

THE INDIVIDUAL AND GOVERNMENT

1 In recent years an increasingly impersonal, top-heavy, national  
 2 government has tended to submerge the individual. An entrenched, burgeon-  
 3 ing bureaucracy has increasingly usurped powers unauthorized by Congress.  
 4 Decentralization of power and strict Congressional oversight of administra-  
 5 tive and regulatory agency compliance with the letter and spirit of the  
 6 law are urgently needed to preserve personal liberty, improve administra-  
 7 tive efficiency, and provide a swifter response to human problems.

8 Many states and localities are eager to revitalize their own adminis-  
 9 trative machinery, procedures, and personnel practices. ] Moreover, there  
 10 is a growing movement toward inter-state cooperation in such fields as  
 11 education, elimination of air and water pollution, and utilization of air-  
 12 ports, <sup>HIGHWAYS & MASS TRANSPORTATION</sup> We pledge full federal cooperation with these efforts, including  
 13 revision of the present system of providing federal funds. ] Additionally,  
 14 we propose the [sharing of federal revenues] with state [and local] governments.  
 15 [~~based on the factors of population, and local tax effort.~~] We also favor a  
 16 ~~federal tax credit for a portion of state and local taxes.~~ We are particularly  
 17 determined to revise the grant-in-aid system and substitute block grants  
 18 wherever possible. ] It is also important that state and local governments  
 19 retain the historic right to raise funds by issuing tax-exempt securities. ]

20 The strengthening of citizen influence on government requires a number  
 21 of improvements in political areas. For instance, we propose to reform the  
 22 electoral college system, establish a nation-wide, uniform voting period for  
 23 Presidential elections, and <sup>RECOMMEND THAT EACH STATE</sup> remove unreasonable requirements, residence and

WE PLEAD TO REINTEGRATION AUTHORITY OF STATE  
IN CO-ORDINATION WITH  
GOV. & THE LOCAL LEVEL  
STATE GOVERNMENT  
IN CO-ORDINATING BEE, BETWEEN A STATE LEVEL

WE PROMOTE THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE  
ADVERTISING OF TRANSFERABLE TAX FUNCTION  
TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

CHANGED - (WATERED DOWN)

1 otherwise, for voting in Presidential elections. We also specifically

2 favor representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.

3 ~~We share the hopes and aspirations of the people of Puerto Rico and~~  
 WE SUPPORT THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE TO ACHIEVE STATEHOOD WHEREVER

4 ~~the Virgin Islands and will be responsive to mandates expressed by them~~  
 THEY FREELY SO DETERMINE IN A GENERAL ELECTION

5 concerning their political future within the American Union. The people of

6 the Virgin Islands will be closely consulted on proposed gubernatorial

7 appointments.

8 A new Election Reform Act will have our support to apply clear, reason-  
 9 able restraints to political spending and fund-raising whether by corporations,  
 10 labor or individuals, ensure timely publication of the financial facts in  
 11 campaigns, and provide a tax deduction for small contributions.

12 We will prevent the solicitation of federal workers for political  
 13 contributions and assure comparability of federal salaries with private  
 14 enterprise pay. The increasing government intrusion into the privacy of  
 15 its employees and of citizens in general is intolerable. We will end all  
 16 such snooping, meddling, and pressure by the federal government on its  
 17 employees. <sup>OTHER CITIZENS</sup>

18 Congress itself must be reorganized and modernized in order to function  
 19 efficiently as a co-equal branch of government. Democrats in control of  
 20 Congress have opposed Republican efforts for congressional reform and killed  
 21 legislation embodying the bipartisan recommendations of a special committee  
 22 established for that purpose. We will again press for enactment of this  
 23 measure. WE PLEDGE TO RE-ESTABLISH THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE GOV.

24 <sup>IN CO-ORDINATING & ADMINISTERING FED. PROGRAMS BY STATE GOV.</sup>  
 We are particularly concerned over the ever-mounting postal deficit and  
 25 the evidence, recently stressed by the President's Commission on Postal  
 26 Organization, of costly and inefficient practices in the postal establishment.

