

FROM THE OFFICE OF

Senator Jacob K. Javits

New York

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
AUGUST 16, 1972

CONTACT: MILTON FRIEDMAN
EDEN ROC HOTEL

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS
COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (PLATFORM)
1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

LA RONDE ROOM, FONTAINEBLEAU HOTEL
MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

AUGUST 16, 1972
10:55 a.m.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee. I am pleased to appear before the Resolutions Committee to discuss subjects which I feel our party should consider for inclusion in the 1972 Platform for this Presidential election.

As our Party prepares for the 1972 election it can be proud of the many accomplishments of its Administration in both the foreign and domestic areas. These include the President's historic trips to Moscow and Peking, the Administration's Middle-East policy, the New Economic Policy here at home and the new and innovative policies in revenue sharing, welfare reform and other fields. I believe that many of the policies which this Administration has carried out should be continued and will undoubtedly be reflected in the Platform. Today I will concern myself with those areas which I feel should be stressed in the Platform and relate to particular areas of my own specialization.

Knowing well the position of the President on Vietnam I will present a complete statement of my views on the subject without submitting a Platform plank. The President has steadily and substantially reduced our troop deployment in Vietnam from 550,000 in 1968 to less than 50,000 troops. This has been a marked improvement over the situation in 1968 and has been reflected in the tremendous drop of U.S. casualty figures. However, our involvement -- especially of air and naval forces which are engaged all over Indochina -- in the war still continues and the Vietnam War remains the single-most disruptive and unsettling factor in this country at this time. We are still spending tens of billions of dollars on the Vietnam war and many of our young people feel alienated from our American society because of the war. In addition we are straining our defense resources throughout the world and we are subjected to strains in our relations with many countries throughout the world which continue to criticize us for our participation in the war.

I believe that the time has come to terminate completely our active commitment to this war and to end all U.S. participation in it. This has never been our war and we have spent much blood and treasure in helping South Vietnam to retain its national integrity. It is time the South Vietnamese carried on the war themselves and that we withdraw without qualifications.

THE MIDDLE-EAST

The Nixon Administration's policy in the Middle-East has been very sound and I recommend the following language for inclusion in the Platform:

President Nixon has stated the commitment of the American people to the survival of the State of Israel and to a peaceful settlement just to all countries in the area. The Nixon Administration has succeeded in keeping the peace in the Middle East by maintaining Israel's deterrent strength through the supply of supersonic military aircraft and other sophisticated materiel and by diplomatic efforts for a peace settlement.

In 1970 the Nixon Administration succeeded in bringing about a ceasefire along the Suez canal which reduced the dangers of war and which continues in effect.

We shall continue the successful policy of the past four years of maintaining Israel's deterrent strength through continued essential military and economic assistance.

We will maintain a strong U.S. defense presence in the Mediterranean to discourage adventurism there and to protect vital U.S. interests in the area, including the continued unimpeded access of our western allies to the energy resources of the Middle-East.

We will continue to seek to promote a peace settlement by encouraging effective negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors because experience has shown the need for effective negotiations between the parties concerned, rather than an imposed settlement. The best way to achieve a lasting peace is by direct negotiations for final peace treaties, establishing secure, defensible and agreed frontiers and resolving the refugee and other issues. The U.S. should be prepared to lend its good offices to assist in the attainment of a peace agreement.

Pending the establishment of a permanent peace, we will continue to seek interim agreements between the parties in the Middle-East which could enhance the achievement of such a peace. We will support all measures which the people of the Arab countries and of Israel may undertake to promote co-existence and cooperation.

We will help to preserve the unity and peace of Jerusalem, a city sacred to three great religious faiths, and we will contribute to stability in the area by moving the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

We shall continue to help promote the rehabilitation and resettlement of the Palestine Arab refugees. We will help Israel to absorb all Jewish refugees from Arab lands and from the Soviet Union who seek a safe refuge where they can develop and live in peace.

