

# Excerpts From Platform Approved by

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MIAMI BEACH, Aug. 21—Following are excerpts from the platform approved by the Resolutions Committee for presentation to the Republican National Convention tomorrow:

## Preamble

This year our Republican party has greater reason than ever before for pride in its stewardship.

This political contest of 1972 is a singular one. No Americans before have had a clearer opinion. The choice is between going forward from dramatic achievements to predictable new achievements, or turning back toward a nightmarish time in which the torch of free America was virtually snuffed out in a storm of violence and protest.

It is so easy to forget how frightful it was.

There was Vietnam—so bloody, so costly, so bitterly divisive.

And yet, as our eyes were fixed on the carnage in Asia, in Europe our alliance had weakened. The Western will was dividing and ebbing. The isolation of the People's Republic of China, with one-fourth of the world's population, went endlessly on.

At home our horrified people watched our cities burn, crime burgeon, campuses dissolve into chaos. A mishmash of social experimentalism, producing such fiscal extravaganzas as the abortive war on poverty, combined with war pressures to drive up taxes and balloon the cost of living. Working men and women found their living standards fixed or falling, the victim of inflation. Nationwide, welfare skyrocketed out of control.

The history of our country may record other crises more costly in material goods, but none so demoralizing to the American people. To millions of Americans it seemed we had lost our way.

So it was when our Republican party came to power.

Now, four years later, a new leadership with new policies and new programs has restored reason and order and hope. No longer buffeted by internal violence and division, we are on course in calmer seas with a sure, steady hand at the helm. A new spirit, buoyant and confident, is on the rise in our land, nourished by the changes we have made.

It is a saga of exhilarating progress.

We have come far in so short a time. Yet, much remains to be done.

Discontents, frustrations and concerns

still stir in the minds and hearts of many of our people, especially the young.

As long as America falls short of being truly peaceful, truly prosperous, truly secure, truly just for all, her task is not done.

Looking to tomorrow, to President Nixon's second term and on into the third century of this republic, we of the Republican party see a quarter-billion Americans peaceful and prospering as never before, humane as never before, their nation strong and just as never before.

It is toward this bright tomorrow that we are determined to move, in concert with millions of discerning Democrats and concerned independents who will not, and cannot, take part in the convulsive leftward lurch of the national Democratic party.

The election of 1972 requires of the voters a momentous decision—one that will determine the kind of nation this is to be on its 200th birthday four years hence. In this year we must choose between strength and weakness for our country in the years to come.

This year we must choose between negotiating and begging with adversary nations. This year we must choose between an expanding economy in which workers will prosper and a hand-out economy in which the idle live at ease.

This year we must choose between running our own lives and letting others in a distant bureaucracy run them. This year we must choose between responsible fiscal policy and fiscal folly.

This year the choice is between moderate goals historically sought by both major parties and far-out goals of the far left. The contest is not between the two great parties Americans have known in previous years. For in this year, 1972, the national Democratic party has been seized by a radical clique which scorns our nation's past and would blight her future.

We invite our troubled friends of other political affiliations to join with us in a new coalition for progress. Together let us reject the new left prescription for folly and build surely on the solid achievements of President Nixon's first term.

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# G.O.P.

## Foreign Policy

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When Richard Nixon became President, our country was still clinging to foreign policies fashioned for the era immediately following World War II. The world had changed dramatically in the nineteen-sixties, but our foreign policies had not.

In only four years we have fashioned foreign policies based on a new spirit of effective negotiation with our adversaries and a new sense of real partnership with our allies. Clearly, the prospects for lasting peace are greater today than at any time since World War II.

Around the globe America's alliances have been renewed and strengthened. A new spirit of partnership shows results in our NATO partners' expenditures for the common defense—up by some \$2-billion in two years.

Historians may well regard these years as a golden age of American diplomacy. Never before has our country negotiated with so many nations on so wide a range of subjects—and never with greater success.

In Vietnam, too, our policies have been dramatically effective.

Through it all, we have not abandoned an ally to aggression, not turned our back on their brave defense against brutal invasion, not consigned them to the bloodbath that would follow Communist conquest. By helping South Vietnam build a capability to withstand aggression, we have laid the foundation for a just peace and a durable peace in Southeast Asia.

From one sector of the globe to another, a sure and strong America, in partnership with other nations, has once again resumed her historic mission—the building of lasting peace.

We stand with our President for his strategy for peace—a strategy of national strength, a new sense of international partnership, a willingness to negotiate international differences.