1 We pledge full consideration of the Commission's recommendations for  
2 improvements in the nation's postal service. We believe the Post Office  
3 Department must attract and retain the best qualified and most capable  
4 employees and offer them improved opportunities for advancement, better  
5 working conditions and incentives, and greater opportunities for service.  
6 We favor extension of the merit principle to postmasters and rural carriers.

7 Public confidence in an independent judiciary is absolutely essential  
8 to the maintenance of law and order. We advocate application of the highest  
9 standards in making appointments to the courts, and we pledge a determined  
10 effort to rebuild and enhance public respect for the Supreme Court and all  
11 other courts in the United States.

A HEALTHY ECONOMYIS PRODUCED BY

1 The dynamism of our economy ~~derives from its incentives to~~ millions  
 2 of individuals <sup>WHO HAVE THE INCENTIVE TO</sup> ~~to~~ participate in decision-making that advances themselves  
 3 and society as a whole. Government can reinforce these incentives, but its  
 4 over-involvement in individual decisions distorts the system and intrudes  
 5 inefficiency and waste.

6 Under the Johnson-Humphrey Administration we have had economic mis-  
 7 management of the highest order. Inflation robs our pay checks at a present  
 8 rate of 4-1/2 percent per year. In the past three years the real purchasing  
 9 power of the average wage and salary worker has actually declined. Crippling  
 10 interest rates, some at the highest level in a century, prevent millions of  
 11 Americans from buying homes and small businessmen, farmers and other citizens  
 12 from obtaining the loans they need. Americans must work longer today than  
 13 ever before to pay their taxes.

14 New Republican leadership can and will restore fiscal soundness and  
 15 sound monetary policies, <sup>TERMINAL PERIOD ON APPROPRIATE BUT UNOBTAINABLE FUNDS</sup> encourage sustained economic vitality, and avoid  
 16 such economic distortions as wage and price controls. By responsibly and  
 17 prudently <sup>EXERCISING FED. EXPENDITURE CONTROL ACCORDING TO PRIORITY NEEDS</sup> ~~(focusing public resources on priority needs)~~ we can in time live  
 18 both within our means and up to our aspirations. Such funds as become avail-  
 19 able with the termination of the Vietnam war and upon recovery from its impact  
 20 on our national defense will be applied in a balanced way to critical domestic  
 21 needs and to reduce the heavy tax burden. Our objective is not an endless

1 expansion of federal programs and expenditures financed by heavier taxation.  
 2 ~~but rather, as soon as possible, a series of tax cuts.~~ The imperative need  
 3 for tax reform and simplification will have our priority attention. We  
 4 will also improve the management of the national debt, reduce its heavy  
 5 interest burden, and seek amendment of the law to make reasonable price  
 6 stability an explicit objective of government policy.

7 The Executive Branch needs urgently to be made a more efficient and  
 8 economical instrument of public policy. Low priority activities must be  
 9 eliminated and the tangled web of conflicting missions and functions simpli-  
 10 fied. We pledge to establish a new Efficiency Commission to root out the  
 11 unnecessary and the overlapping, as well as a Presidential Office of Executive  
 12 Management to assure a vigorous follow-through.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE & PREVENT IMPROPER GOVERNMENT  
 COMPETITION WITH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

13 Labor

ORGANIZED LABOR HAS

14 Strong labor unions have contributed greatly to the economic strength  
 15 of our country and the well-being of their members. The Republican Party  
 16 vigorously endorses their key role in our national life.

17 We believe in and support an equitable minimum wage for American workers  
 18 and will continue and improve the Fair Labor Standards Act, ~~the Walsh Healy~~  
 19 Act, ~~and the Davis Bacon Act~~ which <sup>HAS</sup> ~~have~~ afforded important protections to  
 20 employees.

WHICH WILL NOT BE EFFECT  
 OF FAIR WAGES WITHOUT JUSTICE  
 @ LOWEST  
 ECONOMIC  
 RISK

21 The forty hour week adopted 30 years ago needs re-examination to deter-  
 22 mine whether <sup>OR NOT</sup> a shorter work week, with <sup>OUT LOSE OF</sup> ~~added~~ increment in earning power,  
 23 would produce more jobs, increase productivity and ~~stable~~ <sup>STABILIZE</sup> prices.

