

*Testimony submitted.
No appearance.*

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM, 1972: A STATEMENT

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"Stand by your principles . . . And victory, complete and permanent, is sure at last." So said Abraham Lincoln in a speech before members of the Republican Party on March 1, 1859.

The principles historically represented by the Republican Party are as valid today as they were in Lincoln's time. His advice to his party is as pertinent today as it was more than a century ago when he first tendered it.

Americans are tired of expediency, and suspicious of political manifestos issued in an election year. As perhaps never before, they feel themselves adrift. They will respond as never before to a reaffirmation of fundamental, consistent principle in a systematic definition of national goals.

I believe that only the Republican Party today can plausibly present a program which can capture and hold the allegiance

of a majority of Americans; because only the Republican Party continues to be associated in the public mind with the tested principles, the common sense approach to public problems which most Americans intuitively share. I speak, for example, of our concern for fiscal responsibility, our reliance on individual initiative, our rejection of federal paternalism, our insistence on a strong national defense and our respect for Constitutional safeguards and the rule of law.

I am convinced that if the Republican Party will stand by its principles and apply them unflinchingly to the problems which beset this nation, it will not only assure the reelection of the President, but it will elect to the Congress more men and women with whom he can work to restore some measure of sanity to our public affairs. And in good time, if the Republican Party offers the American people a sound program structured on proven principles, and if it will offer the leadership to carry it into effect, our party will once again become the majority

party.

I offer the following thoughts as to certain areas where the application of sound Republican principle can be brought to bear in the formulation of policy. It is my hope that these necessarily broad and general guidelines can serve as a basis from which some of the specifics of a platform can be built.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The United States of America is a world power and must continue to act like one. The United States cannot abandon its international responsibilities without repercussions which will haunt us for generations to come. Either we will retain some measure of leadership over world events or we will inevitably be led by them.

The lessons learned in two World Wars and the experience of the past two and a half decades underscore the importance

of continued American involvement in world affairs in every dimension -- political, economic, cultural and military. This does not mean a commitment to international adventurism, or to an attempt to remodel the world in the American image. It does mean the application of rational self-interest in the pursuit of rational international objectives, not the least of which is the preservation of a world in which nations big and small may go about their legitimate affairs in peace.

Finally, we cannot sustain the credibility of American policy abroad without honoring each of our international commitments, whether explicit or tacit. We should work to adjust old commitments to match new realities. But a commitment once made cannot be abruptly set aside without undermining the whole fabric of American alliances on which the security of the West has depended. This is the outline of a responsible policy which is best designed to secure world peace because it can be relied upon by our friends while allowing our enemies no room for miscalculation.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

A nation's military establishment is not a luxury but a necessity. No nation with peaceful intentions requires or can justify a defense establishment which is larger than that which is necessary to meet the needs of ~~the~~^{ITS} own security. But the adequacy or inadequacy of a nation's defenses is determined not by considerations of domestic priorities, but by the power relationships within which that nation must operate. And we must keep in mind that in the real world, no country can conduct an effective foreign policy without a military capability which is appropriate to its responsibilities.

In our case, our responsibilities since World War II have necessarily been international in scope as they have concerned themselves primarily with the need to contain the aggressive outward thrust of the Communist powers. These are responsibilities which we did not seek, but which we cannot escape as the only Free World power capable of facing up to the Russian challenge.

Since the end of World War II, the unquestioned military might of the United States has been the foundation of the Free World's security and independence. As a result of the Soviet Union's extraordinary expansion of every sector of its strategic and conventional arms, the military balance is now rapidly turning against the United States; and unless decisive steps are taken to reverse these trends, our security and that of the Free World will be gravely threatened.

The recent interim agreement placing limitations on certain types of strategic offensive weapons will slow the rate at which the Soviet Union has been overtaking us in nuclear capabilities. This agreement will not, however, eliminate the prospect that the Russians will in time achieve a decisive strategic superiority over us unless we launch immediately a vigorous program of weapons research, development and procurement within the limits permitted us by the SALT accord^s. To do less is to place the stability of the world and our own ultimate freedom at unneces-

sary risk.

ECONOMIC POLICY

The economic strength of our nation and the unparalleled prosperity of our people are the direct result of our system of free and competitive enterprise. It is a system based on the concept of private property. It derives its direction and capital from the initiative and investment decisions of private citizens. It has proven to be history's most efficient instrument for the mobilization of human energy and resources.

The health of the system is now being threatened on a number of fronts, including excessive governmental regulation, overly complex and burdensome systems of taxation, a drying up of incentives for the investment of risk capital, and the debasement of our currency.

Without question, the most pressing economic problem our nation faces today is that of inflation. The inflation of the

dollar erodes the income and purchasing power of our citizens, robs the prudent and the aged of their savings, undermines the stability of our economic system, and contributes to labor strife. This inflation also impairs the functioning of the international monetary system and undermines the competitive position of American goods in world markets.

The problem of inflation cannot be cured and the health of the free enterprise system assured without curbing the Federal Government's insatiable appetite for funds. Federal spending must be brought down to a level which can be supported by tax rates sufficiently low to (a) permit individual savings and investment; (b) encourage individual initiative in the formation of new enterprises; (c) allow an equitable distribution of the tax burden; and (d) leave a sufficient tax base available for the support of other units of government without impairing the objectives listed under (a) through (c).