With our adversaries, we will continue to negotiate in order to improve our security, reduce tension, and extend the realm of cooperation. Especially important is continued negotiation to maintain the momentum established by the strategic arms limitation agreements to limit offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems and further to reduce the danger of nuclear conflict. In addition, we will encourage increased trade for the benefit of our consumers, businessmen, workers and farmers.

Along with NATO allies, we will seek agreement with the Warsaw Pact nations on a mutual and balanced reduction of military forces in Europe.

We will press for expansion of contacts with the peoples of Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of China, so long isolated from most of the world.

We will continue to seek a settlement of the Vietnam war which will permit the people of Southeast Asia to live in peace under political arrangements of their own choosing.

We take specific note of the remaining major obstacle to settlement—Hanoi's demand that the United States overthrow the Saigon Government and impose a Communist-dominated government on the South Vietnamese. We stand unequivocally at the side of the President in his effort to negotiate honorable terms and in his refusal to accept terms which would dishonor this country.

We commend his refusal to perform this act of betrayal—and we most emphatically say the President of the United States should not go begging to Hanoi.

We believe that the President's proposal to withdraw remaining American forces from Vietnam four months after an internationally supervised cease-fire has gone into effect throughout Indochina and all prisoners have been returned is as generous an offer as can be made by anyone—by anyone, that is,

who is not bemused with surrender—by anyone who seeks, not a fleeting peace at whatever cost, but a real peace that will be both just and lasting.

We will keep faith with American prisoners of war held by the enemy, and we will keep faith, too, with their families here at home who have demonstrated remarkable courage and fortitude over long periods of uncertainty. We will never agree to leave the fate of our men unclear, dependent upon a cruel enemy's whim. On the contrary—we insist that, before all American forces are withdrawn from Vietnam, American prisoners must be returned and a full accounting made of the missing in action and of those who have died in enemy hands.

North Vietnam's violation of the Geneva Convention in its treatment of our prisoners of war has called forth condemnation from leaders around the world—but not by our political opposition at home.

We denounce the enemy's flagrant breach of international law and common decency. We will continue to demand full implementation of the rights of the prisoners.

If North Vietnam continues obdurately to reject peace by negotiation, we shall nevertheless achieve peace for our country through the successful program of Vietnamization, phasing out our involvement as our ally strengthens his defense against aggression.

Our country, which from its beginnings has proclaimed that all men are endowed with certain rights, cannot be indifferent to the denial of human rights anywhere in the world. We deplore oppression and persecution, the inevitable hallmarks of despotic systems of rule.

We will continue to strive to bring them to an end, both to re-establish the right of self-determination and to encourage where and when possible the political freedom of subjugated peoples everywhere in the world.

We firmly support the right of all persons to emigrate from any country, and we have consistently upheld that doctrine. We are fully aware of and share the concern of many citizens for the plight of Soviet Jews with regard to their freedoms and emigration.

This view, together with our commitment to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, was made known to Soviet leaders during the President's discussions in Moscow.

We support the right of Israel and its courageous people to survive and prosper in peace. We have sought a stable peace for the Middle East and helped to obtain a cease-fire which contained the tragic conflict. We will help in any way possible to bring Israel and the Arab states to the conference table, where they may negotiate a lasting peace.

We will continue to act to prevent the development of a military imbalance which would imperil peace in the region and elsewhere by providing Israel with support essential for her security, including aircraft, training and modern and sophisticated military equipment, and also by helping friendly Arab governments and peoples, including support for their efforts to diminish their dependence on outside powers.

We support programs of economic assistance to Israel pursued by President Nixon that have helped her achieve a 9 per cent annual economic growth rate. This and the special refugee assistance ordered by the President have also helped to provide resettlement for the thousands of immigrants seeking refuge in Israel.

We will maintain our tactical forces in Europe and the Mediterranean area at adequate strength and high levels of efficiency. The irresponsible proposals



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Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr. of Maryland, left, and Waring Partridge of Vermont discussing the draft plank of the Republican platform yesterday.

of our political opposition to slash the defense forces of the United States—specifically, by cutting the strength of our fleet, by reducing our aircraft carriers from 16 to six and by unilateral withdrawals from Europe—would increase the threat of war in the Middle East and gravely menace Israel. We flatly reject these dangerous proposals.

We place high priority on the strengthening of the North Atlantic Alliance. One of the President's first initiatives was to visit Western European capitals to reinvigorate the NATO alliance and indicate its importance in U.S. foreign policy.