1 We strongly believe that the protection of individual liberty is the  
 2 cornerstone of sound labor policy. Today, basic rights of <sup>SOME</sup> workers, guaranteed  
 3 by law, are inadequately guarded against abuse. We will assure these rights  
 4 through vigorous enforcement of present laws <sup>INCLUDING THE TAFT HARTLEY & LANDRUM GRIFFIN ACTS</sup> and the addition of new protec-  
 5 tions where needed. We will <sup>BE VIGILANT</sup> ~~amend the statutes~~ to prevent any administrative  
 6 agency entrusted with labor-law enforcement from defying the <sup>LETTER & SPIRIT OF</sup> ~~Congressional~~  
 7 <sup>THESE LAWS.</sup> ~~guarantees of individual freedom.~~

8 Healthy private enterprise demands responsibility -- by government,  
 9 management and labor -- to avoid the imposition of excessive costs or prices  
 10 and to share with the consumer the benefits of increased productivity. It  
 11 also demands responsibility in free collective bargaining, not only by labor  
 12 and management, but also by those in government concerned with these sensi-  
 13 tive relationships.

14 We will bar government-coerced strike settlements that cynically dis-  
 15 regard the public interest and accelerate inflation. We will again reduce  
 16 government intervention in labor-management disputes to a minimum, keep  
 17 government participation in channels defined by the Congress, and prevent  
 18 back door intervention in the administration of labor laws.

19 Repeated Administration promises to recommend legislation dealing with  
 20 crippling economic strikes have never been honored. Instead settlements  
 21 forced or influenced by government and overriding the interests of the parties  
 22 and the public have shattered the Administration's own wage and price guide-  
 23 lines and contributed to inflation.

1           Effective methods for dealing with labor disputes involving the  
 2 national interest must be developed. Permanent, long-range solutions of  
 3 the problems of national emergency disputes, public employee strikes and  
 4 crippling work stoppages are imperative. These solutions cannot be wisely  
 5 formulated in the heat of emergency. We pledge an intensive effort to  
 6 develop practical, acceptable solutions that conform fully to the public  
 7 interest.

8           In addition to vigorous enforcement of the antitrust statutes, we  
 9 pledge a thorough analysis of the structure and operation of these laws  
 10 at home and abroad in the light of changes in the economy, in order to  
 11 update antitrust policy in this country and enable it to serve us well in  
 12 the future.

### 13           Transportation

14           Healthy economic growth also demands a balanced, competitive trans-  
 15 portation system in which each mode of transportation -- train, truck,  
 16 barge, bus and aircraft -- is efficiently utilized. The Administration's  
 17 failure to evolve a coordinated transportation policy now results in out-  
 18 rageous delays at major airports and in glacial progress in developing  
 19 high-speed train transportation to link major population centers.

→ UPDATE AIR TRAVEL ←

20           We will make the ~~inoperative~~ Department of Transportation the agency  
 21 Congress intended it to be -- effective in promoting coordination and  
 22 preserving competition among carriers. We promise equitable treatment of  
 23 all modes of transportation in order to assure the public better service,



1 greater safety, and the most modern facilities. We will also explore a  
2 trust fund approach to transportation, similar to the fund developed for  
3 the Eisenhower interstate highway system, and perhaps in this way speed  
4 the development of modern mass transportation systems and additional  
5 airports.

6 A new Republican Administration will also undertake an intensive  
7 program to aid small business, including economic incentives, technical  
8 assistance, <sup>with</sup> and increased emphasis in rural and urban poverty areas.

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RESOURCES AND SCIENCEAgriculture

Our farmers have accomplished production miracles. Yet the Administration's farm programs, combined with its recklessly inflationary fiscal policies, have depressed real farm income, impoverished thousands of farm families, and driven millions from the land.

