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2 Platforms--R & D



CONSERVATIVE IN LANGUAGE, MODERATE IN PROPOSALS

The politicians of both major parties have predicted that election year 1972 will offer the American voters a real choice. And judging by the Republican and Democratic platforms, that is true. (*Full text, 1972 Weekly Report p. 2151*)

The Republican document, ratified Aug. 22 by the 30th national convention of the Grand Old Party, generally was moderate in its proposals and conservative in language, while that of the Democrats was strongly liberal—reflecting the changes in the party since 1968.

The GOP polled more than 60,000 "opinion leaders" and held hearings for a week in Miami Beach before preparing its document. The actual drafting of the platform was heavily influenced by the White House, John D. Ehrlichman, assistant to the President, and Bryce Harlow, a former Nixon aide, were in Miami Beach to assist the platform committee. And, according to Rep. John J. Rhodes (Ariz.), the committee chairman, the actual "wordsmith"—the man who wrote the document—was Dr. Martin C. Anderson, a former White House aide currently with the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University.

Rhodes and other spokesmen for the committee repeatedly assured the press that the White House was allowing the delegates on the committee to form their own platform. But at least some of the committee members complained that they were presented with a draft, told to study and revise it and then allowed an insufficient amount of time to give it proper attention.

The Republicans drafted their platform behind closed doors. The Democrats held 10 regional hearings around the country, drafted their platform in public and were required by party rules to produce a final version at least 10 days before the convention opened.

Asked at a press conference why the Republicans did not hold their drafting sessions in public too, the committee's deputy chairman, Sen. Gordon Allott (Colo.), replied that "I saw another party that tried to do that a few weeks ago and that served as a good example of why we shouldn't."

Criticism of Democrats. The GOP platform attacked the Democrats on two levels. It charged that the traditional Democratic Party had been "seized by a radical clique which scorns our nation's past and would blight her future." It invited Democrats to join in voting for "moderate goals historically sought by both major parties" rather than the "far-out goals of the far left."

It pictured those supporting Sen. George McGovern as promoting weakness, a "hand-out economy in which the idle live at ease," "fiscal folly," a policy of "begging with adversary nations," and allowing those "in a distant bureaucracy" to run the lives of the people for

Yet, while appealing to traditional Democrats to join voting for Richard Nixon, the platform repeatedly be-

littled the administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. It recalled the 1960s as a "nightmarish time," adding: "It is so easy to forget how frightful it was." In plank after plank, the Republicans described the problems they claim Richard Nixon inherited when he came to the White House in 1969.

Asked why the platform contained such harsh language, committee chairman Rhodes answered: "After all, this is an election year and this is a political document and there are some people in the Republican Party who feel somewhat strongly about this thing."

Domestic Policy. The platform cited the accomplishments of the Nixon administration, noting that federal funding had been increased in a number of areas. It proposed few new programs. The Republicans called on the Democratic Congress to take action on many of the President's legislative proposals, particularly his five legislative "great goals"—welfare reform, revenue sharing, government reorganization, national health insurance and environmental initiatives.

The contrast with the Democratic platform on domestic affairs was stark. The Democrats generally advocated income redistribution through tax reform and a guaranteed annual income. The Republicans mentioned tax reform, but did not include specifics. They rejected the guaranteed income plan.

Both parties called for a reduction in property taxes, although the Republicans made no mention of the value-added tax, a revenue measure the administration was said to be considering.

In other opposing policies:

- The Democrats advocated an immediate end to economic controls; the Republicans proposed to remove the controls "once the economic distortions spawned in the late 1960s are repaired."
- The Republicans supported voluntary school prayer; the Democrats did not mention it.
- The Republicans opposed busing children to achieve racial balance in schools; the Democrats called it "another tool" to bring about desegregation.
- The Republicans opposed gun control laws; the Democrats endorsed a ban on the sale of handguns.
- The Democrats called for a repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the "right-to-work" provision; the Republicans did not mention it.
- The Democrats did not mention the use of marijuana; the Republicans opposed legalization.
- The Democrats endorsed amnesty for war resisters; the Republicans opposed it.
- Neither platform specifically mentioned abortion or the rights of homosexuals.

Foreign Policy. The Republicans, in the foreign policy and defense sections, proclaimed a new era in diplomacy with the President's trips to Russia and China. The platform strongly supported the administra-



1972 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ISSUES ---

THE MAJOR-PARTY PLATFORMS

Lynda M. Durfee
Editorial Research Office
Room #128 OEOB



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THE ECONOMY

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

Dem. Platform: immediate end

Rep. Platform: removal "once the economic distortions spawned in the late '60's are repaired."

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Democrat platform: no specific mention, but called for several new programs which would vastly increase the budget (i. e., Nat'l. Health Insurance and others). McG called for reordering of priorities vis-a-vis defense and domestic.

Republican platform: called for ceiling on budget. RN called for roll-back to \$250 billion level by fiscal 1973.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Dem.: McG called for creation of jobs in transportation, housing, and environmental industries with \$30 billion now spent on defense and for overhaul of federal manpower programs and creation of public service jobs

Rep: solve unemployment through expansion of the economy; also called for overhaul of federal manpower programs

TAXES

2

INCOME TAX REFORM

DEM: Supported Mills-Manfield proposal to close loopholes.

Rep.: reform that would not put burden on the middle class.

VALUE-ADDED TAX

Dem. Platform: opposed

Rep.: RN said it was under consideration

PROPERTY TAX REFORM

Both parties called for reform that would shift dependence on property taxes to pay for education.

REVENUE SHARING

Both candidates in fa vor .