We seek the friendship of all peoples and states in the Middle-East, and we welcome conditions which will permit normal and friendly relations with all governments in the area.

(more)

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

I believe that the Nixon Administration has followed a prudent course with regard to NATO and I have sought to assist in the effort to avoid precipitate and unilateral troop reductions in Europe. I recommend that our platform contain a statement on NATO which should read as follows:

There is a continuing need for an Atlantic Military Alliance generally in its present form and this need will continue throughout the decade of the 1970s. Accordingly, the present structure of NATO should be continued generally intact, with adjustments to be made through negotiations as warranted by evolving security considerations. We will seek through existing institutional arrangements more equitable burden-sharing, particularly with respect to off-setting the cost of U.S. troops in Europe. The important issue of a negotiated reduction in U.S. force levels in Europe as part of mutual and balanced force reductions also can, and should be handled within the existing NATO framework.

GENOCIDE TREATY

For more than twenty-three years the Senate of the United States has taken no action on the Genocide Convention. On February 19, 1970, President Nixon urged the Senate "to consider anew this important convention and to grant its advice and consent to ratification." This agreement which makes genocide an international crime has been ratified by seventy-five nations and has been favorably reported for Senate consideration by the Foreign Relations Committee.

In accordance with the President's expressed desire that the United States promptly align itself with those nations who have agreed to make genocide an international crime, I urge the committee to add the following language to the platform:

We fully support the President's request that the Senate promptly grant its advice and consent to the ratification of the Genocide Convention.

THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHT OF EMIGRATION

Throughout history, people in many lands have sought to leave their homes and settle in new lands. This phenomenon was responsible for the establishment of our great country and I believe our platform should adopt the following statement with regard to the right of emigration:

We shall intensify our efforts through diplomatic channels in accord with long-standing historic American tradition, to obtain basic human rights, including the right of emigration and family reunion, for Jews and other minorities suffering maltreatment and denial of their rights in the U.S.S.R., in Syria, and other lands where they have lived in peace for centuries.

PLIGHT OF THE CITIES

Over the years our urban areas have suffered greatly from a lack of funds and an abundance of problems. I believe much more attention needs to be focused on urban problems generally and I am suggesting platform statements in three areas: education, drug abuse and housing.

(more)

Education

On March 24, 1970, President Nixon reaffirmed his "personal belief that the 1954 (desegregation) decision of the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education was right both in constitutional and human terms." Yet today, the promise of that decision remains unfulfilled for millions of American children.

In a message to the Congress on May 21, 1970, the President said,

It is clear that racial isolation ordinarily has an adverse effect on education. Conversely, we also know that desegregation is vital to quality education - not only from the standpoint of raising the achievement levels of the disadvantaged, but also from the standpoint of helping all children achieve the broad-based human understanding that increasingly is essential in today's world.

Mr. Chairman, I first urge that the platform of this convention repeat, in toto, these perceptive words voiced by the President.

Once the educational value of desegregation and its legal necessity as a response to unconstitutional racial segregation is acknowledged, we can, with clear conscience, deal with the widely misunderstood issue of busing.

More than 40% of American school children ride buses for reasons not related to desegregation; approximately 2/3 of America's school children require some form of transportation to get to school; and recent reports from both the Departments of Transportation and Health, Education and Welfare indicate that even in those districts which have been fully desegregated, the increase in the numbers of students requiring transportation has been minimal - an aggregate of less than 7% in the 25 largest desegregated school districts in the nation.

We must in this platform support the efforts of the Courts to eliminate de jure segregation of the schools, including where necessary and reasonable, the remedy of busing.

I urge our Party to adopt as part of the 1972 Republican platform, the following language from Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg, delivered by Chief Justice Burger for a unanimous court, as our policy on busing:

...we find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school.

An objection to transportation of students may have validity when the time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or significantly impinge on the educational process... It hardly needs stating that the limits on time of travel will vary with many factors, but probably with none more than the age of the students.