To improve America's vast agricultural economy, we propose:

- Improvement of farm income and the promotion of family farm enterprise by better management of government-owned inventories of farm commodities and the development of commodity programs tailored to each commodity's special needs and problems. This we will do in a manner consistent with producer approval with maximum emphasis on placing management decisions on the farm or ranch;
- A truly two-way export-import policy that properly protects American agriculture while expanding overseas commodity dollar sales to a rising world population;
- Expanded research <sup>IN OUR COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES</sup> for new products, new markets, and new methods for cost cutting in production and marketing techniques;
- A revitalized rural America through effective rural development programs and laws to expand vocational training, provide economic incentives to attract industry, and develop human resources;
- A strengthened program to export our food and our unrivaled farm technology as well, in keeping with the Republican-initiated Food for Peace Program.

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1 Natural Resources

2 In the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican Party promises  
3 sound conservation and development of natural resources in cooperative  
4 programs involving the private sector and government at all levels. — IMPROVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENT —

5 A national minerals policy for all mined resources is essential to  
6 maintain production in the interest of our national security. — DEPLETION ALLOWANCE — We must  
7 recognize the increasing demand for minerals by our economy, help assure  
8 an economically stable industry, and encourage research to promote the  
9 wise use of our mineral resources.

10 Federal laws applicable to public lands and related resources will  
11 be updated and a ~~National~~ <sup>PUBLIC</sup> land use policy formulated. We will manage  
12 such lands to assure their multiple use as economic resources and recreat-  
13 ional areas. Additionally, we will work in cooperation with cities and  
14 states in acquiring and developing green space -- convenient, outdoor  
15 recreation areas. We support the creation of additional national parks, WILDERNESS AREAS  
16 monuments and outdoor recreation areas, and their continuing improvement,  
17 to make them of maximum utility and enjoyment to the public.

18 Improved forestry practices, including protection and improvement  
19 of watershed lands, will have our vigorous support. We will also improve  
20 water resource information, including an acceleration of river basin  
21 commission inventory studies. The reclaiming of land by irrigation and  
22 the development of flood control programs will have high priority in these  
23 studies. We will support additional multi-purpose water projects for  
24 reclamation, flood control, and recreation based on accurate cost-benefit  
25 estimates. — DESALINATION, ETC. —

DRAFT

1 The United States has ~~become~~ sixth among the fishing Nations of the  
 2 World. We pledge a reversal of present policies and the adoption of a  
 3 progressive National Fisheries Policy, which will make it possible for the  
 4 first time to utilize fully the vast ocean reservoir of protein. We pledge  
 5 a more energetic control of pollution, encouragement of an increase in  
 6 fishery resources, and will also press for international agreements assuring  
 7 multi-national conservation.

8 We pledge a far more vigorous and systematic program to expand knowledge  
 9 about the unexplored storehouses of the sea and polar regions. We must  
 10 undertake ~~a~~ comprehensive <sup>OCEANOGRAPHIC</sup> polar plans to develop these abundant resources for  
 11 the continued strength of the United States and the betterment of all mankind.

Science

12  
 13 In science and technology the nation must maintain leadership against  
 14 increasingly challenging competition from abroad. Crucial to this leadership  
 15 is growth in the supply of gifted, skilled scientists and engineers.  
 16 Government encouragement in this critical area should be stable and related  
 17 to a more rational and selective scheme of priorities.

18 Vigorous effort must be directed toward increasing the application of  
 19 science and technology, including the social sciences, to the solution of  
 20 such pressing human problems as housing, transportation, education,  
 21 environmental pollution, law enforcement, and job training. We support a  
 22 strong program of research in the sciences, with protection for the independence  
 23 and integrity of participating individuals and institutions, an increase in  
 24 the number of centers of scientific creativity and excellence geographically  
 25 dispersed, and active cooperation with other nations in meaningful scientific  
 26 undertakings.

1 We regret that in these days of financial stringency it has been  
2 necessary to reduce the space program. The Republican Party shares the  
3 sense of urgency manifested by the scientific community concerning the  
4 exploration of outer space. We regard the ability to maneuver spacecraft  
5 as a military necessity. We deplore the fact that the Johnson-Humphrey  
6 Administration has placed so little emphasis on the military uses of  
7 space for America's defense.

