

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1952

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

"Under Democratic Party leadership more has been done in the past twenty years to enhance the sanctity of individual rights than ever before in our history. Racial and religious minorities have progressed further toward real equality than during the preceding 150 years."

This is merely a statement of fact, and tells us nothing about the party's current position on individual freedoms. Hence, the missing data code is appropriate.

[changed from +0 on 5/11/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

+0

"As rapidly as defense requirements permit, we favor reducing taxes, especially for people with lower incomes. But we will not imperil our Nation's security by making reckless promises to reduce taxes.

Justice requires the elimination of tax loopholes which favour special groups. We pledge continued efforts to the elimination of remaining loopholes."

The statement calls for the reduction of taxes, but only if conditions permit; currently, it would appear that the party is satisfied to maintain the status quo level of taxation, which we judge to have been "moderate" by international standards.

H02B: Total Taxes

+0

"We believe in fair and equitable taxation. We oppose a Federal general sales tax. We adhere to the principle of ability to pay. We have enacted an emergency excess profits tax to prevent profiteering from the defense program and have vigorously attacked special tax privileges."

While opposing a broad general sales tax it does not necessarily call for a reduction in the role of taxes as a revenue source. As with H02, we assume that the status quo, which this basically protects, is a moderate level of taxation.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"... Government services, democratically administered, have been improved and extended."

"... The public welfare demands that our government be efficiently and economically operated and that it be reorganized to meet changing needs."

This platform also mentions numerous specific areas in which the party favors governmental action. These include business, agriculture, Rural Electrification, Rural Telephone and Housing. It approves of an activist governmental role in support of business, as in the statement "Democratic Party policies and programs rescued American business from total collapse... from the fatal economic consequences of watered stock, unsound banks, useless and greedy holding companies, high tariff barriers, and predatory business practices, all of which prevailed under the last Republican administrations."

This justifies a code reflecting favoring broad government, though not so broad as to include ownership of most means of production, etc.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 8 points.

[changed from 10 to 9 issues on May 11, 1997]

H04: Social Services

-3

"..We favor strengthening of old age and survivors insurance..." "We favor a stronger system of unemployment insurance, with broader coverage and substantially increased benefits, including an allowance for dependents." "We favor and encourage the private endeavors of social agencies, mutual associations, insurance companies, industry-labor groups, and cooperative societies to provide against the basic hazards of life through mutually agreed upon benefit plans designed to complement our present social security program." "We will enlarge the school

lunch program..."

The platform presents a middle range of social services, covering not only those listed above, but also references to employment of the physically handicapped, social security, public assistance programs for the infirm, maternity and child health services, and day care for children of mothers "engaged in defense work." There is direct government provision in a number of these areas, and the party encourages private involvement in others.

H05: Health Care

-1

"We favor continued and vigorous support, from private and public sources, of research into the causes, prevention and cure of diseases.

We advocate Federal aid for medical education to help overcome the growing shortages of doctors, nurses, and other trained health personnel.

We pledge continued support for Federal aid to hospital construction. We pledge increased preventive programs and health services, especially in rural areas."

The platform calls for the government to provide aid but not directly provide for health care.

H06: Environmental Protection

-1

"Yet, unless we redouble our conservation efforts we will become a "have-not" nation in some of the most important raw materials upon which depend our industries, agriculture, employment and high standard of living. This can be prevented by a well rounded and nation-wide conservation effort.

...The Democratic Party denounces all obstructionist devices designed to prevent or retard utilization of the Nation's power and water resources for the benefit of the people, their enterprises and interests.

We seek to establish and demonstrate such successful policies of forest and land management on Federal property as will materially assist State and private owners in their conservation efforts...With adequate appropriations to carry out feasible projects, we pledge a program of forest protection, reforestation projects and sound practices of production and harvesting which will promote sustained yields of forest crops. We propose to increase forest access roads in order improve cutting practices on both public and private lands."

The platform calls for conservation programs to be implemented by the federal government. On the other hand, it opposes "obstructionist" devices used to thwart water and power use. On balance, the party seems to be standing just to the left of center on this issue.

H07: Education

-4

"Local, State and Federal governments have shared responsibility to contribute appropriately to the pressing needs of our educational system. We urge that Federal contributions be made available to State and local units which adhere to basic minimum standards.

We pledge immediate consideration for those school systems which need further legislation to provide Federal aid for new school construction, teachers' salaries and school maintenance and repair."

The platform does not mention the private provision of education. Although the party is not necessarily opposed to private education, neither is it on record as supporting a larger role for the private sector in the educational sphere.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"Under the present farm program, our farmers have performed magnificently and have achieved unprecedented production.

... and we will continue to protect the producers of basic agricultural commodities under the terms of a mandatory price support program at not less than 90% of parity. We continue to advocate practical methods for extending price supports to other storables and to the producers of perishable commodities which account for three-fourths of all farm income...

We will continue to recognize agriculture as an essential defense industry, and to assist in providing all the necessary tools, machinery, fertilizer, and manpower needed by farmers in meeting production goals."

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"The Democratic Party will continue to stand unequivocally for the strong, balanced defense forces for this country - land, sea and air. We will continue to support the expansion and maintenance

of the military and civil defense forces required for our national security. We reject the defeatist view of those who say we cannot afford the expense and effort necessary to defend ourselves."

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"We pledge aid to the Arab States to enable them to develop their economic resources and raise the living standards of their people...

We will continue to encourage use of American skills and capital in helping the people of underdeveloped lands to combat disease, raise living standards, improve land tenure and develop industry and trade."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"Through cooperative programs of Federal aid, state and local governments have been encouraged and enabled to provide many more services...

Democratic Administrations have placed upon the statute books during the last twenty years a multitude of measures which testify to our belief in the Jeffersonian principle of local control, even in general legislation involving the nation-wide programs. Selective service, Social Security, Agricultural Adjustment, Low Rent Housing, Hospital, and many other legislative programs have placed major responsibilities in States and counties and provide fine examples of how benefits can be extended through Federal-State cooperation.

In the present world crisis with new requirements of federal action for national security, and accompanying provision for public services and individual rights related to defense, constitutional principles must and will be closely followed."

Though many of the "cooperative" programs mentioned here seem to involve the states and localities and implementation of federal programs, it would seem that the code reflecting a 60/40 split is appropriate here.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"Independent business is the best offset to monopoly practices. The government role is to insure that independent business receives equally fair treatment with its competitors;

...[W]e urge the enactment of such laws as will provide favorable incentives to the establishment and survival of independent businesses...

We pledge a continuing increase in the services of the United States Postal Service."

While this platform praises the private sector and certainly does not call for expansion of governmental ownership, neither does it explicitly call for returning governmentally owned business to the private sector (and in fact acknowledges the importance of the Postal Service).

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"...Free competitive enterprise must remain free and competitive if the productive forces of this Nation are to remain strong. We are alarmed over the increasing concentration of economic power in the hands of a few.

We reaffirm our belief in the necessity of vigorous enforcement of the laws against trusts, combinations, and restraints of trade, which laws are vital to the safeguarding of the public interest and of small competitive business men against predatory monopolies. We will seek adequate appropriations for the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission for vigorous investigation and for enforcement of the anti-trust laws. We support the right of all persons to work together in cooperative and other democratic associations for the purpose of carrying out any proper business operations free from any arbitrary and discriminatory restrictions.

We must avoid unnecessary business controls. But we cannot close our eyes to the special problems which require Government surveillance. The Government must continue its efforts to stop unfair selling practices which deceive investors, and unfair trade practices which deceive consumers."

The platform calls for regulation of many sectors and the enforcement of laws against unfair business practices and monopolies.

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin.

We know this task requires action, not just in one section of

the Nation, but in all sections. It requires the cooperative efforts of individual citizens and action by State and local governments. It also requires Federal action. The Federal Government must live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and must exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitution.

At the same time, we favor Federal legislation effectively to secure these rights to everyone; 1. the right to equal opportunity for employment 2. the right to security of persons; 3. the right to full and equal participation in the Nation's political life, free from arbitrary restraints. We also favor legislation to perfect existing Federal civil rights statutes and to strengthen the administrative machinery for the protection of civil rights."

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"We believe in equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, and we urge legislation to make that principle effective.

We recommend and endorse for submission to the Congress a constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women".

H18: Immigration

-3

"...Subversive elements must be screened out and prevented from entering our land, but the gates must be left open for practical numbers of desirable persons from abroad whose immigration to this country provides an invigorating infusion into the stream of American life, as well as a significant contribution to the solution of the world refugee and over-population problems.

We pledge continuing revision of our immigration and naturalization laws to do away with any unjust and unfair practices against national groups which have contributed some of our best citizens. We will eliminate distinctions between native born and naturalized citizens. We want no second class citizens in free America."

While the platform advocates a fairly open immigration policy, it does acknowledge concern over admission of "subversive elements."

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1956

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

"The Democratic Party has upheld its belief in the Constitution as a charter of individual rights, an effective instrument for human progress."

This is merely a statement of fact, and tells us nothing about the party's current position.

[changed from +0 on 5/11/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"Fantastic misrepresentation of the Government's budgetary position has been used to deny tax relief to low and middle-income families, while tax concessions and handouts have been generously sprinkled among potential campaign contributors to Republican coffers.