GOLD, PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF

DEM: no mention

REP: advocated re-establishing this right as soon as feasible.

ENVIRONMENT

Dem: called for strict enforcement of air pollution legislation, end to water pollution by 1985, taxes on polluting industries and curtailment of strip mining and clear cutting in nat'l forests; promised aid to businesses threatened by new standards; platform also accused RN Admin. of "big promises and small actions."

Rep. plat: cited Admin. past proposals, criticized Cong. for doing little about them; called for balance between economy and environmental protection; pledged "comprehensive pollution control laws, vig-

Envir. #2

orous implementation, and rigorous research into technological problems of pollution control."

OCEANS

Both platforms called for international agreements to stop pollution of the seas, conservation of the seas' food resources, protection of marine mammals, and urged the UN Conference of the Law of the Sea to come up with an agreement.

ENERGY CRISIS

Both platforms called for more research into finding better and cleaner sources of energy. Rep. supported RN's plan for a Dept. of Natural Resources. Dems blamed RN for not doing enough on energy. McG accused oil and utility companies of making vast profits at expense of consumers.

TRANSPORTATION

Dem platform: called for a single Transportation Trust Fund to replace Highway Trust Fund; aid to railroads for modernization; mass transit aid

Rep; platform: proposed Single Urban Fund for state and metropolitan transit needs; aid to railroads; mass transit aid; Special Revenue Sharing for Transportation

HEALTH

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

DEM: favored federally financed and administered universal plan with comprehensive benefits

REP: private and public funding; opposed to compulsory national plan.

HEALTH MAINTENANCE ORGANIZATIONS

Both platforms called for Federal assistance.
for expansion and encouragement of HMO's.

CHILD DAY CARE

Dem: Federal funding for comprehensive child care programs. McG opposed RN veto.

Rep: publicly or privately run centers, locally controlled with federal assistance. RN vetoed bill including federal assistance for day care programs.



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RN: "an unacceptable form of population control." "the unborn have rights."; cannot square abortion on demand with personal belief in sanctity of human life.

WELFARE

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

DEM: pro

REP: opposed, though RN favored HR #1, a form of G. A. I.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

DEM: McG criticized RN's veto; favored continuance.

REP: RN vetoed OEO renewal in Dec., '71

SOCIAL SECURITY

Dem: Platform advocating raising substantially the ceiling on earned income and use of general revenues to supplement payroll tax receipts; McG called for 20% rise in benefits.

Rep: Cited increases during RN administration; called for tax reform to increase income of elderly; RN signed debt-ceiling-S.S. bill 7/1/72.

LEGAL SERVICES CORP.

Dem: McG favored bill and criticized RN veto.

Rep.: RN favored legal assistance, but vetoed bill because it gave Pres. only 6 out of 17 appointments on board.

EDUCATION

Both platforms endorsed vocational training, special education for handicapped, retarded, and minority children, with Democrats advocating increased emphasis on early childhood.

EDUCATION FINANCING

Both platforms called for alternatives to excessive reliance on local property taxes, with Democrats advocating increased federal aid.

Nixon at one time was considering a value-added tax as a solution.

NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Dem. platform: favored assistance to children in non-public schools if a constitutional formula for soing so could be devised.

Rep. platform: favored federal assistance to non-public schools, both church-affiliated and non-sectarian, possibly "through granting of income tax credits."

SCHOOL PRAYER

Dem. platform: minority plank calling for constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools defeated on the floor.

Rep. platform: supported voluntary prayer in public places, "particularly by school children" in public schools.

BUSING

Dem. platform: approved it as "another tool to accomplish desegregation."

Rep. platform: "irrevocably opposed to busing for racial balance," and "regard it as unnecessary, counter-productive, and wrong."

QUOTAS IN EDUCATION

Dem. platform: called for development of affirmative programs in colleges for recruitment of minorities and women for administrative and teaching positions and as students

Rep. platform: rejected "imposition of arbitrary quotas in hiring of faculties or the enrollment of students" in colleges.



HOUSING

Dem. platform: complete overhaul of FHA to turn it into a consumer protection agency. Pledged to use Treasury Dept. to provide direct, low-interest loans for housing construction.

Rep. platform Pledged production of low- and moderate-income housing, improvement in housing subsidy programs, expansion of fed. mortgage credit and continued development of technological and management innovations to lower housing costs.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Dem. platform: existing tax structure made effective urban renewal impossible; pledged gen. revenue sharing and use of fed. income tax funds to help solve urban problems at urban level. Charged admin. had "over-administered and underfunded existing fed. aid programs."

Rep. platform: called for "major reform of fed. community development programs."; pledged increased fed. assistance; criticized Dem. Congress for failing to take action on RN's general and special revenue sharing proposals.

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

12

Dem. platform: accused Admin. of failure to solve crime problem and of politicizing justice; called for increased action against organized crime, increased funds for training of policemen, and for rehabilitation of offenders; called for end to capital punishment

Rep. platform: cited Admin. programs; pledged further action to support law enforcement agencies, seek reform of fed. criminal code, accelerate drive against organized crime, increase funding for fed. judiciary, support prison reform and rehabilitation programs.

GUN CONTROL

Dem. platform: endorsed ban on sale of Saturday night specials.

Rep. platform: pledged to "safeguard the right of responsible citizens to collect, own and use firearms for legitimate purposes, including hunting, target shooting and self-defense."

DRUG ABUSE

Dem. platform: urged law enforcement concentration on major suppliers and distributors, with individual users diverted into treatment programs.

Rep. platform: cited Admin. achievements; seek further international agreements to restrict production and movement of drugs; expand education, rehabilitation training and treatment programs.