*We recognize the advantages of space programs for  
successfully guiding & employ  
advanced spacecraft as a military tool*

*PEACEFUL  
MEANS  
Etc,*

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FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICIES

1 Our nation urgently needs <sup>A</sup> foreign <sup>and military</sup> <sup>POLICY</sup> policies that  
 2 realistically leads toward peace. These can come only from <sup>RESOLUTE</sup> new leadership --  
 3 a leadership that can and will think anew and act anew -- a leadership  
 4 not bound by mistakes of the past.

5 In the development and execution of these policies our career  
 6 Foreign Service officers play a critical role. We strongly support the  
 7 Foreign Service and will strengthen it by improving its efficiency and  
 8 administration and providing adequate allowances for its personnel.

9 Our best hope for enduring peace lies in comprehensive international  
 10 cooperation. We will consult with nations that share our purposes. We  
 11 will press for their greater participation in man's common concerns and  
 12 <sup>ENCOURAGE</sup> expand regional approaches to defense, economic development, and peaceful  
 13 adjustments of disputes.

14 We will seek to develop law among nations and strengthen agencies to  
 15 effectuate that law and cooperatively solve common problems. We will  
 16 assist the United Nations to become the keystone of such agencies, and  
 17 its members will be pressed to honor all charter obligations, including  
 18 specifically its financial provisions. World-wide resort to the International  
 19 Court of Justice as a final arbiter of legal disputes among nations will  
 20 have our vigorous encouragement, <sup>LIMITATION OF THE TERMS OF THE US</sup> ~~SUBJECT TO THE~~ <sup>SENATE</sup> ~~CONSENT~~ ~~OF~~ ~~THE~~ ~~SENATE~~ ~~AND~~ ~~THE~~ ~~PEOPLE~~.

21 The world abounds with problems susceptible of cooperative solution --  
 22 <sup>ENFORCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS</sup> poverty, hunger, economic development, scientific and technological back-  
 23 wardness. The world-wide population explosion in particular, with its

1 attendant grave problems, looms as a menace to all mankind and will  
 2 have our priority attention. In all such areas we pledge to expand and  
 3 strengthen international cooperation.

4 A more selective use of our economic strength has become imperative.  
 5 Foreign aid must at last be positioned realistically in our national  
 6 <sup>WE BELIEVE FOREIGN AID IS A NECESSITY TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES</sup> priorities. Only those nations which urgently require America's help and  
 7 clearly evince a desire to help themselves will receive such assistance  
 8 as can be diverted from our own pressing needs. <sup>IN PROVIDING AID MORE</sup> ~~In such aid technical~~  
 9 <sup>EMPHASIS SHOULD BE GIVEN TO TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE</sup> ~~assistance will be preferred over grants and loans.~~ We will <sup>ENCOURAGE</sup> ~~rely on~~  
 10 multilateral agencies so other nations will help share the burden. <sup>CORRUPTION</sup> We  
 11 will vigorously encourage maximum participation by private enterprise.

12 No longer will foreign aid activities range free of our foreign policy.  
 13 Nations hostile to this country ~~and nations which disturb or threaten the~~  
 14 ~~peace~~ will receive no assistance from the United States. We will not  
 15 provide aid of any kind to countries which aid and abet <sup>THE WAR EFFORTS OF</sup> North Vietnam.  
 16 **ONLY** When Communist nations prove by actual deeds that they genuinely seek  
 17 world peace and will live in harmony with the rest of the world, <sup>WILL WE</sup> ~~we will~~  
 18 support expansion of East-West trade. We will rigorously administer the  
 19 Export Control Act, taking special care to deny export licenses for strategic  
 20 goods.

21 The principles of the 1965 Immigration Act -- non-discrimination  
 22 against national origins, reunification of families, and selective support  
 23 for the American labor market -- have our unreserved backing. We will  
 24 refine this new law to make our immigration policy still more equitable and  
 25 non-discriminatory.

1           The balance of payments crisis must be ended, and the international  
2 position of the dollar strengthened. We propose to do this, not by  
3 peremptory efforts to limit American travel abroad or by self-defeating  
4 restraints on overseas investment, but by restraint in Federal spending  
5 and realistic monetary policies, by adjusting overseas commitments, by  
6 stimulating exports, by encouraging more foreign travel to the United  
7 States and, as specific conditions require, by extending a tax treatment  
8 to our own exports and imports comparable to such treatment applied by  
9 foreign countries. Ending inflation is the first step toward solving the  
10 payments crisis.