A fully expanding economy can yield enough tax revenues to meet the inescapable obligations of government, balance the Federal Budget, and lighten the tax-burden. The immediate need is to correct the inequities in the tax structure which reflect the Republican determination to favor the few at the expense of the many. We favor realistic tax adjustments, giving first consideration to small independent business and the small individual taxpayer. Lower income families need tax relief; only a Democratic victory will assure this. We favor an increase in the present personal tax exemption of \$600 to a minimum of at least \$800."

The platform indicates that the lightening of tax burden is very important; in fact the party favors tax relief for low income families and a proposed increase in personal tax exemption.

H02B: Total Taxes

+1

"...Tax relief for all small and independent businesses by fair and equitable adjustments in Federal taxation which will encourage business expansion, and to the realistic application of the principle of graduated taxation to such corporate income.

...A fully expanding economy can yield enough tax revenues to meet the inescapable obligations of government, balance the Federal Budget, and lighten the tax-burden. The immediate need is to correct the inequities in the tax structure which reflect the Republican determination to favor the few at the expense of the many. We favor realistic tax adjustments, giving first consideration to small independent business and the small individual taxpayer. Lower income families need tax relief; only a Democratic victory will assure this. We favor an increase in the present personal tax exemption of \$600 to a minimum of at least \$800."

Mention is made of tax adjustments for both individuals and small businesses, with implication that broadening of the adjustments is possible.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"Equal right for all and special privileges for none", the tested Jeffersonian principle, remains today the only philosophy by which human rights can be preserved by government.

...We commend the foresight of the Democratic 84th Congress for its enactment of the greatest program in history for expansion of our highway network, and we congratulate it upon its rejection of the unsound, unworkable, inadequate and unfair roads bill proposed by the present Republican administration.

...We pledge our Party to immediate revival of the basic housing program enacted by the Democratic Congress in 1949, to expansion of this program as our population and resources grow, and to additional legislation to provide housing for middle-income families and aged persons."

It seems appropriate to continue the -3 from the 1952 program.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 9 points.

[changed from 10 issues on 5/11/97]

H04: Social Services

-4

"The Democratic Party believes that America can and must adopt measures to assure every citizen an opportunity for a full, healthy and happy life. To this end, we pledge ourselves to the expansion and improvement of the great social welfare programs inaugurated under Democratic Administrations.

...We shall continue to work for a stronger unemployment insurance system.

We pledge improvements in the public assistance program even beyond those enacted by the Democratic 84th Congress, through increased aid for the aged, the blind, dependent children, the disabled and other needy persons who are not adequately protected by our contributory insurance programs.

...To keep pace with the growing need for child care and welfare, we pledge an expanded program of grants to the States. We pledge continued support of adequate day care centers to care for the children of the millions of American mothers who work to help support their families."

The platform also specifically mentions Old Age Assistance and Old Age Survivors Insurance programs, as well as a pledge to "inaugurate a food stamp program."

This platform goes beyond the previous one, especially in broadening some of the programs (such as that involving day care centers). The food stamp program, in particular, is new to this platform.

[changed from -3 (which itself was changed earlier from -4) on 5/13/97]

H05: Health Care

-1

"We pledge ourselves to initiate programs of Federal financial aid, without Federal controls, for medical education.

We pledge continuing and increased support for hospital construction programs, as well as increased Federal aid to public health services, particularly in rural areas."

It seems appropriate to continue the -1 code from 1952.

H06: Environmental Protection

-1

"...We condemn, and will continue to decry, this pillaging of our dwindling natural resource wealth through political manipulation and administrative subversion by the Eisenhower Administration. We pledge ourselves to halt this betrayal of the people's trust.

...In contrast to the wasteful neglect of the present Administration, soil conservation practices will be stimulated and intensified to reduce land deterioration under the vital Soil

Conservation Service assistance program conceived and fostered by the Democratic Party.

...We pledge adoption of an immediate and broad policy to mobilize the efforts of private and public agencies for protection of existing recreational areas, provision of new ones, and improvement of inadequate facilities.

...Fish and game habitats will be guarded against encroachment for commercial purposes.

...We will vigorously advocate Federally-financed forestation, upstream erosion control and flood control programs on our public range, timber lands and small drainage basins to protect our watersheds and double the rate of forage and commercial timber growth."

The platform calls for direct and regulatory roles for the government.

H07: Education

-4

"We are now faced with shortages of educational facilities that threaten national security, economic prosperity and human well-being. The resources of our States and localities are already strained to the limit. Federal aid and action should be provided, within the traditional framework of State and local control.

We pledge the Democratic Party to the following

1. Legislation providing Federal financing to assist States and local communities to build schools, and to provide essential health and safety services for all school children.

(The same logic applies as for the 1952 platform.)

H08: Agricultural Supports

-5

The platform calls for the promotion of "programs which will protect and preserve the family-type farm as a bulwark of American life, and encourage farm-home ownership, including additional assistance to family farmers and young farmers in the form of specially designed credit and price-support programs, technical aid, and enlarged soil conservation allowances.

...Undertake immediately by appropriate action to endeavor to regain the full 100% of parity the farmers received under the Democratic Administrations. We will achieve this by means of supports on basic commodities at 90% of parity and by means of commodity loans, direct purchases, direct payments to producers, marketing agreements and orders, production adjustment, or a combination of these, including legislation, to bring order and stability into the relationship between the producer, the processor and the consumer;

Develop practical measures for extending price supports to

feed grains and other nonbasic storables and to the producers of perishable commodities such as meat, poultry, dairy products and the like.

...Enact a comprehensive farm program which, under intelligent and sympathetic Democratic administration, will make the rural homes of America better and healthier places in which to live."

The platform advocates a very extensive program in agriculture, even going beyond what was provided in the 1952 program (which received a -3).

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+2

"The Failure at Home. Political considerations of budget balancing and tax reduction now come before the wants of our national security and the needs of our Allies.

...The Democratic Party inaugurated and we strongly favor collective defense arrangements such as NATO and Organisation of American States, within the framework of the United Nations. We realize as the Republicans have not, that mutually recognized common interests can be flexibly adapted to the varied needs and aspirations of all countries concerned.

...National defense outlays based upon our national needs, not permitting false economy to jeopardize our very survival. ...To make the maximum contribution to the defense of our Nation and the free world through the development of a balanced and flexible stockpile of nuclear weapons, containing a sufficient number and variety to support our armed services in any contingency."

The platform language has changed by calling for (1) a strong collective security arrangement and (2) defense outlays based on assessment of "needs," while no longer advocating extensive expansion as in the 1952 platform. This is more a statement in defense of maintaining rather than expanding.

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"We believe that, in the cause of peace, America must support the efforts of underdeveloped countries on a cooperative basis to organize their own resources and to increase their own economic productivity, so that they may enjoy the higher living standards

which science and modern industry make possible. We will give renewed strength to programs of economic and technical assistance. We support a multilateral approach to these programs, wherever possible, so that burdens are shared and resources pooled among all the economically developed countries with the capital and skills to help in this great task."

The platform statement "America must support" embodies the Democratic party's belief in an extensive role of the government in a broad range of foreign aid. Continuation of the code of -4 seems appropriate.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"While we recognize the existence of honest differences of opinion as to the true location of the Constitutional line of demarcation between the Federal Government and the States, the Democratic Party expressly recognizes the vital importance of the respective States in our Federal Union. The Party of Jefferson and Jackson pledges itself to continued support of those sound principles of local government which will best serve the welfare of our people and of our democratic rights."

Since the party basically continues the same position as in 1952, we continue the score of -1. This takes into account more than just the paragraph above, obviously. It is within the context of a platform that provides many functions for national government that we arrive at a code of -1.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-1

"We pledge ourselves to programs which will:

1. Restore the principle that the Postal Service is a public service to be operated in the interest of improved business economy and better communication, as well as an aid to the dissemination of information and intelligence.

...We will carry forward increased and full production of hydroelectric power on our rivers and of steam generation for the Tennessee Valley Authority to meet its peacetime and defense requirements.

...strengthen the public power competitive yardstick in power

developments under TVA, REA, Bureau of Reclamation, Bonneville, Southeast and Southwest Power Administrations and other future projects, including atomic power plants under a policy of the widest possible use of electric energy at the lowest possible cost."

The platform seems to advocate that for development purposes government ownership is necessary in certain sectors, including power production in addition to the Postal Service.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"...We pledge ourselves to the restoration of truly competitive conditions in American industry. Affirmative action within the framework of American tradition will be taken to curb corporate mergers that would contribute to the growth of economic concentration.

...We deplore the lack of enforcement of safety regulations for protection of life and property under the present Republican Administration, and pledge strict enforcement of such regulations.

...We further pledge as a matter of priority to extend full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in industry engaged in, or affecting interstate commerce."

The tone continues to be as strong as was the case in the previous platform.

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"...The Democratic Party is committed to support and advance the individual rights and liberties of all Americans. Our country is founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that all citizens are equal before the law and should enjoy all political rights. They should have equal opportunities for education, for economic advancement and for decent living conditions.

We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. We know this task requires action, not just in one section of the Nation, but in all sections. It requires the cooperative efforts of individual citizens, and action by State and local governments. It also requires Federal action. The Federal Government must live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and must exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitution."