B

MARIJUANA, LEGALIZATION OF

Dem. platform: no specific mention

Rep. platform: opposed legalization

AGRICULTURE

Dem: strongly defended family farm concept; attacked corporate agriculture; repudiated RN setaside farm policy; pledged to return farm income to 100% of 1910-1914 parity, with no-price ceilings 'til prices reach 110% of parity; supported United Farm Workers.

Rep. : open enough new foreign markets to achieve \$10-billion annual export market for U.S. products, slow down inflation; lower interest rates; assist farmers in bargaining for fair prices, support family farms and protect them from unfair competition from corporate and tax-loss farms; reform fed. estate laws

DEFENSE

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DEFENSE SPENDING

Dem plat: significant reduction "consistent with national security"; McG proposed reduction over 3-year period to \$54.8 billion, with cuts in specific areas.

Rep. plat: supported RN plan for new ship construction, F-15 fighter, B-1 bomber, Trident sub, multiple warhead missiles, ABM, and new R & D; attacked McG proposed cuts.

ARMS LIMITATION

Dem platform: favored SALT accords, but called for rejection of attempts "to use the SALT agreement as an excuse for wasteful and dangerous acceleration of military spending."

Rep. platform: praised RN's agreements with USSR on offensive and defensive nuclear weapons; approved SALT agreements; rejected unilateral disarmament in favor of mutual reductions; RN called for increased military spending if SALT approved by Congress.

DEFENSE POLICY IN THE FUTURE

Dem. platform: called for end of military aid to Greece and Portugal, supported UN sanctions against Rhodesia, opposed govt. of S. Africa; called for reduction of overseas bases and forces.

Rep. platform: pledged to maintain adequate nuclear deterrent, help other nations develop self-defense capability, honor treaty commitments, defend US interests, but limit involvement when our interests not involved.

VOLUNTEER ARMY

Dem platform: urged abolition of draft

Rep. platform: set July, 1973 as goal for all-volunteer army

MILITARY LIFE

Dem platform: proposed further changes in service life, including reforms in Uniform Code of Military Justice, protection of GI rights to political opinion and off-base activity; new procedures for review of discharges in cases involving political activity.

Rep. platform: cited improvements by Admin. in quality of military life such as pay increases, improvements in housing, easing of unnecessary disciplinary measures, anti-drug program, etc.

VETERANS

Both pledged increase assistance in education, health care, employment and housing. Dems. also pledged to increase unemployment compensation for veterans.

VIETNAM

Dem platform: pledged "an immediate and complete withdrawal of all U. S. forces in Indochina."

Rep. platform: backed RN plan of U. S. phaseout through Vietnamization program; condemned Dem platform and McG proposals.

PRISONERS OF WAR

Dem platform: insisted any resolution of the war include return of all POW's held by N Vietnam. McG said further use of force against NVn would not accomplish this.

Rep. platform: POW's must be returned and full account of MIA's and dead POW's must be made before all remaining troops withdrawn. RN advocated mining of harbors and retention of residual force if necessary to achieve this.

AMNESTY

Dem platform: in favor

Rep platform: opposed

FOREIGN POLICY

NATO

Dem. platform: pledged support for NATO, but U.S. should reduce its troop levels in Europe after consultation with its allies there, regardless of what the Warsaw Pact countries do. End aid to Portugal and Greece and remove bases from Azores.

Rep. platform: support NATO; seek mutual reduction in military forces in Europe.

MIDDLE EAST

Both platforms pledged support for Israel, hopes for a peaceful solution of the conflict, and maintenance of U.S. political and military commitments in Europe and the Mediterranean in order to achieve these, but GOP said McG proposed military cuts would prevent these.

JAPAN

Dem platform: charged Admin with "Calculated insensitivity to Japan and her interests " because of relations with the PRC.

Rep. platform : claimed the Administration had "shifted our vital alliance with Japan to a more substantial basis for the long term."

LATIN AMERICA

Dem. platform: pledged sharp reduction in military aid to these governments.

Rep. platform: promised to "foster a more mature partnership" with these countries.

CUBA

Dem. platform: sought better relations with Cuba: "after 13 years of boycott, crisis and hostility, the time has come to re-examine our relations with Cuba."

Rep. platform: Cuba is "ineligible for readmission to the community of American states."

AFRICA

Dem platform: supported UN sanctions against Rhodesia; opposed to govt. of S. Africa . Increase aid; oppose white-minority rule.

Rep. platform: pledged US aid in development and encouragement of non-violent evolutionary change.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

19

Dem. platform: said little of importance has changed, despite RN overtures; called for serious negotiation on trade travel and establishment of regular diplomatic relations.

Rep. platform: praised RN steps, promotion of trade and cultural exchanges which are being done "without affecting our mutual defense treaty or our continued diplomatic relations with our valued friend and ally on Taiwan."

MISC. ISSUES

DATA BANKS

Dem. platform: opposed to computer data banks.

Rep. platform: opposed.

RIGHT TO WORK

20

Dem. platform: called for repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law.

Rep. platform: no mention.

UNIVERSAL POST CARD REGISTRATION

Dem. platform: for

Rep. platform: no mention

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

DEM: McG proposed Cabinet-level Dept. of Consumer Affairs; platform urged strong measures and action by all three branches .

Rep. platform: advocated Consumer Protection Agency; urged protection, but warned against measures which could be more anti-business than pro-consumer.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Dem platform: favored full home rule, including elected mayor-city council govt. ; broad legislative power, control over appointments, automatic fed. payment and voting representation in both Houses of Cong.

Rep. platform : favored self-government and voting representation in Cong; cited cutting of D. C. crime rate in half; transit funds, Bicentennial program in capital.