11           It remains the policy of the Republican Party to work toward freer  
12 trade among all nations of the free world. But artificial obstacles to  
13 such trade are a serious concern. We promise hard-headed bargaining to  
14 lower the non-tariff barriers against American exports and to develop a  
15 code of fair competition, including international fair labor standards,  
16 between the United States and its principal trading partners.

17           A sudden influx of imports can endanger many industries. These problems,  
18 differing in each industry, must be considered case by case. Our guideline  
19 will be fairness for both producers and workers, without foreclosing imports.

20           Thousands of jobs have been lost to foreign producers because of  
21 discriminatory and unfair trade practices.

22           The State Department must give closest attention to the development  
23 of agreements with exporting nations to bring about fair competition. Imports  
24 should not be permitted to capture excessive portions of the American market  
25 but should, through international agreements, be able to participate in the  
26 growth of consumption.



1           Should such efforts fail, specific counter-measures will have to  
2 be applied until fair competition is re-established. Tax reforms will  
3 also be required to preserve the competitiveness of American goods.

4           The basis for determining the value of imports and exports must be  
5 modified to reflect true dollar value.

6           Not the least important aspect of this problem is the relative  
7 obsolescence of machinery in this country. An equitable tax write-off  
8 is necessary to strengthen our industrial competitiveness in the world.

9           We also favor the broadening of governmental assistance to industries, ~~Producers~~  
10 and workers seriously affected by imports -- assistance denied by the  
11 Johnson-Humphrey Administration's excessively stringent application of  
12 the Trade Agreements Act of 1962.

13           Ties of history and geography link us closely to Latin America. ~~All~~  
14 ~~of us in this hemisphere~~ must mount a cooperative attack on the chronic  
15 problems of poverty, poor education, inadequate economic growth and  
16 population pressures through a more vigorous Organization of American States.

17           The principles of the Monroe Doctrine, affirmed 14 years ago by all  
18 the independent nations of this hemisphere at Caracas, have been discarded  
19 by <sup>THE</sup> Democratic ~~Administrations~~. We hold they should be reaffirmed and guide  
20 the collective policy of the Americas. Nor have we forgotten, in this  
21 context, the Cuban people who still cruelly suffer under Communist tyranny.

22           ~~PASSPORTS~~  
23 In cooperation with other nations, we will encourage underdeveloped  
24 nations of Asia and Africa and support stronger regional organizations for  
the peaceful development of both areas.

1 In the tinderbox of the Middle East we will pursue a stable peace  
 2 through recognition by all nations of each other's right to secure  
 3 boundaries, <sup>FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION INTO INTERNATIONAL WATERS,</sup> and independent existence free from the threat of aggression.

4 We will seek an end to the arms race through international agreement and  
 5 the stationing of peace-keeping forces of the United Nations in areas of  
 6 severe tension, as we encourage peace-table talks <sup>BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES & ISRAEL</sup> among <sup>ADVERSARIES</sup> adversaries.

7 Nevertheless, the Soviets persist in building an imbalance of military  
 8 forces in this region. The fact of a growing menace to Israel is undeniable.

9 Her forces must be kept at a commensurate strength both for her protection  
 10 and to help keep the peace of the area. [The United States, therefore,

11 will provide countervailing help to Israel, such as supersonic fighters,  
 12 as necessary for these purposes.] To replace the ancient rivalries of

13 this region with new hope and opportunity, we vigorously support a well-  
 14 conceived plan of regional development, including the bold nuclear  
 15 desalinization and irrigation proposal of former President Eisenhower.

16 Our relations with Western Europe, so critical to our own progress and  
 17 security, have been needlessly and dangerously impaired. They must be  
 18 restored, and NATO revitalized and strengthened. We continue to pursue the  
 19 goal of a Germany reunified in freedom.

20 The peoples of the captive nations of Eastern Europe will one day  
 21 regain their freedom and independence. We will strive to speed this day  
 22 by encouraging the greater political freedom now being actively sought by  
 23 several of these nations. On occasions when a liberalization of trade in  
 24 non-strategic goods with the captive nations can have this effect, it will  
 25 have our support.