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"We advocate legislation to provide equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

...We of the Democratic Party recommend and indorse for submission to the Congress a Constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women."

This is essentially a continuation of the position taken in 1952.

H18: Immigration

-3

"The Democratic Party favors prompt revision of the immigration and nationality laws to eliminate unfair provisions under which admissions to this country depend upon quotas based upon the accident of national origin. Proper safeguards against subversive elements should be provided. Our immigration procedures must reflect the principles of our Bill of Rights.

We favor eliminating the provisions of law which charge displaced persons admitted to our shores against quotas for future years. Through such "mortgages" of future quotas, thousands of qualified persons are being forced to wait long years before they can hope for admission.

We also favor more liberal admission of relatives to eliminate the unnecessary tragedies of broken families."

As in the previous platform, the party continues to call for a fairly open immigration policy while safeguarding against the entry of subversive elements.

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H01: Individual Freedoms

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This is merely a statement of fact, and tells us nothing about the party's current position.

[changed from +0 on 5/11/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

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"Fantastic misrepresentation of the Government's budgetary position has been used to deny tax relief to low and middle-income families, while tax concessions and handouts have been generously sprinkled among potential campaign contributors to Republican coffers.

A fully expanding economy can yield enough tax revenues to meet the inescapable obligations of government, balance the Federal Budget, and lighten the tax-burden. The immediate need is to correct the inequities in the tax structure which reflect the Republican determination to favor the few at the expense of the many. We favor realistic tax adjustments, giving first consideration to small independent business and the small individual taxpayer. Lower income families need tax relief; only a Democratic victory will assure this. We favor an increase in the present personal tax exemption of \$600 to a minimum of at least \$800."

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...We shall continue to work for a stronger unemployment insurance system.

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(The same logic applies as for the 1952 platform.)

H08: Agricultural Supports

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The platform calls for the promotion of "programs which will protect and preserve the family-type farm as a bulwark of American life, and encourage farm-home ownership, including additional assistance to family farmers and young farmers in the form of specially designed credit and price-support programs, technical aid, and enlarged soil conservation allowances.

...Undertake immediately by appropriate action to endeavor to regain the full 100% of parity the farmers received under the Democratic Administrations. We will achieve this by means of supports on basic commodities at 90% of parity and by means of commodity loans, direct purchases, direct payments to producers, marketing agreements and orders, production adjustment, or a combination of these, including legislation, to bring order and stability into the relationship between the producer, the processor and the consumer;

Develop practical measures for extending price supports to

feed grains and other nonbasic storables and to the producers of perishable commodities such as meat, poultry, dairy products and the like.

...Enact a comprehensive farm program which, under intelligent and sympathetic Democratic administration, will make the rural homes of America better and healthier places in which to live."

The platform advocates a very extensive program in agriculture, even going beyond what was provided in the 1952 program (which received a -3).

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+2

"The Failure at Home. Political considerations of budget balancing and tax reduction now come before the wants of our national security and the needs of our Allies.

...The Democratic Party inaugurated and we strongly favor collective defense arrangements such as NATO and Organisation of American States, within the framework of the United Nations. We realize as the Republicans have not, that mutually recognized common interests can be flexibly adapted to the varied needs and aspirations of all countries concerned.

...National defense outlays based upon our national needs, not permitting false economy to jeopardize our very survival. ...To make the maximum contribution to the defense of our Nation and the free world through the development of a balanced and flexible stockpile of nuclear weapons, containing a sufficient number and variety to support our armed services in any contingency."

The platform language has changed by calling for (1) a strong collective security arrangement and (2) defense outlays based on assessment of "needs," while no longer advocating extensive expansion as in the 1952 platform. This is more a statement in defense of maintaining rather than expanding.

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"We believe that, in the cause of peace, America must support the efforts of underdeveloped countries on a cooperative basis to organize their own resources and to increase their own economic productivity, so that they may enjoy the higher living standards

which science and modern industry make possible. We will give renewed strength to programs of economic and technical assistance. We support a multilateral approach to these programs, wherever possible, so that burdens are shared and resources pooled among all the economically developed countries with the capital and skills to help in this great task."

The platform statement "America must support" embodies the Democratic party's belief in an extensive role of the government in a broad range of foreign aid. Continuation of the code of -4 seems appropriate.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"While we recognize the existence of honest differences of opinion as to the true location of the Constitutional line of demarcation between the Federal Government and the States, the Democratic Party expressly recognizes the vital importance of the respective States in our Federal Union. The Party of Jefferson and Jackson pledges itself to continued support of those sound principles of local government which will best serve the welfare of our people and of our democratic rights."

Since the party basically continues the same position as in 1952, we continue the score of -1. This takes into account more than just the paragraph above, obviously. It is within the context of a platform that provides many functions for national government that we arrive at a code of -1.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-1

"We pledge ourselves to programs which will:

1. Restore the principle that the Postal Service is a public service to be operated in the interest of improved business economy and better communication, as well as an aid to the dissemination of information and intelligence.

...We will carry forward increased and full production of hydroelectric power on our rivers and of steam generation for the Tennessee Valley Authority to meet its peacetime and defense requirements.

...strengthen the public power competitive yardstick in power

developments under TVA, REA, Bureau of Reclamation, Bonneville, Southeast and Southwest Power Administrations and other future projects, including atomic power plants under a policy of the widest possible use of electric energy at the lowest possible cost."

The platform seems to advocate that for development purposes government ownership is necessary in certain sectors, including power production in addition to the Postal Service.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"...We pledge ourselves to the restoration of truly competitive conditions in American industry. Affirmative action within the framework of American tradition will be taken to curb corporate mergers that would contribute to the growth of economic concentration.

...We deplore the lack of enforcement of safety regulations for protection of life and property under the present Republican Administration, and pledge strict enforcement of such regulations.

...We further pledge as a matter of priority to extend full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in industry engaged in, or affecting interstate commerce."

The tone continues to be as strong as was the case in the previous platform.

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"...The Democratic Party is committed to support and advance the individual rights and liberties of all Americans. Our country is founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that all citizens are equal before the law and should enjoy all political rights. They should have equal opportunities for education, for economic advancement and for decent living conditions.

We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. We know this task requires action, not just in one section of the Nation, but in all sections. It requires the cooperative efforts of individual citizens, and action by State and local governments. It also requires Federal action. The Federal Government must live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and must exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitution."

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"We advocate legislation to provide equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

...We of the Democratic Party recommend and indorse for submission to the Congress a Constitutional amendment providing equal rights for women."

This is essentially a continuation of the position taken in 1952.

H18: Immigration

-3

"The Democratic Party favors prompt revision of the immigration and nationality laws to eliminate unfair provisions under which admissions to this country depend upon quotas based upon the accident of national origin. Proper safeguards against subversive elements should be provided. Our immigration procedures must reflect the principles of our Bill of Rights.

We favor eliminating the provisions of law which charge displaced persons admitted to our shores against quotas for future years. Through such "mortgages" of future quotas, thousands of qualified persons are being forced to wait long years before they can hope for admission.

We also favor more liberal admission of relatives to eliminate the unnecessary tragedies of broken families."

As in the previous platform, the party continues to call for a fairly open immigration policy while safeguarding against the entry of subversive elements.

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1960

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

"The protection provided by due process, right of appeal, and statutes of limitation, can be extended to non-citizens without hampering the security of our nation."

In a mock letter to the rulers of the "Communist World," the platform states: "We recognize this contest as one between two radically different approaches to the meaning of life - our open society which places its highest value upon individual dignity, and your closed society in which the rights of men are sacrificed to the state."

In another location: "When group interests conflict with the national interest, it will be the national interest which we will serve."

There is not enough relevant detail here to support coding this variable.

[changed from +0 on 5/11/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

-1

"We believe, moreover, that except in periods of recession or national emergency, these needs can be met with a balanced budget, with no increase in present tax rates, and with some surplus for the gradual reduction of our national debt.

...(W)e shall collect the billions in taxes which are owed to the Federal Government but not now collected.

...We will add enforcement personnel, and develop new techniques of enforcement, to collect tax revenue which is now being lost through evasion.

...We shall close the loopholes in the tax laws which certain privileged groups legally escape their fair share of taxation.

...Tax reform can raise additional revenue and at the same time increase legitimate incentives for growth, and make it possible to ease the burden on the general taxpayer who now pays an unfair share of taxes because of special favors to the few.

...If, therefore, the unfolding demands of the new decade at

home or abroad shall impose clear national responsibilities that cannot be fulfilled without higher taxes, we will not allow political disadvantage to deter us from doing what is required."

Though favoring increasing revenues through better enforcement and closing of tax loopholes, this platform states that the party reserves the right to impose higher taxes if need be. This is a change from the previous position of advocating the lightening of tax burden, specifically for the lower income groups.

H02B: Total Taxes

-1

See quotes and comments for variable H02.

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"Industries and communities affected by foreign trade need and deserve appropriate help through trade adjustment measures such as direct loans, tax incentives, defense contracts priority, and retraining assistance.

...General economic measures will not alone solve the problems of localities which suffer some special disadvantage. To bring prosperity to these depressed areas and to enable them to make their full contribution to the national welfare, special directed action is needed.