Drug Abuse

The President proposed the most comprehensive and far-reaching drug abuse legislation since the subject came to the attention of the country. It involves a critically important effort to pull together the heretofore fragmented Federal response to the problem of drug abuse prevention and rehabilitation. I strongly support his objectives in establishing the special White House Office on Drug Abuse, under the able direction of Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe. In my own city of New York, our efforts in this area have suffered because we did not have the capacity at the highest level to determine priorities and to direct a more comprehensive effort. The Drug Abuse Office and Treatment Act of 1972 authorizes \$1.5 billion in new funds to establish a national policy and

(more)

program for combating drug abuse. The President also appointed the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse of which former Governor Shaefer of Pennsylvania is Chairman and I am a member, and which has already reported its findings on marijuana. I am confident that these initiatives of the administration will bear important fruit in our battle with this persistent problem.

In seeking to deal with the tragic problem among our returning fighting men from Vietnam I have introduced legislation to assist in the identification and treatment of drug and alcohol dependent members of the Armed Services. Likewise, I have supported the increased use of closely supervised methadone maintenance programs, including necessary supportive services as a means of reducing drug abuse and crime-related heroin addiction.

I urge our party to speak clearly to the need for medical treatment, rehabilitation and law enforcement effort in this area and to avoid the diversion of effort and resources to unnecessary purposes.

I suggest the following language for inclusion in the platform:

We must continue to make a strong national effort to respond to the problem of drug abuse, prevention and rehabilitation, at the same time as we are increasing our law enforcement efforts in the drug field. In addition we must step up efforts to identify and treat drug and alcohol dependent members of the Armed Services. We should support the increased use of closely supervised methadone maintenance programs including the necessary support services as the best means at this time of reducing drug abuse and crime-related heroin addiction.

Treating the user of marijuana as a criminal can and has had a shattering effect upon the lives of thousands of individuals who are otherwise law abiding citizens. As a member of the President's Commission, I have carefully studied the medical, scientific, social and law enforcement aspects of this problem.

The Commission has recommended decriminalization of personal possession of small quantities of marijuana for personal use in private -- based upon the most extensive examination of the drug ever undertaken -- and I have introduced a bill in the Senate to accomplish this at the Federal level.

My bill would implement the Commission's recommended policy of discouragement of the drug without giving government approval by legalization or some form of regulation.

I recommend the following language for the platform:

We will support the decriminalization of marijuana where held in small quantities for personal use in private.

Housing

While we have made some progress in the last four years in increasing our level of production of subsidized housing units, we have not been able to stem the deterioration and abandonment of housing which has taken place in so many of our cities across the country. It is essential that new programs be taken to upgrade and preserve our urban neighborhoods so that the precious right of housing may be guaranteed to all our citizens. I urge the following plank be adopted:

(more)

We believe it is essential that a national policy and programs to upgrade and preserve our urban neighborhoods be implemented on a high priority. This is necessary if we are to combat and resist the continued deterioration and abandonment of large numbers of housing units in urban neighborhoods which are still viable and which can be saved. If this is not done, our cities will lose their economic, multi-racial and multi-ethnic vitality which has been their traditional source of strength.

PENSION REFORM

Not long ago, William C. Greenough, the Chairman of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and College Retirement Equities Fund (TIAA-CREF), coined the phrase "Pensions are for People!"

This is the theme which has dominated my thinking since I first introduced private pension reform legislation over seven years ago.

It is the theme which has captured the interest and support of 15 Senators from the 17 member Committee on Labor and Public Welfare who have co-sponsored the bipartisan Williams-Javits pension reform bill.

It is the theme which has spurred the Administration to undertake an important and innovative legislative initiative which, among other things would encourage, through tax incentives, wider pension coverage.

It is a theme which has been embraced by virtually every aspect of public opinion, including the 1971 White House Conference on the Aging, the AFL-CIO, the Chamber of Commerce, major newspapers, such as the New York Times, and thousands upon thousands of working men and women.