PUERTO RICO

Dem. platform: equal treatment for PR in distribution of federal grants-in-aid; amendment of Fed. laws that restrict aid to PR; end Naval shelling of Culebra by June 1, 1975.

Rep. platform: also supported self-determination and would welcome as state if such a referendum approved.

U.S. TERRITORIES

Dem. platform: include all in general grant-in-aid programs on full basis; urged full voting rights to Delegates in Cong. for Guam and the Virgin Is. Support right of American Samoans to elect their Governor and of American citizens in these territories to participate in Presidential elections.

Rep: encourage "greater inclusion in Fed. services and programs."; same as Dem. of Delegates; Samoa Gov., and voting rights.

MINORITIES
WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Both platforms backed the ERA and favored legislation expanding jurisdiction of US Civil Rights Commission to cover discrimination against women.

YOUTH

Both platforms supported lowering of age of majority to 18.

INDIANS

Both platforms opposed termination policy; urged Fed. protection of land and water rights; improve services both on and off reservations. Rep. also pledged continuation of Indian preference in hiring and promotion in BIA.

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PRISONERS OF WAR

Dem platform: insisted any resolution of the war include return of all POW's held by N Vietnam. McG said further use of force against NVn would not accomplish this.

Rep. platform: POW's must be returned and full account of MIA's and dead POW's must be made before all remaining troops withdrawn. RN advocated mining of harbors and retention of residual force if necessary to achieve this.

PROPERTY TAX REFORM

37

Both parties called for reform that would shift dependence on property taxes to pay for education.

PUERTO RICO

Dem. platform: equal treatment for PR in distribution of federal grants-in-aid; amendment of Fed. laws that restrict aid to PR; end Naval shelling of Culebra by June 1, 1975.

Rep. platform: also supported self-determination and would welcome as state if such a referendum approved.

QUOTAS IN EDUCATION

Dem. platform: called for development of affirmative programs in colleges for recruitment of minorities and women for administrative and teaching positions and as students

Rep. platform: rejected "imposition of arbitrary quotas in hiring of faculties or the enrollment of students " in colleges.

REVENUE SHARING

Both candidates in favor.

38

RIGHT TO WORK

Dem. platform: called for repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law.

Rep. platform: no mention.

NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Dem. platform: favored assistance to children in non-public schools if a constitutional formula for soing so could be devised.

Rep. platform: favored federal assistance to non-public schools, both church-affiliated and non-sectarian, possibly "through granting of income tax credits."

SCHOOL PRAYER

39

Dem. platform: minority plank calling for constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools defeated on the floor.

Rep. platform: supported voluntary prayer in public places, "particularly by school children" in public schools.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Dem: Platform advocating raising substantially the ceiling on earned income and use of general revenues to supplement payroll tax receipts; McG called for 20% rise in benefits.

Rep: Cited increases during RN administration; called for tax reform to increase income of elderly; RN signed debt-ceiling-S.S. bill 7/1/72.

TRANSPORTATION

Dem platform: called for a single Transportation Trust Fund to replace Highway Trust Fund; aid to railroads for modernization; mass transit aid

Rep: platform: proposed Single Urban Fund for state and metropolitan transit needs; aid to railroads; mass transit aid; Special Revenue Sharing for Transportation

UNEMPLOYMENT

Dem.: McG called for creation of jobs in transportation, housing, and environmental industries with \$30 billion now spent on defense and for overhaul of federal manpower programs and creation of public service jobs

Rep: solve unemployment through expansion of the economy; also called for overhaul of federal manpower programs

U.S. TERRITORIES

Dem. platform: include all in general grant-in-aid programs on full basis; urged full voting rights to Delegates in Cong. for Guam and the Virgin Is. Support right of American Samoans to elect their Governor and of American citizens in these territories to participate in Presidential elections.

Rep: encourage "greater inclusion in Fed. services and programs."; same as Dem. of Delegates; Samoa Gov., and voting rights.

VALUE-ADDED TAX

Dem. Platform: opposed

Rep.: RN said it was under consideration

VETERANS

Both pledged increase assistance in education, health care, employment and housing. Dems. also pledged to increase unemployment compensation for veterans.

VIETNAM

Dem platform: pledged "an immediate and complete withdrawal of all U. S. forces in Indochina."

Rep. platform: backed RN plan of U. S. phaseout through Vietnamization program; condemned Dem platform and McG proposals.

VOLUNTEER ARMY

Dem platform: urged abolition of draft

Rep. platform: set July, 1973 as goal for all-volunteer army

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

42

Dem. Platform: immediate end

Rep. Platform: removal "once the economic
disturbances spawned in the late '60's are repaired."

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Both platforms backed the ERA and favored legislation expanding jurisdiction of US Civil Rights Commission to cover discrimination against women.

YOUTH

Both platforms supported lowering of age of majority to 18.