X

<sup>SO-CALLED</sup>

1 We will not indulge aggression, or <sup>SO-CALLED</sup> wars of "national liberation",  
2 or naively discount the continuing threats of Moscow and Peking. Nor  
3 can we fail to condemn the Soviet Union for its continuing anti-Semitic  
4 actions, its efforts to eradicate <sup>ALL RELIGIONS</sup> ~~religion~~; and its oppression of minorities  
5 generally. Improved relations with these Communist nations can come only  
6 when they cease to endanger other states by force and threat. Under  
7 existing conditions, we cannot favor recognition of Communist China or its  
8 admission to the United Nations. We encourage international limitations  
9 of armaments, provided all major powers are proportionately restrained and  
10 trustworthy guarantees are provided against violations.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

1 Grave errors, many now irretrievable, have characterized the direc-  
2 tion of our nation's defense.

3 A singular notion -- that salvation for America lies in standing  
4 still -- has pervaded the entire effort. Not retention of American  
5 superiority but parity with the Soviet Union has been made the controlling  
6 doctrine in many critical areas. We have frittered away superior military  
7 capabilities, enabling the Soviets to narrow their defense gap, in some  
8 areas to outstrip us, and to move to cancel our lead entirely by the early  
9 Seventies. In a host of areas, advanced military research and development  
10 have been inhibited and stagnated by inexpert, cost-oriented administrators  
11 imbued with a euphoric concept of Soviet designs. A strange Administration  
12 preference for such second-best weaponry as the costly Navy ~~TFX~~<sup>F11B</sup> has deprived  
13 our armed forces of more advanced weapons systems. Improvements in our  
14 submarines have been long delayed as the Soviets have proceeded apace with  
15 their own. Our anti-submarine warfare capabilities have been left seriously  
16 inadequate, new fighter planes held up, and new strategic weaponry left on  
17 the drawing boards.

18 This mismanagement has dangerously weakened the ability of the  
19 United States to meet future crises with great power and decisiveness.  
20 Six years ago all the world was respectful of America's decisive strategic  
21 advantage over the Soviets achieved during the Eisenhower Administration.  
22 This superiority proved its worth in the Cuban missile crisis. But now

1 we have had an augury of things to come -- a shameful, humiliating episode,  
2 the seizure of the USS PUEBLO and its crew, with devastating injury to  
3 America's prestige everywhere in the world.

4 The Administration's direction of the Vietnam war has been equally  
5 difficult to fathom.

6 We condemn the Administration's breach of faith with the American  
7 people respecting our heavy involvement in Vietnam. Every citizen bitterly  
8 recalls the campaign oratory of 1964: "We are not about to send American  
9 boys 9 or 10,000 miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be  
10 doing for themselves." The Administration's failure to honor its own  
11 words has led millions of Americans to question its credibility.

12 Then, the ground war having been undertaken, the Administration's  
13 piece-meal commitment of men and materiel forfeited the physical and  
14 psychological advantages of sudden impact, and thus a guerrilla-type  
15 action was in time escalated into major war. It is a war, therefore,  
16 that has been needlessly prolonged -- American and Vietnamese lives and  
17 material have been needlessly sacrificed -- America's immense air and  
18 naval advantages have been blunted. The Administration stands indicted  
19 for its utter failure to cope effectively with the strategy and tactics  
20 of unconventional warfare. It must answer for grossly mismanaging the  
21 nation's armed forces it committed to battle.

22 Throughout these tragic years there has been an inexplicable delay  
23 in the training of South Vietnamese military units and in equipping them  
24 with modern weapons. Seemingly by our own design, an Asian conflict has  
25 been Americanized.

*Like NADY  
DRAIN VIETNAM  
OK - AMERICAN  
NO NECESSARY STRATEGIC  
BUT CONTINUE*

1 We must move swiftly to re-establish a pre-eminent, up-to-date,  
2 powerful defense. For Vietnam we pledge a realistic strategy -- one  
3 that will rapidly upgrade the capability of the Vietnamese to fight for  
4 their own survival and self-determination -- one that will sharply in-  
5 crease Vietnamese emphasis on pacification -- one that will permit pro-  
6 gressive reductions in America's unplanned entanglement in this mismanaged  
7 war.