FEDERALISM

The federal system, with its concept of individual sovereignties each with its own areas of responsibility and authority, is being jeopardized by the vast growth of the federal government. As Washington assumes responsibility over ever broader areas of national life, state and local governments are increasingly reduced to the role of mere administrators of programs designed and mandated by Washington. The result has been an erosion of state and local authority, a misallocation of resources, an alienation of the people from government, and fiscal chaos as Washington pre-empts the most effective sources of taxation while mandating expenses to other levels of government.

We must cut back the size and authority of federal bureaucracies while restoring to other levels of government effective control and authority over those areas of responsibility which they are in the best position to exercise. The

time has come for us to redefine the appropriate areas of exclusive concern for each level of government, and to make sure that each has available to it a tax base sufficient to its needs. And having done this, the Federal Government must resolve to resist the temptation to intrude once again on areas which have been reserved to the states and to their political subdivisions.

THE ENVIRONMENT

The United States is the first nation to fully accept the need for environmental responsibility. We have learned at last -- and none too soon -- that our health, happiness and welfare are inextricably bound up in the health of the physical and biological systems within which we live.

It is not enough, however, merely to make the commitment. It is important for us to understand that there is no easy, cheap or early way to overcome a large number of the environmental prob-

blems with which we must ultimately cope. They are simply too complex, the state of our knowledge of ecological cause-and-effect still too incomplete, and the social and economic costs of abating some sources of pollution still too great, given the present state of our technology.

To its eternal credit, over the past three years the Nixon Administration has constructed a comprehensive and thoughtful institutional and legal foundation for effective action at the federal level. During this period we have gained sufficient experience to suggest how best to proceed from here if we are to achieve the maximum effective results in the least time feasible.

It is clear that the federal role must be that of setting minimum standards and defining goals as to those aspects of the environmental problem which require action on a national or international scale. Primary responsibility for meeting these standards and achieving these goals, however, must be vested in the state and local governments, and in the private sector. Only

in this manner will we be assured of the local perspective and of the flexibility and diversity of approach which will assure us of the most effective progress.

The enormous resourcefulness of private industry can and must be enlisted in developing the technology required for the effective control of pollution. This can best be done by providing for a system of charges and benefits which will create the economic incentives for the development of ever more efficient techniques of pollution control.

Finally, the attainment of environmental quality cannot be divorced from considerations of conservation of our natural resources. Greater emphasis must be placed on the employment of appropriate incentives to encourage the reprocessing and reuse of both our renewable and non-renewable resources.

HUMAN RELATIONS

In the past, the Republican Party has too often been accused of being insensitive or indifferent to the pressing

problems of poverty and disadvantage. It is the unfortunate fact that programs which offer the greatest help by encouraging self-help too often lack rhetorical appeal. Disadvantaged Americans are now beginning to understand, however, that the Democrats have nothing to offer but a condescending paternalism which has served to perpetuate their dependency and smother hope. The Party of Lincoln need no longer feel defensive over policies which concern themselves with the problems of people as people, and not as members of minority groups; policies which recognize the inherent dignity of each American.

The great goal of America must be to achieve a society which is truly color blind; one in which each individual will be judged and accepted in every facet of our national life solely on the basis of his inherent qualities and abilities.

The major victories in our march towards this goal were achieved when we struck down the laws which discriminated against some Americans on the basis of race, and when we enacted others to guarantee that no one would be denied housing or

employment because of race. These laws against discrimination must be rigorously enforced, but this in itself will not bring about full equality. The legal barriers are down -- but other barriers, social and psychological, still remain. These we cannot legislate away; but we can work to overcome them by creating the climate which will encourage the growth of mutual respect and self-respect among all Americans. We can hasten the day when, on the basis of merit alone, every American will have an equal access to the economic ladder which is the surest route to that self-respect and mutual respect.

America is still the land of opportunity. The task is to make that opportunity available to all without special favor or special risks for anyone. The Nixon Administration has made enormous progress in this area. But more still remains to be done as we learn from past experience and gain a better understanding of the obstacles which still stand in the way of many of our minority groups. The Republican Party is, I believe, in

a unique position to provide leadership in this area by proposing specific ways to ensure that our economic system is open to the less privileged among us, those who want nothing so much as to enjoy the fruits of self-earned success.

What the Party must repudiate, both in the interests of essential justice and of racial harmony, is a growing tendency on the part of certain governmental agencies to engage in what has been accurately labeled "discrimination in reverse." I speak of the growing effort on the part of the Federal Government to impose quotas on college admission and on hiring practices based on ethnic origin, religion and sex.

These new quotas, it will be said, are benevolent in nature and ought, therefore, not to be feared. But a quota that is benign today can be turned to perverse and pernicious uses tomorrow -- but who then will be able to argue for equality of treatment? There is but one principle that ought to guide the

Federal Government as well as every other sector of American life -- and that is the principle of merit and color blindness. The imposition of an admission or hiring quota today cannot undo the injustices of yesterday. This or any other policy of "reverse discrimination" will, however, create class and racial enmity, tend to reward the untalented or lazy, and penalize those of every race, religion and sex who are otherwise deserving.