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Domestic Policy

1. Natural Resources and the Environment
 - a). Principles and goals
 - 1). to strike a balance "so that the protection of our irreplaceable heritage becomes as important as its use."
 - 2). the Federal government should play an active role.
 - 3). pollution costs should be more fully met in the free marketplace, instead of by the Federal government.
 - 4). "We must remain confident that America's technological and economic ingenuity will be equal to our environmental challenges."
 - b). Proposals to Congress concerning
 - 1). Toxic Substances
 - 2). Hazardous Wastes
 - 3). Safe Drinking Water
 - 4). Sulfur Oxides Emission Charges
 - 5). Sediment Control
 - 6). Controlling Environmental Impacts of Transportation
 - 7). United Nations Environmental Fund
 - 8). Ocean Dumping Convention
 - 9). National Land Use Policy
 - A. regulation of key airport and highway sites, along with close restriction of private development.
 - B. "Our greatest need is for comprehensive new legislation to stimulate state land use controls."
 - 10). Power Plant Sites
 - 11). Protection of Wetlands
 - 12). Historic Preservation and Rehabilitation
 - 13). Management of Public Lands = Increased power to the Secretary of the Interior.
 - 14). Mining
 - A. repeal of the 1872 Mining Act
 - B. Mined Area Protection policy
 - 15). Environmental Issues of Historical Concern
 - A. Endangered Species
 - B. Predator Control
 - C. Wilderness Areas = more Eastern lands should be included.
 - D. Wild and Scenic Rivers
--complete acquisition in 7 areas



--extend the moratorium on Federal
licensing for water resource projects
that may be included in the wild and
scenic river category

- E. Big Cypress National Fresh Water Preserve
- F. the protection of marine fisheries
- G. ratification of the World Heritage Trust
- H. Weather Modification

2. Agriculture

- a). Greater freedom for farmers to make production and marketing decisions.
- b). Reduction in government influence in the farm commodity marketplace.
- c). Encourage increased sales returns for farm products at home and abroad.
- d). New legislation for outdated restrictions
 - 1). dairy support systems
 - 2). allotments and bases
 - A. wheat
 - B. feed grains
 - C. cotton
- e). "A more equitable basis for production adjustment in the agriculture community."

3. Energy

- a). Temporary suspension of import quotas on home heating oil east of the Rocky Mountains.
- b). "We must find ways to minimize those (environmental) risks while also providing adequate supplies of energy."

4. The Economy

- a). Phase III
 - 1). "We still have firm controls."
 - 2). "All that has changed is our method of enforcing them."
 - 3). Has a broad support from business and labor
- b). Particular attention to food prices
 - 1). encourage farmers to put more acreage into production
 - 2). allow more meat and dried milk to be imported
 - 3). end subsidies for agricultural exports
 - 4). reduce the Government's agricultural stockpiles

State of the Union Message, January, 1973 (cont.)

5. Taxes

- a). "The only way to hold the line on taxes is to hold the line on Federal spending."
- b). Certain Federal programs can no longer be justified.
 - 1). "Housing programs that benefit the well-to-do but short-change the poor!"
 - 2). hospital-building health programs.
 - 3). educational fellowships which attract people to teaching.
 - 4). educational subsidies for children of Federal employees.
 - 5). welfare payments to those who are ineligible or overpaid.
- c). Proposals to Congress
 - 1). extension of the Economic Stabilization Program
 - 2). recommended tax program
 - 3). property tax relief
 - 4). tax credit for nonpublic schools
 - 5). trade legislation
 - 6). spending limits

6. Health

- a). Resubmission to Congress of the Administration's proposed National Health Insurance Plan.
- b). Safeguard the pluralistic health care system.
- c). Termination of the Hill-Burton Hospital grants program.
- d). Discontinuation of Regional Medical Programs
- e). Phase out of the Community Mental Health Center Demonstration Program.
- f). Controls on health services will be strengthened in Phase III.

7. Education

- a). New Education Revenue Sharing Program will be proposed to Congress.
 - 1). compensatory education for the disadvantaged
 - 2). education for the handicapped
 - 3). vocational education
 - 4). needed assistance in federally affected areas
- b). Higher Education
 - 1). more support through the students themselves.
 - 2). five-fold increase in grant programs
- c). National Institute of Education = funding will increase

State of the Union Message, January, 1973 (cont.)

by 50%.

8. Older Americans = additional \$200 million in requested funds
 - a). 1/2 will go for nutrition projects for the elderly.
 - b). the remainder will assist States and localities in developing comprehensive care facilities.

9. Office of Economic Opportunity
 - a). Most of the anti-poverty activities will be transferred out of the OEO into respective Cabinet departments.
 - b). Termination of Federal funding for Community Action.

10. Civil Rights
 - a). Justice Department will expand its effort to guarantee equal access to its Federal financial assistance programs.
 - b). Additional resources for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
 - c). The Civil Service Commission will broaden its monitoring of equal employment opportunities within the Federal government.
 - d). Efforts to make sure that Federal contractors have equal access to job opportunities.
 - e). A 1/3 expansion of the loan program of the Small Business Administration
 - f). Additional resources to the Commission on Civil Rights.
 - g). Continued support of the ratification of the ERA.

11. Indian Affairs
 - a). Recommends the repeal of the 1953 Termination Resolution.
 - b). Takeover of responsibility for Indian programs by the tribes from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
 - c). Development of an Interior Department program of bloc grants to Federally recognized tribes.
 - d). Easier credit and loan possibilities for Indian tribal organizations and Indians.
 - e). Urging the creation of an Indian Trust Counsel Authority.
 - f). Creation of a new Assistant Secretary in the Interior Department to deal with Indian matters.

12. Veterans
 - a). Disapproves of a numerical minimum average daily census.
 - b). Urges Congress to defer legislative action on the burial benefits question till after a study is concluded.

13. Human Resources
 - a). Formation of a legal services corporation.

State of the Union Message, January, 1973 (cont.)

- b). Strengthening the management of the current ADFC system.
- c). Requesting that \$200 million be given for funding of Older Americans
 - 1). half will go for nutrition projects for the elderly
 - 2). the remainder will go to assist States and localities in developing comprehensive care facilities
- d). Creation of a manpower revenue sharing system.