...To make possible the building of two million homes a year in wholesome neighborhoods, the home building industry should be aided by special mortgage assistance, with low interest rates, long-term mortgage periods and reduced down payments. Where necessary, direct Government loans should be provided.

...We will recognize the special role of our Federal government in support of basic and applied research."

The platform continues to favor a broad array of governmental programs and participation in various sectors.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 11 points.

[changed from 11 to 10 issues, and code changed from -5 on 5/11/97]

H04: Social Services

"[We shall seek] ...to assure migrant labor, perhaps the most underprivileged of all, of a comprehensive program to bring them not only decent wages but also adequate standards of health, housing, Social Security protection, education and welfare services.

...We will use the food stamp program authorized to feed needy children, the aged and unemployed. We will expand and improve school lunch and milk programs.

...We shall provide medical care benefits for the aged as part of the time-tested Social Security insurance system. We reject any proposal which would require such citizens to submit to the indignity of a means test - a 'pauper's oath'.

...We shall provide decent and suitable housing which older persons can afford. Specifically, we shall move ahead with the program of direct Government loans for housing for older people initiated in the Housing Act of 1959, a program which the Republican Administration has sought to kill.

...Persons in need who are inadequately protected by social insurance are cared for by the states and local communities under public assistance programs.

The Federal government which now shares these costs of aid to some of these, should share in all, and benefits should be made available without regard to residence.

...The Child Welfare Program and other services already established under the Social Security Act should be expanded."

This platform no longer mentions child care, as was the case in 1956, but does add medical care and housing for the elderly.

H05: Health Care

"We will step up medical research on the major killers and crippling diseases - cancer, heart diseases, arthritis, mental illness. Expenditures for these purposes should be limited only by the availability of personnel and promising lines of research. Today such illness cost us \$35 billion annually, much of which could be avoided. Federal appropriations for medical research are barely 1% of this amount.

...We will expand and improve the Hill-Burton hospital construction program.

...To ease the growing shortage of doctors and other medical personnel we propose Federal aid for constructing, expanding and modernizing schools of medicine, dentistry, nursing and public health.

...Mental patients fill more than half the Hospital beds in the country today. We will provide greatly increased Federal support for psychiatric research and training, and community mental health programs, to help bring back thousands of our hospitalized mentally ill to full and useful lives in the community."

This may go a bit beyond the promises made in 1952, but not enough to justify a change of code.

H06: Environmental Protection

-1

"Federal action is needed in planning, coordinating and helping to finance pollution control. The states and local communities cannot go it alone.

...The new Democratic Administration will work to improve and extend recreation opportunities on national parks and monuments, forest, and river development projects, and near metropolitan areas."

The platform continues to advocate a limited role for government.

H07: Education

-4

"So have states and local communities. Education absorbs two-fifths of all their revenue. With limited resources, private educational institutions have shouldered their share of the burden.

Only the Federal Government is not doing its part.

...We believe that America can meet its educational obligations only with generous Federal financial support, within the traditional framework of local control. The assistance will take the form of Federal grants to states for educational purposes they deem most pressing, including classroom construction and teachers' salaries. It will include aid to the construction of academic facilities as well as dormitories at colleges and universities."

The platform, while recognizing a role for private education, continues to emphasize the substantial role of the government.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-4

"This disastrous downward cycle can be stopped only by effective farm programs sympathetically administered with the assistance of democratically elected farmer committees.

...Measures to this end include production and marketing quotas measured in terms of barrels, bushels and bales, loans on basic commodities at not less than 90% of parity, production payments, commodity purchases, and marketing orders and agreements.

...To protect farmers' incomes in times of natural disaster, the Federal Crop Insurance Program, created and developed experimentally under Democratic Administrations, should be

invigorated and expanded nationwide.

...we will expand and liberalize farm credit facilities, especially to meet the needs of family-farm agriculture and to assist beginning farmers.

...The new Democratic Administration will begin at once to eradicate long-neglected rural blight. We will help people help themselves with extended and supervised credit for farm improvement, local industrial development, improved vocational training and other assistance to those wishing to change to non-farm employment, and with the fullest development of commercial and recreational possibilities. This is one of the major objectives of the area redevelopment program, twice vetoed by the Republican President."

While still calling for governmental programs to support agriculture, this platform is calling for loans rather than direct purchases and price support as in the previous platform. Furthermore, this is the first mention of statements like "help people to help themselves" which basically softens the stance as compared to earlier platforms.

H09: Cultural Supports

-1

"The arts flourish where there is freedom and where individual initiatives and imagination are encouraged. We enjoy the blessings of such an atmosphere.

The nation should begin to evaluate the possibilities for encouraging and expanding participation in and appreciation of our cultural life.

We propose a Federal advisory agency to assist in the evaluation, development, and expansion of cultural resources of the United States. We shall support legislation needed to provide incentives for those endowed with extraordinary talent, as a worthy supplement to existing scholarship programs."

The platform advocates providing incentives to those with "extraordinary talents." While it does not specifically advocate direct subsidies, neither does it specifically oppose subsidies. Furthermore, it seems to advocate continuation of scholarship programs. Though this might more appropriately be coded "-.5," that code doesn't exist, so we opt for -1 as an indication that there has been a significant change from the previous program.

H10: Defense Spending

+1

"The New Democratic Administration will recast our military capacity in order to provide forces and weapons of a diversity, balance, and mobility sufficient in quantity and quality to deter both limited and general aggression.

...This is the strength that must be erected;

1. Deterrent military power such that the Soviet and Chinese leaders will have no doubt that an attack on the United States would surely be followed by their own destruction.

2. Balanced conventional military forces which will permit a response graded to the intensity of any threats of aggressive forces.

3. Continuous modernization of these forces through intensified research and development, including essential programs now slowed down, terminated, suspended, or neglected for lack of budgetary support.

...The New Democratic Administration will review our system of pacts and alliances. ...we shall also seek to shift the emphasis of our cooperation from military aid to economic development, wherever this is possible.

...More than \$100 billion of the world's production now goes each year into armaments. To the extent that we can secure the adoption of effective arms control agreements, vast resources will be freed for peaceful use.

The new Democratic Administration will plan an orderly shift of our expenditures. Long delayed reductions in excise, corporation, and individual income taxes will then be possible. We can also step up the pace in meeting our backlog of public needs and in pursuing the promise of atomic and space science in a peaceful age.

As world-wide disarmament proceeds, it will free vast resources for a new international attack on the problem of world poverty."

The platform generally advocates a strong and well-supported military. Nonetheless, it also calls for some expenditure shifts in the defense budget in order to tackle other pressing issues. This platform is clearly weaker than the previous platform because of the "reduction" language.

H11: Foreign Aid

-4

"...the new Democratic Administration will revamp and focus the objectives, emphasis and allocation of our foreign assistance programs.

The proper purpose of these programs is not to buy gratitude or to recruit mercenaries, but to enable the peoples of these awakening, developing nations to make their own free choices .

...The Democratic Administration will recognize that assistance to these countries is not an emergency or short-term matter. Through the Development Loan Fund and otherwise, we shall seek to assure continuity in our aid program for periods of at least five years, in order to permit more effective allocation on or part and better planning by the governments of the countries receiving aid.

...The Democratic Administration will take steps to recruit

and organize effectively the best business talent in America for foreign economic development.

We urge continued assistance to Israel and the Arab peoples to help them raise their living standards.

...We shall propose the bolder and more effective use of the specialized agencies to promote the world's economic and social development."

Though advocating revamping and refocusing effort, there is no indication that the party wishes to reduce the overall level of aid. We feel a continuation of the same code as in 1956 is appropriate.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"The Democratic Party believes that state and local governments are strengthened - not weakened - by financial assistance from the Federal Government. We will extend such aid without impairing local administration through unnecessary Federal interference or red tape."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

-1

"Free competitive enterprise is the most creative and productive form of economic order that the world has seen. The recent slow pace of American growth is due not to the failure of our free economy but to the failure of our national leadership.

...The \$15 billion national investment in atomic energy should be protected as part of the public domain.

...A program must be undertaken to establish the Post Office Department as a model of efficiency and service."

A continuation of -1 seems appropriate.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"We pledge further improvements in the wage, hour and coverage standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act so as to extend its

benefits to all workers employed in industries engaged in or affecting interstate commerce and to raise its standards to keep up with our general economic progress and needs.

...The new Democratic Administration will act to make our free economy really free - free from the oppression of monopolistic power, and free from the suffocating impact of high interest rates. We will help create an economy in which small businesses can take root, grow, and flourish.

...We Democrats pledge:

Protection of the public against the growth of monopoly.

We pledge vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws.

We favor strengthening the Robinson-Patman Act to protect small business against price discrimination."

The platform continues the same general tone and content of the 1956 platform.

H16: Minority Rights

-4

"The time has come to assure equal access for all Americans to all areas of community life, including voting booths, schoolrooms, jobs, housing and public facilities.

...We believe that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision should submit a plan providing for at least first-step compliance by 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

...For this and for the protection of all other Constitutional rights of all Americans, the Attorney General should be empowered and directed to file civil injunction suits in Federal courts to prevent the denial of any civil right on grounds of race, creed, or color."