In short, it is a theme which should be and must be vigorously and positively sounded in the Republican Party Platform of 1972. The following is the language I suggest for inclusion in the platform:

We recognize that the worker's interest in a pension, like other forms of compensation, must be adequately protected. This means that there must be a federal law that will provide workers with reasonably early vesting and some form of portability so that workers will be safeguarded against loss of pension when, after years of work, they **change** jobs. It also means a federal law which requires adequate funding of pensions and insurance of the promised pension in the event the company goes out of business; and which also assures that pension funds are not managed dishonestly or for private gain.

We must encourage the wider coverage of private pensions through income tax deferrals for employees who defer income for their retirement and by increasing the present tax deferral available to the self-employed. We should also concentrate on ways that will encourage pension growth among small employers.

HEALTH INSURANCE

The health needs of the Nation encompass a vast array of complex problems inextricably woven together in a tapestry of private and public efforts. There is much that is right with America's health care system: diversity, opportunity for innovation, intense motivation rooted in professional pride in accomplishment as much as personal financial reward. Yet there is much that is wrong: chronic shortage and serious maldistribution of knowledgeable and skillful physicians and other health professionals; skyrocketing costs; wide variations in quality of care. The great advances in and notable contributions of America's biomedical research, in which we all take great pride, are regrettably all too often not reflected in the sad statistics on mortality and morbidity

(more)

rates and the incidents of ill health, particularly among the aged, poor and minority groups.

There is tragic irony in the genius of medical science: millions of our elderly are kept alive to face illness they cannot afford and, at the same time, millions of others lack the means to purchase the necessary medical care which can combat their serious illness. I do not believe this is acceptable in the most productive country on earth. Therefore, I propose the following statement for inclusion in the platform:

Our Nation under the leadership of President Nixon has built an impressive health record and we strongly endorse his call for national health insurance. If we are to improve and preserve quality health care and organize a health system which will benefit all Americans, we must establish a national health insurance system which immediately integrates into its coverage all Medicare recipients and disabled and phases into its coverage all other Americans. Also, national health insurance must be built upon a foundation of standard, comprehensive and preventive health benefits without economic class distinction for its coverage. Coverage should also be supplemented with protection against catastrophic health costs if we are to have meaningful protection for all Americans. We must also provide the option to receive additional health benefits over and above the basic coverage.

The national health insurance system should be constructed and administered to provide high quality health care to all Americans, utilizing whenever possible and feasible the existing health insurance industry, as contemplated by the President's legislative proposal, provided that industry is prepared to cooperate fully in the system.

RIGHTS OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED

There are an estimated 120,000 mentally retarded infants born each year, and 200,000 people are institutionalized in residential facilities because of mental retardation. There are a total of approximately six million mentally retarded persons in the United States who are treated as burdensome problems, rather than as human beings. Our society looks at youth, mobility, activity, and quickness of thought as being of the utmost importance in our day-to-day lives. Once a resident in the institution, the mentally retarded individual is generally looked upon as "put-away," no longer a bother to the society as a whole. It is our responsibility to mandate help to alleviate the horrifying conditions that exist in many of these institutions, and to seek alternative solutions to institutionalization, more beneficial to the retarded individual, his family, and society.

To achieve a total program to confront the problems of the mentally retarded simultaneously on many fronts, I have introduced the "Bill of Rights for the Mentally Retarded" which has the bipartisan support of 27 Senators and a companion House measure has more than 50 cosponsors.

The following should be adopted as a platform plank:

We must establish strict standards to protect the human rights of the mentally retarded. We must create a partnership of governmental agencies, professional organizations, practitioners, and consumer representatives -- working together to improve services to the mentally retarded -- which stimulates States to establish plans for regional and community programs and minimize admission to institutional residential care facilities, while stimulating alternative programs of community care.

I know that the Committee will give consideration to the views I have expressed here today as well as to views expressed by all elements of the party at these hearings. By full and open discussion of these important issues the Republican Party will ensure that it has the strongest platform for the President to run on and to give continued direction to the country in the next four years.

####