14. Community Development

- a). Better Communities Act
 - 1). To provide revenue sharing for community development
 - 2). To replace inflexible categorical grant-in-aid programs
 - 3). To reduce excessive Federal control of local projects
 - 4). proposed provisions
 - A. Hold-Harmless Provision
 - B. Assistance for Small Communities
 - C. Large role of State government
 - D. "It would be up to the local leaders to determine how the money would be spent."
 - E. Shared revenues would not have to be matched by local funds
- b). Creation of a Department of Community Development
- c). Appointment of a Presidential Counsellor on Community Development
- d). Responsive Government Act
 - 1). \$110 million funding
 - 2). Would assist State and local governments
 - A. Develop information on their problems and opportunities
 - B. Develop alternative policies and programs
 - C. Manage the problems
 - D. Evaluations of the results
 - 2). A "vitally necessary companion piece to the Better Communities Act."
- e). Housing
 - 1). Suspension of new activity under Federally subsidized housing programs
 - 2). Major housing study under the direction of the Counsellor of Community Development
- f). Transportation proposals for Congress
 - 1). Portion of the Highway Trust Fund to be used in a more flexible fashion
 - 2). \$3.65 billion over the next three years for urban transportation needs
 - 3). Funding for mass transit capital grants be increased by \$3 billion
 - 4). Amend the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act

State of the Union Message, January, 1973 (cont.)

- g). Rural Development Act
 - 1). \$200 million loan program to help communities with less than 50,000 people in developing commercial and industrial facilities
 - 2). previously existing loan program extended by \$100 million
 - 3). new grants and acts funded at a level of \$33 million
 - 4). implementation will be consistent with the revenue sharing concept
- h). Disaster Assistance
 - 1). Reorganization Plan Number 1 of 1973
 - 2). Disaster Assistance Act

15. Crime

- a). "...the only way to attack crime in America is the way crime attacks our people--without pity."
- b). Special Revenue Sharing for law enforcement
 - 1). LEAA block grants
 - 2). \$680 million Special Revenue Sharing fund
- c). Criminal Code Reform Act
 - 1). "The Federal interest in the same in each case--to assist the State in safeguarding the integrity of its judicial processes."
 - 2). codification of the "insanity" defense
 - 3). consolidation of existing laws
 - 4). parole supervision after all prison sentences
- d). The Death Penalty
 - 1). "I am confident that the death penalty can be a valuable deterrent."
 - 2). reinstitution for the following crimes
 - A. war-related treason
 - B. sabotage
 - C. espionage
 - D. all specifically enumerated crimes under Federal jurisdiction from which death results
 - 3). automatic imposition
 - 4). elimination of the requirement of jury recommendation

16. Drug Abuse

- a). Treatment Alternatives to Street Crime (TASC)
 - 1). Federally funded treatment programs
 - A. current level of 400
 - B. treat 100,000 addicts a year
 - 2). may be assigned to treatment centers by judges as a condition for release on bail

State of the Union Message, January, 1973 (cont.)

- 3). may be assigned to treatment centers by judges as a possible alternative to prosecution
- b). Heroin Trafficking Act
 - 1). increases sentences for heroin and morphine offenses
 - A. denial of pre-trial release
 - B. prohibition of release of those awaiting
 - 1- sentencing
 - 2- results of an appeal
 - 2). mandatory sentence of not less than 5 years and not more than 15 years for the first offense of trafficking less than 4 oz.
 - 3). mandatory sentence of ten years to life imprisonment for trafficking in four or more ounces, first offense
 - 4). mandatory sentence of life imprisonment for trafficking more than four ounces, second offense

Domestic Policy

1. Energy = Project Independence

- a). special energy act with additional restrictions on energy consumption.
- b). postponement (temporarily) of certain Clean Air Act requirements for plants and auto emissions .
- c). a windfall profits tax.
- d). unemployment insurance for people in areas impacted by serious economic blight.
- e). mandatory inventory reports by major oil and energy companies .
- f). establishment of
 - 1). Federal Energy Administration
 - 2). Energy Research and Development Administration
 - 3). Department of Energy and Natural Resources
- g). the goal of Project Independence, "capacity for energy self-sufficiency by 1980!"

2. Domestic Economy

- a). "increased agricultural output is the only sure way to bring food prices down!"
- b). direct control over prices and wages in the short run.
- c). "pursue a policy of gradual, selective decontrol except in particularly troublesome areas."
- d). "I will not hesitate to use the stimulus of fiscal policy if it becomes necessary to preserve jobs."

3. Tax Reform

- a). simplify tax laws .
- b). simplify tax forms.
- c). distribute the income tax burden more equitably.
- d). congressional proposals
 - 1). establishment of a minimum taxable income.
 - 2). establishment of new rules for taxing income from foreign sources.
 - 3). limitations on artificial accounting losses.

4. Agriculture

- a). revamp programs which require restrictive Federal control over the production of certain commodities.
- b). promote longer-run soil and water conservation practices.
- c). consolidate the locations of local offices of Federal agriculture agencies.
- d). place higher priorities for agricultural research.
- e). suggests convening a World Food Conference.

5. Employment Security

- a). establishment of minimum vesting, funding and fiduciary standards for private pension programs.
- b). enactment of responsible legislation which increases



employee protection.