The platform espouses a more aggressive role for the government, specifically in its call for special powers for the Attorney General with regard to civil rights matters.

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H18: Immigration

-4

"We shall adjust our immigration, nationality and refugee policies to eliminate discrimination and to enable members of scattered families abroad to be united with relatives already in

our midst.

...The revision of immigration and nationality laws will seek to implement our belief that enlightened immigration, naturalization and refugee policies and humane administration of them are important aspects of our foreign policy.

These laws will bring greater skill to our land, reunite families, permit the United States to meet its fair share of world programs of rescue and rehabilitation, and take advantage of immigration as an important factor in the growth of the American economy.

In this World Refugee Year it is our hope to achieve admission of our fair share of refugees.

...We commend the Democratic Congress for the initial steps that have recently been taken toward liberalizing changes in immigration laws. However, this should not be a piecemeal project and we are confident that a Democratic President will again implant a humanitarian and liberal spirit in our nation's immigration and citizenship policies."

The platform calls for admitting "our fair share" of refugees and for elimination of discrimination. The change in score is a reflection of actually calling for an increase in immigration, although it is couched in terms of the "fair share."

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1964

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H02 Personal Taxes

98

"The Revenue Act of 1964 cut individual income taxes by more than \$9 billion, increasing consumer purchasing power by that amount; and corporate taxes were cut another \$2.5 billion, with the effect of increasing investment incentives. Overall individual Federal income taxes were cut an average of 19 percent; taxpayers earning \$3,000 or less received an average 40 percent cut."

The platform is simply a statement of fact and does not advocate any specific position on the issue.

[changed from +0 on 5/13/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

+1

"The provision in the Revenue Act of 1962 for a credit for new investment in machinery and equipment, and the liberalization of depreciation allowance by administrative ruling, resulted in a reduction of \$2.5 billion in business taxes.

Through the liberalizing amendments to the Small Business Investment Act in 1961 and 1964, and special tax considerations, the investment of equity capital and long term loan funds in small business has been greatly accelerated by privately owned and operated small business investment companies licensed under that Act. Moreover, since January 1961, over 21,000 small businesses have obtained SBA business loans totalling over \$1.14 billion, as a result of liberalized and simplified procedures".

In a section on "The Economy," where the focus is on the "free enterprise system," the platform says: "We will seek further tax

reduction - and in the process we need to remove inequities in our present tax laws. In particular we should carefully review all our excise taxes and eliminate those that are obsolete."

In a clear change from the 1960 platform, the party is advocating not an increase in revenues, but rather a reduction in taxes -- especially excise taxes. Though we do not read this as applying to "personal taxes," it clearly applies to some forms of "other taxes." Given our assumption of the status quo being a "moderate" level of taxation, a call for reduction from the current level would seemingly justify a code of +1.

[changed from +0 on 5/13/97]

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"We will continue the rapid development of space technology for peaceful uses. We will encourage private industry to increase its effort in space research.

...We will:

Carry the War on Poverty forward as a total war against the causes of human want.

Move forward with programs that restore those areas, such as Appalachia, which the nation's progress has by-passed.

Help the physically handicapped and mentally disadvantaged to develop the full limit of their capabilities...

...We will continue to assist broad community and regional development, urban renewal, mass transit, open space and other programs for our metropolitan areas. We will offer such aid without impairing local Administration through unnecessary Federal interference".

The platform continues to advocate broad and extensive governmental involvement in various programs, but not necessarily ownership of most of the means of production. This platform has also called for encouraging private sector participation.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-5

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 11 points, which converts to a score of -5.

H04: Social Services

-4

"Persons in need who are inadequately protected by social insurance are cared for by the states and local communities under

public assistance programs. The Federal Government, which now shares the cost of aid to some of these, should share in all, and benefits should be made available without regard to residence.

The Child Welfare Program and other services already established under the Social Security Act should be expanded. Federal leadership is required in the nationwide campaign to prevent and control juvenile delinquency."

The platform also includes references to retraining of the un- or under-employed, employment of the mentally handicapped, , low rent public housing, and "medical assistance" already being provided for the elderly.

The platform continues to call for a substantial role for the government in providing social services. In this particular platform, it calls for the government to "share in all" of the cost of the public assistance programs.

H05: Health Care

-1

"We will continue to fight until we have succeeded in including hospital care for older Americans in the Social Security program, and have insured adequate assistance to those elderly people suffering from mental illness and mental retardation.

We will further expand our health facilities, especially medical schools, hospitals, and research laboratories.

First-rate hospital and medical care must be provided veterans with service-connected injuries and disabilities, and their compensation rates must insure an adequate standard of living. The National Service Life Insurance program should be reopened to those who have lost their insurance coverage, and an equitable and just pension system must help meet the needs of those disabled veterans and their survivors who require financial assistance."

The platform advocates a limited role of government in the provision of health care which is focused upon specific groups, e.g. retirees and veterans.

H06: Environmental Protection

-2

"Continue the quickened pace of comprehensive development of river basins in every section of the country, employing multi-purpose projects such as flood control, irrigation and reclamation, power generation, navigation, municipal water supply, fish and wildlife enhancement and recreation, where appropriate to realize the fullest possible benefits.

...289 new small upstream watershed projects were authorized.

...During [President Johnson's] Administration two historic conservation measures were enacted. These were: The Wilderness Bill and the Land and Water Conservation Fund Bill which will

together do more to help conserve outdoor America than any legislation passed in a generation. A Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was created".

The party's platform includes some additional policy areas that are not in the 1960 platform. Furthermore, several conservation programs are being implemented. However, there is not sufficient direct governmental involvement to justify a -3 code.

H07: Education

-4

"Regardless of family financial status, therefore, education should be open to every boy or girl in America up to the highest level which he or she is able to master.

...We believe that America can meet its educational obligations only with generous federal financial support, within the traditional framework of local control. The assistance will take the form of federal grants to states for educational purposes they deem most pressing, including classroom construction and teachers' salaries. It will include aid for the construction of academic facilities as well as dormitories at colleges and universities."

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"...(W)e will continue to carry forward this three-dimensional program.

1. Commodity Programs to strengthen the farm income structure and reach the goal of parity of income in every aspect of American agriculture.

2. Consumer Programs including expansion of the Food Stamp Program and the school lunch and other surplus food program, and acceleration of research into new industrial uses of farm products, in order to assure maximum use of and abundance of wholesome foods at fair prices here and abroad.

3. Community Programs and agricultural cooperatives to assure rural America decent housing.

...Credit resources administered by the Farmers Home Administration are up 141 percent over 1960, and we are averaging now \$687 million a year.

Commodity program to strengthen the farm income structure and reach the goal of parity if income in every aspect of American agriculture".

This platform is not as specific as prior platforms and the programs advocated seem to be of smaller scale.

H09: Cultural Supports

"We will encourage further support for the arts, giving people a better chance to use increased leisure and recognizing that the achievements of art are an index of the greatness of a civilization.

...President Kennedy early created an advisory commission to assist in the growth and development of the arts, and the Administration secured amendments to the Educational and Cultural Exchange Act to improve the quality and effectiveness of the international educational and cultural exchange program. This past year, the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts was established to stimulate widespread interest in the arts."

H10: Defense Spending

+1

"...We must, and we will, maintain our military strength.
...we must and we will: Continue the overwhelming supremacy of our Strategic Nuclear Forces.

...Since 1961 we have -

Increased funds for research and development by 50% over the 1957-60 level.

Added 208 major new research and development projects, including 77 weapons programs with costs exceeding \$10 million each...

...In constructing the nation's defense establishment, the Administration has insisted that the services be guided by these three precepts:

Buy only what we need.

Buy only at the lowest and sound prices.

Reduce operating costs through standardization, consolidation, and termination of unnecessary operations.

As a result, our expanded and reconstituted defense force has cost billions of dollars less than it would have cost under previous inefficient and unbusinesslike methods of procurement and operations. These savings amounted to more than \$1 billion in the fiscal year 1963, and to \$2.5 billion in the fiscal year just completed. Furthermore, under the cost reduction program we have established, we will be saving \$4.6 billion each year, every year, by fiscal year 1968.

...To the extent we can secure the adoption of effective arms control agreements, vast resources will be freed for peaceful, use."

The platform continues its call for expenditure shifts and the "buy only what we need" concept. While language of the platform emphasizes the cost-saving measures, it does not really call for a reduction in the defense budget at this time. Either a +0 or a +1 would seem appropriate here, and we opted for continuing the +1 from the previous program, given that much of the language and tone is similar.

H11: Foreign Aid

-3

"In 1961, the administration created the Agency for International Development, combining the three separate agencies that had handled foreign assistance activities into an orderly and efficient instrument of national policy.

Since 1961, foreign aid has been conducted on a spartan, cost conscious basis, with emphasis on self-help, reform and performance as conditions of American help.

...The foreign aid appropriation of \$3.5 billion for fiscal year 1965 represents the smallest burden on U.S. resources that has been proposed since Foreign Aid began after World War II."

Though the tone is one of pride in having contained the portion of the budget going to foreign aid, there is no talk here of significantly cutting back on what was a moderately sized program of foreign aid. The shift from the 1960 code of -4 is an indication that the party is less positive and more "budget conscious" in its approach to foreign aid.