Right now, with plaintive cries of "come home America" echoing a new isolationism, the Republican party states its firm belief that no nation can be an island or a fortress unto itself. Now, more than ever, there is need for interdependence among proven friends and old allies.

The North Atlantic Alliance remains the strongest, most successful peacetime association ever formed among a group of free nations. The continued strengthening of the alliance will remain an important element in the foreign policies of the second Nixon Administration.

## Defense

We believe in keeping America strong.

In times past, both major parties shared that belief. Today this view is under attack by militants newly in control of the Democratic party. To the alarm of free nations everywhere, the new Democratic left now would undercut our defenses and have America retreat into virtual isolation, leaving us weak in a world still not free of aggression and threats of aggression. We categorically reject this slash-now, beg-later approach to defense policy.

We will surely fail if we go crawling to the conference table. Military weakness is not the path to peace; it is invitation to war.

We draw a sharp distinction between prudent reductions in defense spending and the meat-ax slashes with which some Americans are now beguiled by the political opposition.

Specifically, we oppose plans to stop the Minuteman 3 and Poseidon programs, reduce the strategic bomber force by some 60 per cent, cancel the B-1 bomber, reduce aircraft carriers from 16 to 6, reduce tactical air wings by a third, and unilaterally reduce U.S. forces in Europe by half.

These slashes are worse than misguided; they are dangerous.

They would torpedo negotiations on arms and troop reductions, create a

In the nineteen-sixties it seemed beyond possibility that the United States could dispel the ingrained hostility and confrontation with the China mainland. President Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China was, therefore, an historic milestone in his effort to transform our era from one of confrontation to one of negotiation.

While profound differences remain between the United States and China, at least a generation of hostility has been replaced by frank discussions.

In February, 1972, rules of international conduct were agreed upon which should make the Pacific region a more peaceful area now and in the future. Both the People's Republic and the United States affirmed the usefulness of promoting trade and cultural exchanges between our two peoples.

We believe the continuing campaign by Cuba to foment violence and support subversion in other countries makes it ineligible for readmission to the community of states.

We look forward to the day when changes in Cuba's policies will justify its re-entry into the American community—and to the day when the Cuban people achieve again their freedom and their true independence.

crisis of confidence with our allies, damage our own industrial and technological capacity, destabilize Europe and the Middle East and directly endanger the nation's security.

We pledge to press on toward a lasting peace. To that end we declare ourselves unalterably opposed to a unilateral slash of our military power, and we reject a whimpering "come back America" retreat into isolationism.

We wholeheartedly support an all-volunteer armed force and are proud of our historic initiatives to bring it to pass.

Our political opponents have talked for years of their concern for young people. It is our Republican Administration that has taken the strong, effective action required to end the draft, with its many hardships and uncertainties for the youth of America.

We believe in limiting arms—not unilaterally, but by mutual agreement and with adequate safeguards.

With approval of the SALT agreements by the Congress, negotiations will be resumed to place further restrictions on nuclear weapons, and talks will begin on mutual, balanced force reductions in Europe.

We believe it is imperative that these negotiations go forward under President Nixon's continuing leadership.

## Jobs, Inflation and the Economy

The goal of our party is prosperity, widely shared, sustainable in peace.

Our mix of policies has worked. The nation's economic growth is once again strong and steady.

We will continue to pursue sound economic policies that will eliminate inflation, further cut unemployment, raise real incomes and strengthen our international economic position.

We have already removed some temporary controls on wages and prices and will remove them all once the economic distortions spawned in the late nineteen-sixties are repaired. We are determined to return to an unfettered economy at the earliest possible moment.

We affirm our support for the basic principles of capitalism which underlie the private enterprise system of the United States. At a time when a small but dominant faction of the opposition party is pressing for radical economic schemes which so often have failed around the world, we hold that nothing has done more to help the American people achieve their unmatched standard of living than the free enterprise system.

Our tax system needs continual, timely reform. Early in this Administration we achieved the first comprehensive tax reform since 1954. The record shows that as a result of the Tax Re-

form Act of 1969 and the Revenue Act of 1971:

¶9.5 million low-income Americans are removed from the Federal income tax rolls.

¶Persons in the lowest income tax bracket will pay 82 per cent less this year than they would have paid, had the 1969 and 1971 tax reforms not been enacted, those in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 income range will pay 13 per cent less, and those with incomes about \$100,000 will pay about 7 per cent more.