- c). improvement of Federal-State unemployment programs.
 - d). special extension of unemployment benefits for areas that experience particularly high levels over the next 12 months.
 - e). raise the minimum wage.
 - f). propose an Economic Adjustment Program, helping states in overcoming problems caused by the economy.
 - g). "Cash assistance is what low-income people need most from the Federal Government."
6. Health
- a). submission to the Congress of a new comprehensive health care plan which would
 - 1). place a new emphasis on preventive health care.
 - 2). provide subsidies for the previously uninsurable patient, or those whose insurance premiums are exorbitant.
 - 3). improved protection against catastrophic illness.
 - 4). employers would be forced to offer a comprehensive health insurance plan to all their full-time employees, and would help share the cost.
 - b). proposes a Health Resources Planning Act, to help states and localities improve their health planning and care.
 - c). increase Federal scholarships available to students in health professions.
 - d). expansion of the guaranteed student loan program.
 - e). an additional \$100 million under the National Cancer Act for further research.
7. Education
- a). grants of up to \$1,400 a year for needy college students
 - b). further use of the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education.
 - c). desegregation
 - 1). budgeted an extra \$75 million for the fiscal year 1975 under the Emergency School Aid Act of 1972, to assist desegregation efforts in primary and secondary schools.
 - 2). opposes
 - A. forced busing.
 - B. the consolidation of school districts to achieve a racial balance in the schools.
 - d). a thorough reform of the programs of Federal support for elementary and secondary education.
 - 1). consolidation of existing Federal programs.
 - 2). grant more authority to State and local educational agencies.
 - 3). greater equity between states of funds for disadvantaged children.
 - 4). reform of the impact aid program
 - 5). special supplemental appropriations for the 1974-1975

school year, introducing the "forward funding concept."

- e). continuation and extension of the Head Start program.
 - f). additional increase in aid to black colleges.
 - g). consolidation of eight authorities connected with the education of handicapped children.
 - h). "I continue to support legislation which permits tax credits for parents who pay to send their children to non-public schools."
8. Veterans
- a). propose that GI benefits should be raised by an average of 8%.
 - b). 1974 goal of placing an additional 1.2 million veterans in jobs or job training.
9. Indian Affairs
- a). urges Congressional action on
 - 1). measures to speed Indian economic development
 - 2). upgrade the position of the Commissioner on Indian Affairs to the Assistant Secretary level.
 - 3). turn over the government of tribal lands to Indian government.
 - 4). create an Indian Trust Council to act in the interest of safeguarding natural resource rights on Indian reservations.
 - 5). making sure that funds for Indian education actually reach Indian children.
 - 6). provide greater local control over federally assisted reservation programs.
 - b). proposes that significant portions of the affairs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs be transferred to Indian tribal management.
10. Women
- a). "It is my hope that the Equal Rights Amendment will be ratified speedily so that equal justice under our laws will become a reality for every American."
 - b). extend credit to all persons on an equitable basis.
11. Crime
- a). comprehensive reform of the Federal Criminal Code.
 - b). restoration of the death penalty for especially heinous crimes.
 - 1). hijacking
 - 2). kidnapping
 - 3). bombing
 - c). increased federal assistance to State and local law enforcement agencies.
 - d). increase resources available to US attorneys across the

- nation.
- e). create additional Federal judgeships to assure speedier disposition of criminal cases.
 - f). "Comprehensive improvement of Federal correction programs."
 - g). a new effort to deal with the employment problems surrounding the illegal alien problem.
 - h). the right to privacy
 - 1). order an extensive Cabinet-level review of government and industry practices as they relate to the right of privacy.
 - 2). appropriate legislation should be taken.
 - 3). "Privacy, of course, is not absolute"
12. Drug Abuse
- a). urges severe new penalties for both heroin traffickers and those involved in illicit drug distribution.
 - b). urges the ratification of the Psychotropic Convention.
 - c). directed federal agencies to expand their support of local programs which deal with addicts.
13. The Environment
- a). new budget has full funding of the Land and Water Conservation Fund of 1975.
 - b). proposes to Congress
 - 1). a Department of Energy and Natural Resources.
 - 2). the adoption of the National Land Use Policy Act
 - 3). the enactment of the Environmental Protection Tax Act which would discourage the unwise use of the coastal wetlands.
 - 4). a new emphasis on eastern rather than western wilderness areas.
 - 5). the adoption of the Big Thicket National Biological Reserve, and Big Cypress National Fresh Water Reserve.
 - c). additional authority of the Secretary of the Interior.
14. Passage of the Better Communities Act, which would allow more local flexibility when working with Federal funds.
15. Passage of the Responsive Government Act, which would improve the decision-making capabilities of state and local officials.
16. Passage of the Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Act, which would increase the role of State and local officials in allocating Federal disaster funds.
17. Housing
- a). Congressional passage is urged on
 - 1). the Financial Institutions Act to enable savings and loan associations to compete more effectively for funds during

- tight money periods.
- 2). the Administration's proposed Housing Act which
 - A. authorizes increases in mortgage amounts eligible under FHA insurance.
 - B. abolishes the practice of charging points on loans.
 - C. authorizes on an experimental basis more flexible repayment plans on FHA insured mortgages.
 - D. Authorizes more flexible interest rates and longer repayment terms for mobile homes.
 - b). A new emphasis on long term solutions to the housing crunch, instead of short term proposals to house low income families.
18. Transportation
- a). rural transit aid, for the first time
 - b). proposes new bill for metropolitan transportation problems.
---would increase Federal assistance by nearly 50% over the level of fiscal year 1974.
 - c). railroads,
 - 1). new system of rate regulation
 - 2). barring of discriminatory State and local taxing of interstate carriers.
 - 3). \$2 billion to finance improvements.
 - d). \$250 million of the Federal highway program would be earmarked to improve hazardous conditions on highways
 - e). bonus grants for states who initiate improved safety legislation.
 - f). restructuring of airport and airway financing.
19. District of Columbia
- creation of a District of Columbia Development Bank.
20. Culture and Communications
- a). urges strong bipartisan support to the Arts Endowment.
 - b). move toward the adoption and implementation of a national cable television policy.
21. Science and Technology
- a). "The new budget will call for an increase of over 20% in civilian research and development expenditures."
 - b). continued emphasis on space research.
22. Programs under The New Federalism
- a). The Better Communities Act

- b). The Responsive Governments Act
 - c). The Disaster Preparedness Act
 - d). creation of an independent Legal Service Corporation
 - e). transfer of the food stamp program from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of HEW.
 - f). active recruitment of top flight personnel for career civil service.
 - g). three stage increase in executive legislative and judicial salaries of 7 1/2 % annually for the next three years.
23. "It is essential that we break the old habit of regarding any Federal program, once established, as permanent."