H12: Rehabilitation of Law Breakers

98

"The Department of Justice has cracked down effectively on organized crime under new antiracketeering statutes, has uncovered and prosecuted important foreign spies, and has made progress toward more effective procedures for protecting the rights of poor defendants to bail and counsel."

This statement is not sufficient to support coding the variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"The federal government exists not to subordinate the states, but to support them.

...The Democratic Party holds to the belief that government in the United States - local, state and federal - was created in order to serve the people. Each level of government has appropriate powers and each has specific responsibilities."

As previously, the platform addresses the need to protect some independence and roles for the lower levels of government, but does not clearly suggest that the powers of the levels should be equal nor even greater at the lower levels. Instead, the context of these statements -- a platform that provides for many extensive federal programs -- seems to justify continuing the code of -1.

[changed from +0 on 5/13/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+0

"We will stimulate as well as protect small business, the seed bed of free enterprise and a major source of employment in our economy.

...It is the national purpose, and our commitment to increase the freedom and effectiveness of the essential private forces and processes in the economy. Our present prosperity was brought about by the enterprise of American business, the skill of the American work force, and by wise public policies."

The platform seems to advocate more regulation (see also H15) rather than more public ownership of businesses and industries, though there is mention (and apparently passive acceptance) in other passages of federal direct involvement in power production and federal development of an oceanography exploration fleet. The general tone here seems a bit less positive toward state ownership than in 1960 (i.e., no mention now of Postal Service; less enthusiastic about federal power projects), but is certainly not anti-public enterprise to the degree of calling for reductions. Hence, a "truly neutral" score of +0 seems appropriate here.

[changed from +1 on 5/13/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"The Antitrust laws must be vigorously enforced.

...In order to protect the hard earned dollars of American consumers, as well as promote their basic consumer rights, we will make full use of existing authority, and continue to promote efforts on behalf of consumers by industry, voluntary organizations, and state and local governments. Where protection is essential, we will enact legislation to protect the safety of consumers and to provide them with essential information. We will continue to insist that our drugs and medicines are safe and effective, that our food and cosmetics are free from harm, that merchandise is labeled and packaged honestly and that the true cost of credit is disclosed.

...The Federal Trade Commission has stepped up its activities to promote free and fair competition in business, and to safeguard the consuming public against both monopolistic and deceptive practices."

The platform language is as strong as previous platforms.

H16: Minority Rights

"The Civil Rights Act of 1964 deserves and requires full observance by every American and fair, effective enforcement if there is any default.

...We reaffirm our belief that lawless disregard for the rights of others is wrong - whether used to deny equal rights or to obtain equal rights.

...We have been equally firm in opposing any policy of quotas or 'discrimination in reverse' and all other arbitrary or irrelevant distinctions in American life."

The platform calls for enforcement of the Civil Rights Act but at the same time warns against a policy of official quotas. Hence, we see this as a slight softening of the position taken in the previous platform.

H17: Women's Rights

"We reaffirm our belief that lawless disregard for the rights of others is wrong-whether used to deny equal rights or to obtain equal rights.

...We will support legislation to carry forward the progress already made toward full equality of opportunity for women as well as men.

...Ending discrimination based on race, age, sex, or national origin demands not only equal opportunity but the opportunity to be equal. We are concerned not only with people's right to be free, but also with their ability to use their freedom."

H18: Open Immigration

"The immigration laws must be revised to permit families to be reunited, to welcome the prosecuted and oppressed, and to eliminate the discriminatory provisions which base admission upon national admission.

...The immigration law amendments proposed by the Administration, and now before Congress, by abolishing the national-origin quota system, will eliminate discrimination based upon race and place of birth and will facilitate the reunion of families."

The platform continues to call for rather open immigration policies.

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1968

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedom

98

"We deplore all too frequent exploration of violence as entertainment on all media." This statement is obviously insufficient to justify a code for this variable.

[changed from +0 on 5/13/97]

H02: Income/Personal Taxes

+0

"We support a proposal for a minimum income tax for persons of high income based on an individual's total income regardless of source in order that wealthy persons will be required to make some kind of income tax contribution, no matter how many tax shelters they use to protect their incomes. We also support a reduction of the tax burden on the poor by lowering the income tax rates at the bottom of the tax scale and increasing the minimum standard deduction. No person or family below the poverty level should be required to pay federal income tax.

...The financial burden of education continues to grow as enrollments spiral and costs increase. The homeowner's property tax burden must be eased by increased levels of financial aid by both states and the Federal government."

This seems to suggest that the party favors a redistribution of the tax burden, with the richer paying more than is currently the case and the poorer paying less. There is no indication that the overall or "average" tax rate would be affected. Hence, we adopt the "neutral" position.

[changed from +1 on 5/13/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

+0

"Taxes were lowered in 1962, 1964, and 1965 to encourage more

private spending and reach full employment; they were raised in 1966 and 1968 to help prevent inflation, but with a net reduction in the eight Democratic years. We will continue to use tax policy to maintain steady economic growth by helping through tax reduction to stimulate the economy when it is sluggish and through temporary tax increases to restrain inflation. To promote this objective, methods must be devised to permit prompt, temporary changes in tax rates within prescribed limits with full participation of the Congress in the decisions.

The goals of our national tax policy must be to distribute the burden of government equitably among our citizens and to promote economic efficiency and stability. We have placed major reliance on progressive taxes, which are based on democratic principles of ability to pay. We pledge ourselves to continue to rely on such taxes, and to continue to improve the way they are levied and collected so that every American contributes to government in proportion to his ability to pay."

The party takes no position on whether the general level of taxation should be raised or lowered as a matter of principle, though it expresses support for using the raising and lowering of taxes as a device for economic management.

As with personal taxes, a "truly neutral" score seems appropriate.

[change from +1 on 5/13/97]

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"We were the first to see that millions of Americans would never share in America's abundance unless the people as a whole, through their government, acted to supplement what the free enterprise could do.

...For those who cannot obtain other employment, the federal government will be the employer of last resort, either through federal assistance to state and local projects or through federally sponsored projects.

...Every American family whose income is not sufficient to enable its members to live in decency should receive assistance free of the indignities and uncertainties that still too often mar our present programs."

This platform continues to advocate extensive government programs but does not call for government ownership of most means of production.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 9 of the 11 relevant issue variables,

for a total of 8 points.

[changes on 5/13/97: from 11 issues for 10 points = code of -4]

H04: Social Services

-4

"For those who cannot obtain other employment, the federal government will be the employer of last resort, either through federal assistance to state and local projects or through federally sponsored projects.

...Benefits, especially minimum benefits, under Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance should be raised to overcome present inadequacies and thereafter should be adjusted automatically to reflect increases in living costs.

Medical care for the aged should be expanded to include the cost of prescription drugs.

...Every American family whose income is not sufficient to enable its members to live in decency should receive assistance free of the indignities and uncertainties that still too often mar our present programs.

...Assistance payments should not only be brought to adequate levels but they should be kept adequate by providing automatic adjustment to reflect increases in living costs.

...The time has come when we should make a national commitment that no American should have to go hungry or undernourished. The Democratic Party here and now does make that commitment. We will move rapidly to implement it through continued improvement and expansion of our food program."

Similar to earlier platforms, the social services program included in this platform continues to call for expansion of these services and the provision of these services by the government. This is the first platform to call for public jobs as last resort. However, since public employment is not strictly a "social service program," we do not feel comfortable in changing the code to a -5 on that basis alone.

[changed from -5 on 5/13/97]

H05: Health Care

-1

"Medical care for the aged should be expanded to include the cost of prescription drugs.

...We must build new medical, dental and medical service schools, and increase the capacity of existing ones, to train more doctors, dentists, nurses, and medical technicians.

Medical care should be extended to disabled beneficiaries under the Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance Act to the

same extent and under the same system that such care is available to the aged.

...Maternal and child health centers, located and designed to serve the needs of the poor, and voluntary family planning information centers should be established throughout the country. Medical programs administered by the states should have uniform standards so that no mother or child is denied necessary health services. Finally, we urge consideration of a program comparable to Medicare to finance pre-natal care for mothers and post-natal care for children during the first year of life.

...Sustain and upgrade veteran medical services and expand medical training in VA hospital."

The scope of federal government involvement in health care is expanded in this platform (as compared to 1964), but not so as to justify a change of score from -1.

H06: Environmental Protection

-2

"We must assure the availability of a decent environment for living, working, and relaxation. To this end, we pledge our efforts:

To accelerate programs for the enhancement of the quality of the nation's waters...;

To extend the national emission control program to all moving sources of air pollution;...

To continue to work toward strong measures for the reclamation of mined and depleted lands and the conservation of soil...

...To purify the air we breathe and the water we drink, Democrats led the way to the enactment of landmark anti-pollution legislation."

Clearly, the government would be involved directly in some of these programs. A code of -2 seems justified.

H07: Education

-4

"We will assure equal opportunity to education and equal access to high-quality education. Our aim is to maintain state-local control over the nation's educational system, with federal financial assistance and help in stimulating changes through demonstration and technical assistance.

...Every citizen has a basic right to as much education and training as he desires and can master - from preschool through graduate studies - even if his family cannot pay for this education.

