetoric of reform. I've spent my entire career fighting to balance the budget, create more opportunities for people, and prevent government from growing beyond the consent of the governed. These will be the first principles and the legacy of my presidency. My administration won't be satisfied with second, third or fourth best. America will be Number One again.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We've had many debates in our party about which should come first - tax cuts, or a balanced budget. I say it's time to get to work on both. The fact is that the budget deficit and high taxes are two halves of the vise that is producing the Clinton middle-class squeeze. High taxes pick the American family's pocket directly. Incredibly, that family now spends more on taxes than on food, clothing and shelter combined. And the budget deficit is a "stealth tax" that pushes up interest rates.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

There is no magic in fixing this problem. With today's pro-growth Republican Congress, cutting taxes and balancing the budget are just a matter of presidential will. If you have it, you can do it. I have it. I will do it. I will support and work for the Balanced Budget Amendment. I will reduce the size of the federal government. I will balance the budget by the year 2002.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

And my tax plan, in a nutshell, is this: I intend to lower the federal income tax bill of a family of four making $35,000 a year by 56% - cutting it by more than half. We'll have a 15 percent tax cut, across the board, that will repeal the Clinton tax hike on the middle class. In fact, it will return total taxes to where they were when Ronald Reagan left office. That's a big, big step in the right direction.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We'll give every middle-income tax-paying family a $500 per child tax credit. We'll cut the top rate of the capital gains tax in half - because the capital gains tax hits smaller and growing businesses hardest, and they're the ones who will create most of our new jobs in the decade ahead. I want those businesses to use their growing value to give people better jobs, better opportunities and better incomes - not just to pay more taxes.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

I will call for expansion of Individual Retirement Accounts so people can put more away for their old age. I'll also ask for a repeal of the 1993 Clinton tax hike on Social Security benefits. And I will call for a super-majority - a 60% vote of Congress -- before income tax rates can ever be raised again on the American people.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We're also going to change the IRS, which has grown to twice the size of the CIA and five times the size of the FBI. It takes the equivalent of nearly three-million people working full time - more people than serve in the U.S. Armed Forces - just to comply with our tax laws.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

My plan will downsize the IRS and upsize the amount of money Americans get to keep. It will also end the Clinton Administration's exemption of the IRS from the Paperwork Reduction Act. We simply cannot put this economy back on the right track unless we change the bureaucratic culture of the IRS - and, for that matter, the rest of Washington. As President, I will insist that all regulations - both new and existing - be reviewed to determine what works, what doesn't, what's too expensive, and what's too oppressive.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We must also change the culture that has permitted a litigation explosion in this country. Our lawsuit system is out of control, it's a drag on growth, and it undermines our competitiveness. President Clinton vetoed lawsuit reform at the behest of his biggest campaign contributors, the trial lawyers. When I'm President, we'll do the right thing and fix the broken-down lawsuit system. We'll limit outrageous punitive awards. We'll promote early settlements. We'll revoke the trial lawyers' license to search for deep pockets, and ensure that most of the award money in the contingency fee system goes to those who were injured, instead of to lawyers. My administration will do the people's business, instead of doing the bidding of the trial lawyers.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

No plan to strengthen the economy would be complete without education reform to make children and workers ready for the jobs of the future. The Clinton administration has placed our educational destiny in the hands of bureaucrats and the liberal ideologues of the national teachers' unions. I will do things differently. My program includes Opportunity Scholarships, to enable parents to choose the best school for their children. We'll allow low- and middle-income students and parents to deduct interest on student loans and set up tax-free "Education Investment Accounts." I will take education out of the hands of the unions and bureaucrats and put it back in the hands of parents - where it belongs.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

As you can see, my plan is about much more than simply reducing taxes and balancing the budget. It's about a vision for a healthy, vigorous, growing economy where all Americans can participate, and where no one is left behind. It's about a whole range of policies that will help wage-earners, small business owners, entrepreneurs, and everyone else in America who dreams of a better life for themselves and for their children.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

President Clinton is completely satisfied with the status quo. He inherited a fast-growing economy and turned it into a slow-growing economy. His own forecasters project growth through the end of this decade at an incredibly lackluster 2.3 percent. In their view, that's good enough. Well, I don't believe that. And I know you don't, either. There is so much more potential in this economy, if only we will turn loose the greatness of the American people.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

So as of now, Bill Clinton and his party are the defenders of the status quo, and we are the party of change. We are the party of ideas; they are the party of excuses. And for the next three months, the debate will focus on our ideas, our growth plan, and our vision for America going into the next century.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

This is the message of our campaign: we're going to lift up this country - lift up our economy, lift up our schools, lift up our families, lift up our values. We're going to make the American dream a reality for every generation that follows us here, in the greatest nation on the face of the earth.

National Party Platforms, 1996 Republican Party Platform

We have some exciting days and weeks ahead of us. Thanks for listening, and thanks for all your hard work to deliver a strong, clear, confident message to the American people. God bless you all.

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