Foreign Policy

1. The World Economy

a). Trade Reform Act

- 1). would "effectively prevent both the extension of nondiscriminatory tariff treatment and of credits to certain communist countries unless they followed a policy of unrestricted emigration."
- 2). adjustment to increased payments flow and accumulated reserves due to higher oil prices.

b). reform of the international payments system under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund.

- c). encouragement of beneficial international investment flow.
- d). effective negotiations to reduce barriers to trade.
- e). a substantial contribution to the International Development Assoc.
- f). a "fair share of both bilateral and multilateral economic assistance."

2. Southeast Asia

- a). "We still have a responsibility there."
- b). continued military aid grants.
- c). insistence on full compliance with the Paris agreement, including a full accounting for US MIA's.

3. Defense= "I will recommend a substantial increase in the 1975 budget for the Department of Defense.

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Domestic Policy

1. Taxes

- a). one year reduction of \$16 billion
 - 1). 3/4 would go to individuals.
 - 2). 1/4 would go to promote business investment.
- b). Individual rebates
 - 1). 12% of 1974 tax payments
 - 2). total cut of \$12 billion
 - 3). maximum \$1,000 return
- c). Future individual income taxes reduced by \$16.5 billion.
 - 1). payment of \$80 to everyone 18 years and older in lowest income bracket.
 - 2). "This will be done by raising the low-income allowance and reducing tax rates."
- d) Corporate taxes
 - 1). reduced from 48% to 42%.
 - 2). investment tax credit
 - A. "to promote expansion and create new jobs."
 - B. One year reduction for businesses at 12%.
 - C. in some cases extended to two years at 12% to speed construction of power plants that do not use natural gas or oil.
 - D. "A tax cut offers the best hope of creating new jobs."



2. Energy

- a). "I am recommending a plan to make us invulnerable to cutoffs of foreign oil."
- b). proposes comprehensive energy tax program.
 - 1). excise taxes and import fees, totalling \$2 per barrel on crude oil and product imports.
 - 2). deregulation of new natural gas.
 - 3). enactment of a natural gas excise tax.
- c). Presidential authority to limit imports.
 - 1). reduce by 1 million barrels per day by the end of this year.
 - 2). reduce by 2 million per day by the end of 1977.
- d). Presidential initiative to decontrol the price of domestic crude oil on April 1.
 - 1). urges congressional enactment of windfall profits legislation and tax by that date.
 - 2). raise the fee on all imported crude oil and petroleum products.
 - A. \$1 per barrel on February 1
 - B. \$2 per barrel on March 1
 - C. \$3 per barrel on April 1
 - D. "The foregoing are interim administrative actions."

- e). Urges quick action on legislation to allow commercial production at Elk Hills, California, Naval Petroleum Reserve.
 - f). Coal
 - 1). submitting amendments to Energy Supply and Environmental Coordination Act to increase the number of power plants that can be converted to coal.
 - 2). wants Clean Air Act amendments which "will allow greater coal use without sacrificing clean air goals."
 - 3). "We must strike a reasonable compromise on environmental concerns with coal."
 - 4). will sign revised version of strip mining legislation.
 - g). Research and Exploration
 - 1). new frontier areas on Outer Continental Shelf and Naval Reserve #4 in Alaska.
 - 2). "I will ask for the funds needed for energy research and development activities."
 - 3). incentive program to achieve 1 million barrels per day of synthetic fuels and shale oil production by 1985.
 - h). Submitting legislation to expedite nuclear leasing (licensing) and the rapid selection of sights.
 - i). Energy tariffs, import quotas and price floors to "protect our energy prices at levels which will achieve energy independence."
 - j). Proposals to Congress to cut long-term consumption.
 - 1). tax credit for homeowners who install insulation equipment.
 - 2). legislation to defer automotive pollution control standards for five years, thus increasing mileage by 40% by 1980.
 - 3). legislation to make thermal efficiency standards mandatory for all new buildings in the U.S.
 - 4). help low income families purchase insulation.
 - k). Storage program
 - 1). 1 billion barrels of oil for domestic needs.
 - 2). 300 million barrels for national defense.
 - l). "State and local governments will receive \$2 billion in additional revenue sharing to offset their increased energy costs."
3. Limiting government expenditures
- a). 5% limit on Federal pay increases in 1975.
 - b). One year maximum increase of 5% on all governmental programs tied to the Consumer Price Index.

- c). "...no new spending programs can be initiated this year."
- d). Proposes legislation to restrain the growth of existing programs.

Foreign Policy

1. "America's commitment to international security has sustained the safety of allies and friends in many areas--in the Middle East, in Europe, and in Asia. Our turning away would unleash new instabilities, new dangers around the globe, which, in turn, would threaten our own security."
2. Seek long-term basis for co-existence with Communist countries.
3. "The execution of foreign policy is the responsibility of the President."
 - a). Need for redefinition of expanded Presidential ability to execute foreign policy and military decisions.
 - b). Conduct of Presidential international negotiations is ill-suited for legislative restrictions.