...We will marshal our national resources to help develop and finance new and effective methods of dealing with the educationally disadvantaged.

...We will fully fund Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which provides federal funds for improving education in schools serving large numbers of students from low income families.

...Our rapidly expanding educational frontiers require a redoubling of efforts to ensure the vitality of a diverse higher education system - public and private, large and small, community and junior colleges, vocational and technical schools, and great universities."

Though mention is made of private education, there is nothing to suggest that the party wants to reduce the government's dominant role in education.

H08: Agricultural Support

-3

"A strong agriculture requires fair income to farmers for an expanding output. Family farmers must be protected from the squeeze between rising production cost and low prices for their products. Farm income should grow with productivity just as industrial wages rise with productivity. At the same time market prices should continue to reflect supply and demand conditions and American farm products should continue to compete effectively in world markets.

...To these ends, we shall:

Take positive action to raise farm income to full parity level in order to preserve the efficient, full-time family farm. This can be done through present farm programs when these programs are properly funded, but these programs will be constantly scrutinized with a view to improvement.

...In expanding our trade, we shall strive to ensure that farmers get adequate compensation for their production going into export.

...Support private or public credit of reasonable terms to young farmers to enable them to purchase farms on long term, low interest loans.

...Support a thorough study of the effect of unlimited payments to farmers. If necessary, we suggest graduated open-end limitations of payments to extremely large corporate farms that participate in government programs."

The platform is not as specific as earlier platforms that call for price supports and subsidies, although it contains vague statements about full price parity and protection of farmers against rising production costs.

H09: Cultural Supports

-1

"We will encourage support for the arts and the humanities,

through the national foundations established by a Democratic Congress, to provide incentives for those endowed with extraordinary talents, enhance the quality of our life, and make productive leisure available to all our people. We recommend greater stress on the arts and humanities in elementary and secondary curricula to ensure a proper educational balance."

H10: Defense Spending

+1

"We must and will maintain a strong and balanced defense establishment adequate to the task of security and peace. There must be no doubt about our strategic nuclear capability, our capacity to meet limited challenges, and our willingness to act when our vital interests are threatened.

To this end, we pledge a vigorous research and development effort. We will also continue to pursue the highly successful efforts initiated by Democratic administrations to save tax dollars by eliminating waste and duplication."

The platform continues its concern in saving tax dollars from defense expenditures while at the same time stressing the importance of maintaining a credible national defense.

H11: Foreign Aid

-2

"For the future, we will make it clear that U.S. military and economic assistance in Asia will be selective. In addition to considerations of our vital interests and our resources, we will take into account the determination of the nations that request our help to help themselves and their willingness to help each other through regional and multilateral cooperation.

...We support strengthened U.S. and U.N. development aid programs that are responsive to changing circumstance and based on the recognition, as president Johnson put it, that 'self-help is the lifeblood of economic development'. Grant aid and government loans for long-term projects are part of a larger transfer of resources between the developed and underdeveloped states, which includes international trade and private capital investment as important components."

While the program continues to advocate a role for government in foreign aid, it begins to call for a reassessment of aid programs and calls for weighing foreign aid vis-a-vis available resources. This platform recognizes that the government's role is only a part of a larger program that includes private capital investment. The programs are not minimal but the platform includes new language as in "self-help" and restrictions on aid.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+0

"Anyone who breaks the law must be held accountable.

...we will continue and increase federal financial support and financial assistance to the states and local governments to: ...Rehabilitate and supervise convicted offenders, to return offenders to useful, decent lives, and to protect the public against habitual criminals. We will prove anew that freedom is best secured by a government that is responsive and compassionate and committed to justice and the rule of law."

The platform also pledges assistance to support more efficient solving and adjudicating of crimes. Rehabilitation is clearly to be a significant part of the package for dealing with convicted offenders.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"Under the constitutional system of federalism, the primary responsibility for law enforcement rests with elected local officials and with governors, but the federal government can and should play a constructive role in support of state and local authorities.

...We recognize that citizen participation in government is most meaningful at the levels of government closest to the people. For that reason, we recognize the necessity of developing a true partnership between state, local, and Federal governments with each carrying its share of the financial and administrative load."

Though the platform clearly recognizes roles for all levels within the federal system, the tone is clearly one that assumes the federal government will maintain the larger role. It is reasonable to assume a 60/40 split.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98 [BTN: +1]

"In a series of Housing Acts beginning in 1961, Democrats have found ways to encourage private enterprise to provide modern, decent housing for low-income and moderate-income families.

...Small business plays a vital role in a dynamic, competitive economy; it helps maintain a strong social fabric in communities across the land; it builds concerned community leadership deriving from ownership of small enterprises; and it maintains the challenge and competition essential to a free enterprise system.

...We will assist private enterprise to double its volume of homebuilding, to an annual rate of 2.6 million units a year—a ten year total of 26 million units. This is the specific target of the

history-making Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968."

Though the above is remotely related to who owns the means of production, it is not sufficient to support a code on this variable.

[changed from +1 on 5/13/97; BTN added 5/22/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"Strictly enforce antitrust and trade practice laws to combat administered pricing, supply limitations and other restrictive practices.

...We shall take steps, including necessary legislation, to minimize the likelihood of massive electric power failures, to improve the safety of medical devices and drugs, to penalize deceptive sales practices, and to provide consumer access to product information now being compiled in the Federal Government. We will help the states to establish consumer fraud and information bureaus, and to update consumer credit laws."

The platform continues to reflect the concerns contained in earlier platforms but added some regulation to ensure consumer protection. The language of the platform is strong and continues to advocate a broad range of regulation.

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"The Democratic Party is pledged to develop programs that will enable members of minority groups to maintain the financial and technical management assistance needed to succeed in launching and operating new enterprises.

...Above all, we will work toward the greatest possible freedom of choice - the opportunity for every family, regardless of race, color, religion, or income, to choose home ownership or rental, high-rise or low-rise, cooperative or condominiums, detached or town house, and city, suburban or country living."

Citing the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the platform goes on to say: "We commit ourselves to implement its recommendations and to wipe out, once and for all, the stain of racial and other discrimination from our national life."

H17: Women's Rights

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this

variable.

H18: Open Immigration

-4

"A new Immigration Act removed the harsh injustice of the national origins quota system and opened our shores without discrimination to those who can contribute to the growth and strength of America".

Though this could be read as just a statement of fact, it is a statement concerning legislation which fulfilled promises made in the 1964 platform, and is presented here as a matter in which the party presumably takes pride. It is not a large leap to assume that the party remains committed to the same principles espoused in that earlier platform. Hence, continuation of the code of -4 seems justified.

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1972

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

Under "Rights, Power and Social Justice," the platform commits the party to fulfilling the "rights of free speech and free political expression, of freedom from official intimidation, harassment and invasion of privacy, as guaranteed by the letter and spirit of the Constitution" and the "right to be different, to maintain a cultural or ethnic heritage or lifestyle, without being forced into a compelled homogeneity."

"The epidemic of wiretapping and electronic surveillance ... must be ended. The rule of law and the supremacy of the constitution ... must be restored.

...We strongly object to secret computer data banks on individuals. Citizens should have access to their own files that are maintained by private commercial firms and the right to insert corrective material. Except in limited cases, the same should apply to government files.

...The Nixon policy of intimidation of the media and administration efforts to use government power to block access to media by dissenters must end, if free speech is to be preserved.

...Military discipline must be maintained, but unjustifiable restrictions on the constitutional rights of members of the armed

services must cease.

...Family planning services, including the education, comprehensive medical and social services necessary to permit individuals freely to determine and achieve the number and spacing of children, should be available to all, regardless of age, sex, marital status economic group or ethnic origin, and should be administered in a non-coercive and non-discriminatory manner."

The platform recognizes the importance of individual freedom and rights; however, it also recognizes that in very limited instances some individual rights may be transgressed, e.g. access to some government files.

H02: Personal Taxes

+0

Much of this platform's content regarding taxation deals with making the income tax system more fair, especially through progressive taxation.

"...Greater fairness in taxation at the federal level will have little meaning for the vast majority of American households if the burden of inequitable local taxation is not reduced.

...We fully support revenue sharing and the principle that the federal income tax should be used to raise more revenues for local use;

We pledge adequate federal funds to halt property tax increases and to begin to roll them back."

In addition, this platform argues that: "The most unjustified of the tax loopholes should... be closed immediately, without waiting for a review of the whole system."

The platform calls for federal involvement in bringing about a decrease in property tax, but at the same time also recognizes the importance of federal income tax in generating necessary revenue for the government. The platform continues to stress the importance of relieving the tax burden of the lower income groups while advocating a progressive tax scheme that will make the higher income groups pay more. Overall, the platform seems to be calling for maintaining the overall level of taxation.

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

+0

See quote and comments in H02.

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H03: Scope of Government

-4

"We must restructure the social, political and economical relationships throughout the entire society in order to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth and power."

This platform calls for government involvement in the restructuring of the entire society. Furthermore, active involvement of the government in an extensive range of programs, without mention of the role of the private sector, makes this platform warrant a more leftist score than was true for the previous one.

H03C:

-3

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 9 points, which converts to a score of -3.