This is sound tax reform, the kind that more equitably spreads the tax burden and avoids incentive-destroying tax levels which would cripple the economy and put people out of work.

We reject the deceitful tax "reform" cynically represented as one that would soak the rich, but in fact one that would sharply raise the taxes of millions of families in middle-income brackets as well. We reject as well the lavish spending promised by the opposition party which would more than double the present budget of the United States Government.

Tax reform must continue. During the next session of Congress we pledge:

¶To pursue such policies as revenue sharing that will allow property tax relief;

¶Further tax reform to ensure that the tax burden is fairly shared.

## Welfare Reform

The nation's welfare system is a mess. It simply must be reformed.

We all feel compassion for those who through no fault of their own cannot adequately care for themselves. We all want to help these men, women and children achieve a decent standard of living and become self-supporting.

We continue to insist, however, that there are too many people on this country's welfare rolls who should not be there. With effective cooperation from

the Congress, we pledge to stop these abuses.

We flatly oppose programs or policies which embrace the principle of a government-guaranteed income. We reject as unconscionable the idea that all citizens have the right to be supported by the government, regardless of their ability or desire to support themselves and their families.

We pledge to continue to push strongly for sound welfare reform until meaningful and helpful change is enacted into law by the Congress.

## Education

We take pride in our leadership these last four years in lifting both quality and equality in American education—from preschool to graduate school—working toward higher standards than ever before.

Months ago President Nixon sent Congress a two-part comprehensive proposal on school busing. The first is the Student Transportation Moratorium Act

of 1972, legislation to halt immediately all further court-ordered busing and give Congress time to devise permanent new arrangements for assuring desegregated, quality education.

We are committed to guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity and to completing the process of ending de jure school segregation.

At the same time, we are irrevocably

opposed to busing for racial balance. Such busing fails its stated objective—improved learning opportunities—while it achieves results no one wants—division within communities and hostility between classes and races. We regard it as unnecessary, counterproductive and wrong.

We favor better education for all children, not more transportation for some children. We favor the neighborhood school concept. We favor the decisive actions the President has proposed to support these ends. If it is necessary to accomplish these purposes, we would

favor consideration of an appropriate amendment to the Constitution.

In the field of school finance, we favor a coordinated effort among all levels of government to break the pattern of excessive reliance on local property taxes to pay educational costs.

We believe that means which are consistent with the Constitution can be devised for channeling public financial aid to support the education of all children in schools of their parents' choice, non-public as well as public. One way to provide such aid appears to be through the granting of income tax credits.

## Community Development

We strongly oppose the use of housing or community development programs to impose arbitrary housing patterns on unwilling communities. Neither do we favor dispersing large numbers of people away from their homes and neighborhoods against their will.

We do believe in providing communities, with their full consent, guidance and cooperation, with the means and incentives to increase the quantity and quality of housing in conjunction with providing increased access to jobs for their low-income citizens.

## Environment

The nostalgic notion of turning the clock back to a simpler time may be appealing but is neither practical nor desirable. We are not going to abandon the automobile, but we are going to have a clean-burning engine.

We are not going to give up electric lighting and modern industry, but we do expect cleanly produced electric power to run them.

We are not going to be able to do without containers for our foods and materials, but we can improve them

and make them reusable or biodegradable.

We pledge a workable balance between a growing economy and environmental protection. We will resolve the conflicts sensibly within that framework.

We commit ourselves to comprehensive pollution control laws, vigorous implementation of those laws, and rigorous research into the technological problems of pollution control.

## Health Care

Our goal is to enable every American to secure quality health care at reasonable cost. We pledge a balanced approach—one that takes into account the problems of providing sufficient medical personnel and facilities.

To assure access to basic medical care for all our people, we support a program financed by employers, employees and the Federal Government to provide comprehensive health insurance coverage, including insurance against

the cost of long-term and catastrophic illnesses and accidents and renal failure which necessitates dialysis, at a cost which all Americans can afford.

We oppose nationalized compulsory health insurance. This approach would at least triple in taxes the amount the average citizen now pays for health and would deny families the right to choose the kind of care they prefer. Ultimately it would lower the over-all quality of health care for all Americans.

## Law Enforcement

We have solid evidence that our unrelenting war on crime is being won.

We pledge a tireless campaign against crime. We pledge to:

¶Continue our vigorous support of local police.

¶Seek comprehensive procedural and substantive reform of the Federal Criminal Code.