8 We hold that any negotiated settlement of this war will be unaccept-  
9 able unless it assures the Vietnamese people full opportunity for self-  
10 determination. Until there can be such a settlement, we maintain that  
11 the war must be conducted with a full sense of responsibility, not only  
12 to the American servicemen who valiantly represent us there, but also to  
13 the memory of those who have died there. We oppose any change in course  
14 which unnecessarily jeopardizes the lives of American fighting men.

15 We will de-Americanize the present war. Allies, present and future,  
16 must be induced to share far more fully in freedom's defense. We will  
17 encourage regional security efforts by the nations of Asia and Western  
18 Europe. The entire nation has been profoundly concerned by hastily-  
19 extemporized, undeclared land wars which embroil massive U. S. Army  
20 forces thousands of miles from our shores. It is time to realize that  
21 not every international conflict is susceptible of solution by American

22 VIETNAM ground forces. We pledge to: <sup>ALSO</sup> INCLUDE THE FOLLOW ACTION IN OUR  
PROGRAM TO RESTORE THE PRE-EMINENCE OF  
23 -- Improve our deterrent capability through an ocean strategy *US MILITARY*  
24 which extends the Polaris-Poseidon concept and accelerates *STRATEGY*  
25 submarine technology.

- 1           -- Redirect and stimulate military research to encourage major  
2           innovations rather than merely respond belatedly to Communist  
3           advances;
- 4           -- Strengthen intelligence gathering and evaluation by the various  
5           military services;
- 6           -- Use the defense dollar more productively through simplification  
7           of the cumbersome, overcentralized administration of the Defense  
8           Department, expanded competitive bidding on defense contracts,  
9           and improved safeguards against excessive profits;
- 10          -- Reactivate the nation's most important security planning  
11          organization -- the National Security Council -- to prevent  
12          future haphazard diplomatic and military ventures, integrate  
13          the nation's foreign and military policies and programs, and  
14          enable our nation once again to anticipate and prevent crises  
15          rather than hastily contriving counter measures after they  
16          arise.

17           Our merchant marine, too, has been allowed to deteriorate. Now there  
18           are grave doubts that it is capable of adequate response to emergency  
19           security needs.

20           The United States has drifted down from first place to sixth place  
21           in the world in the size of its merchant fleet. By contrast, the Russian  
22           fleet has been rapidly expanded and will attain a dominant position by  
23           1970. Deliveries of new ships are now eight to one in Russia's favor.

1           For reasons of security, as well as of economics, the decline of our  
2 merchant marine must be reversed. We therefore pledge a vigorous and  
3 realistic ship replacement program to meet the changing pattern of our  
4 foreign commerce. We will also expand industry-government maritime  
5 research and development, emphasizing nuclear propulsion, and simplify  
6 and revise construction and operating subsidy procedures.

7           Finally, we pledge to assemble the nation's best diplomatic, military  
8 and scientific minds for an exhaustive reassessment of America's world-  
9 wide commitments and military preparedness. We are determined to assure  
10 our nation of the strength required in future years to deter war and to  
11 prevail should it occur.



CONCLUSION

Mr. Chairman, we believe the principles and programs we have here presented for the approval of this Convention will prove acceptable to our Party's candidates. We believe they will find acceptance with the American people. We believe they will command the victory.

There are points of emphasis which we deem important.

The accent is on freedom. Our party historically is 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.

"Few men escape when freedom fails.  
The best men rot in filthy jails.  
And those who cry, Appease! Appease!  
Are hanged by those they sought to please."

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.

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 leached away, if the pursuit of happiness becomes empty and futile, then indeed are the moral foundations in danger.

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 disenthral ourselves. Only then can we save this great Republic.

Your Platform is done, and deliberately done, in broad strokes. The latitude allows for new views as they become true views.

We trust this Platform can become the vehicle for a new spiritual fervor. May our banners of victory rise ever higher and higher, our song of triumph ever louder and clearer, as with grateful hearts we return home from this Convention, rededicated to this Republic -- this one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.