¶Accelerate the drive against organized crime.

¶Increase the funding of the Federal judiciary to help clear away the logjam

in the courts which obstructs the administration of justice.

¶Push forward in prison reform and rehabilitation of offenders.

¶Intensify efforts to prevent criminal access to all weapons, including special emphasis on cheap, readily obtainable handguns, retaining primary responsibility at the state level, with such Federal law as necessary to enable the states to meet their responsibilities.

¶Safeguard the right of responsible citizens to collect, own and use firearms for legitimate purposes, including hunting, target shooting and self-defense.

## Drug Abuse

The permissiveness of the nineteen-sixties left no legacy more insidious than drug abuse. In that decade narcotics became widely available, most tragically among our young people. The use of drugs became endowed with a sheen of false glamour identified with social protest.

By the time our nation awakened to this cancerous social ill, it found no major combat weapons available.

We quickly launched a massive assault against drug abuse.

And we are getting results. This past

year four times as much heroin was seized as in the year this Administration took office. Since 1969, the number of drug-related arrests has nearly doubled.

Nor will we relax this campaign.

We pledge to seek further international agreements to restrict the production and movement of dangerous drugs.

We firmly oppose efforts to make drugs easily available. We equally oppose the legalization of marijuana. We intend to solve problems, not create bigger ones by legalizing drugs of unknown physical impact.

# The Individual and Government

We will continue to defend the citizen's right to privacy in our increasingly interdependent society. We oppose computerized national data banks and all other "big brother" schemes which endanger individual rights.

We affirm our view that voluntary prayer should be freely permitted in

public places—particularly by schoolchildren while attending public schools—provided that such prayers are not prepared or prescribed by the state or any of its political subdivisions and that no person's participation is coerced, thus preserving the traditional separation of church and state.

## Equal Rights for Women

This Administration has done more than any before it to help women of America achieve equality of opportunity.

To continue progress for women's rights, we will work toward:

☐Ratification of the equal rights amendment.

☐Appointment of women to highest-level positions in the Federal Government, including the Cabinet and the Supreme Court.

☐Equal pay for equal work.

☐Elimination of discrimination against

women at all levels in Federal Government.

☐Elimination of discrimination against women in the criminal justice system, in sentencing, rehabilitation and prison facilities.

☐Increased opportunities for the part-time employment of women and expanded training programs for women who want to re-enter the labor force.

☐Elimination of economic discrimination against women in credit, mortgage, insurance, property, rental and finance contracts.

## Youth

We stand for lowering the legal age of majority in all jurisdictions to 18, and we will seek to broaden the involvement of young people in every phase of the

political process—as voters, party workers and leaders, candidates and elected officials and participants in Government at municipal, state and Federal levels.

## Labor

The skill, industry and productivity of American workers are the driving force of our free economy. The nation's labor unions, comprised of millions of working people, have advanced the well-being not only of their members but also of our entire free enterprise system. We of the Republican party reaffirm our strong endorsement of organized labor's key role in our national life.

We salute the statesmanship of the labor union movement. Time and again, at crucial moments, it has voiced its outspoken support for a firm and effective foreign policy and for keeping the armed forces of the United States modern and strong.

We regard collective bargaining as the cornerstone of the nation's labor relations policy. The Government's role is not to encroach upon this program but

rather to aid the differing parties to make collective bargaining more effective both for themselves and for the public.

In furtherance of that concept, we will continue to develop procedures whereby the imagination, ingenuity and knowledge of labor and management can more effectively seek solutions for such problems as structural adjustment and productivity.

We will continue to search for realistic and fair solutions to emergency labor disputes, guided by two basic principles: First, that the health and safety of the people of the United States should always be paramount; and second, that collective bargaining should be kept as free as possible from government interference.

## Conclusion

The record is clear.

More than any President, Richard Nixon has achieved major changes in policy and direction in our Government.

We, the Republican party, pledge ourselves to go forward, hand-in-hand with every citizen, to solve those problems that yet stand in the way of realizing that more perfect union, the dream of the founding fathers — a dream enhanced by the free and generous gift of people working together, not in shifting

alliances of separated minorities, but in unison of spirit and purpose.

We cannot favor, nor can we respect the notion of group isolation in our United States of America.

We pledge to the American people that the 200th anniversary of this nation in 1976 will be more than a celebration of two centuries of unequalled success; we pledge it also to be the beginning of the third and greatest century for all of our countrymen and, we pray, for all people in the world.