H04: Social Services

-5

"[The next Democratic Administration should provide] Assurance that, whatever else is done in the income security area, the social security system provides a decent income for the elderly, the blind and the disabled and their dependents with escalators so that benefits keep pace with rising prices and living standards.

Millions of jobs - real jobs, not make-work - need to be provided. Public service employment must be greatly expanded in order to make the government employers of last resort and guarantee a job for all.

...[We call for] Full funding of legislation designed to meet the needs of children with special needs; The retarded, the physically and mentally handicapped, and those whose environment produces abuse and neglect and directs the child to anti-social conduct."

In general, most of the social service programs mentioned in previous platforms are covered this time as well. New to this platform, though, is the promise to "Establish a system of universal National Health Insurance which covers all Americans" (see H05). That, along with all of the other programs mentioned, seems now to justify being bumped to -5.

H05: Health Care

-2

"To achieve this goal the next Democratic Administration

should;

Establish a system of universal National Health Insurance which covers all Americans with a comprehensive set of benefits... The program should be federally-financed and federally administered.

Eventual replacement of all federal programs of health care by a comprehensive National Health Insurance System."

H06: Environmental Protection

-2

"We urge additional financial support to the United States Forest Service for planning and management consistent with the environmental ideal stated in this platform.

...The National Environmental Policy Act should be broadened to include major private as well as public projects, and a genuine commitment must be made to making the Act work.

...Where appropriate, taxes need to be levied on pollution, to provide industry with an incentive to clean up.

We also need to develop new public agencies that can act to abate pollution - act on a scale commensurate with the size of the problem and the technology of pollution control.

Expanded federal funding is required to assist local governments with both the capital and operating expenses of water pollution control and solid waste management."

H07: Education

-3

"The next Democratic Administration should:

Support equalization in spending among school districts. We support Court decisions holding unconstitutional the disparities in school expenditures produced by dependence on local property taxes. We pledge equality of spending as a way to improve schools and to assure equality of access to good education for all children;

Increase federal financial aid for elementary and secondary education to enhance achievement of quality education anywhere, and by fully funding the programs passed by the Congress and by fully funding ESEA Title I;

Set up efforts to meet the special needs and costs of educationally disadvantaged children handicapped by poverty, disability and non-English speaking family background;

Channel financial aid by a Constitutional formula to children in non-public schools.

The next Democratic Administration should:

Increase federal support for bilingual, bicultural educational programs, pre-school through secondary school, including funding of bilingual Adult Basic Education."

The platform calls for channeling "financial aid by a Constitutional formula to children in non-public schools;" nonetheless it continues to envision (and obviously supports) government's playing a substantial role in providing education (e.g., references to federal support of adult education, bilingual education, etc.). The specific inclusion of the aid for children in private schools seems a significant enough departure from earlier platforms to justify the change of code from -4.

[changed from -4 on 5/14/97]

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"We will replace the 1970 Farm Act, when it expires next year, with a permanent law to provide fair prices to family type farm and ranch operators. This law will include loans and payments to farmers and effective supply management to raise farm income to 100% of parity, based on the 1910-14 ratios.

We will resist a price ceiling on agricultural products until farm prices reach 110% of parity, based on the 1910-14 ratios, and we will conduct a consumer education program to inform all Americans of the relationship between the prices of raw commodities and retail prices.

...The Democratic Party will ensure that:

Prices for commodities sent abroad as exports or aid return the cost of production plus a profit for the American farmer;

We will negotiate international commodity agreements to include prices that guarantee prices to farmers based on cost of production plus a reasonable profit;

We will require U.S. corporations producing commodities outside the country for consumption here to pay duties high enough to prevent unfair competition for domestic producers."

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

"We should expand support to the arts and humanities by direct grants through the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities, whose policy should be to stimulate the widest variety of artistic and scholarly expression.

We should support long range financing for public broadcasting, insulated from political pressures."

This is by far the strongest support that the party has given thus far to public financing of the arts. The platform advocates direct grants to the arts and financing of public broadcasting.

[changed from -4 on 5/14/97]

H10: Defense Spending

-1

"Re-establish control over military activities and reduce military spending, where consistent with national security.

...But military defense cannot be treated in isolation from other vital national concerns. Unneeded dollars for the military at once add to the tax burden and pre-empt funds from programs of direct and immediate benefit to our people. Moreover, too much that is now spent on defense not only adds nothing to our strength but makes us less secure by stimulating other countries to respond.

...The Democratic Party pledges itself to maintain adequate military forces for deterrence and effective support of our international position. But we will also insist in the firm control of specific costs and projects that are essential to ensure that each defense dollar makes a real contribution to national security."

The platform specifically calls for a reduction in military spending and for consideration of defense spending in conjunction with other national concerns.

H11: Foreign Aid

-2

"The focus of America's concern with Africa must be on economic and social development. Economic aid to Africa, without political conditions, should be expanded, and African states assured an adequate share of the aid dollar. Military aid and aid given for military purposes should be sharply reduced.

...We should remain committed to U.S. support for economic and social development of countries in need. Old ways of providing aid must be revised - to reduce U.S. involvement in administration; to encourage other nations to contribute jointly with us. But funding must be adequate to help poor countries achieve accelerated rates of growth.

Specifically, the next Democratic Administration should support:

Provisions of more assistance through international organizations, along with measures to strengthen the development agencies of the U.N.;

A curtailment of military aid;

Improved access to the markets of industrial nations for the products of the developing countries."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+0

"We recognize drug addiction as a health problem and pledge

that emphasis will be put on rehabilitation of addicts.

...[The Democratic Party commits itself to] Revision and sentencing procedures and greater use of community-based rehabilitation facilities, especially for juveniles;

Recognition of the constitutional and human rights of prisoners; realistic therapeutic, vocational, wage-earning, education, alcoholism and drug treatment programs;

Making correctional personnel an integral part of the rehabilitative process;

Emergency, educational and work release furlough program as an available technique, support for self-help programs; and

Abolishing capital punishment, recognized as an ineffective deterrent to crime, unequally applied and cruel and excessive punishment."

Though there is clearly some emphasis placed on rehabilitation in this platform, it is just as clear that the party is not calling for eliminating punishment that is not "cruel" or "excessive."

[changed from -1 on 5/30/97]

H13: Centralization Power

-2

"The federal government must assist local communities to plan for their orderly growth and development, to improve conditions and opportunities for all their citizens and to build the public facilities they need.

...If the local government is to be responsive to citizen needs, public services and programs must efficiently be coordinated and evolved through comprehensive regional planning and decision-making.

...In aiding the reform of state and local government, the federal authority must insist that local decisions take into account the views and needs of all citizens, white and black, haves and have nots, young and old, Spanish and other non-English speaking, urban, suburban and rural.

...[In matters involving land and water usage for economic development, conflicts should be resolved so as to reflect the] federal government's particular responsibilities as custodian for the public."

Even though the party seems concerned with revitalizing local government, it appears that the federal government is to play a prominent role even in that process. There is nothing here to suggest that the party intends to reduce the federal government's position of dominance in the relationship. It is the federal government, after all, which is seen as insisting upon certain types of local government reform, and as the "custodian for the public" in matters involving use of natural resources.

[changed from -3 on 5/13/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98 [BTN code: +1]

"This nation achieved its economic greatness under a system of free enterprise, coupled with human effort and ingenuity, and thus it must remain. This will be the attitude and objective of the Party."

Given that the context of the above statement implies that it has more to do with economic management than with the issue of state vs. private ownership, we do not have sufficient information to code this variable.

[For analyses where a "best guesstimate" is considered better-than-nothing, the code of +1 might be substituted for the missing data code. We base this "best guess" on the fact that the most relevant information in the platform does suggest a strong commitment to the free enterprise system, which could be considered broad enough to encompass private ownership of at least most means of production. It should be emphasized that our confidence in this code is far less than normal for these data.]

[changed from +1 on 5/13/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"Full enforcement of all equal employment opportunity laws, including federal contract compliance and federally-regulated industries and giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission adequate staff and resources and power to issue cease and desist orders promptly.

...Step up anti-trust action to help competition, with particular regard to laws and enforcement curbing conglomerate mergers which swallow up small business and feed the power of corporate giants;

Strengthen the anti-trust laws so that the divestiture remedy will be used vigorously to break up large conglomerates found to violate the anti-trust laws;

...We pledge to fully and rigorously enforce the laws which protect the safety and health of workers on their jobs and to extend those laws to all jobs, regardless of number of employees. This must include standards that truly protect against all health hazards.

...The right to quality, safety and the lowest possible cost on goods and services purchased in the market place.

...We support legislation which will expand the ability of consumers to defend themselves."

H16: Minority Rights

"Full enforcement of all equal employment opportunity laws, including federal contract compliance and federally-regulated industries and giving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission adequate staff and resources and power to issue cease and desist orders promptly.

...vastly increase efforts to open education at all levels and in all fields to minorities, women, and underrepresented groups.

...rethink and reorder the institutions of this country so that everyone - women, blacks, Spanish-speaking, Puerto Ricans, Indians, the young and the old - can participate in the decision making process inherent in the democratic heritage to which we aspire.

...We oppose differential advancement, punishment assignment or any other treatment on the basis of race, and support affirmative action to end discrimination.

...Federal authority must insist that local decisions take into account the views and needs of all citizens, white and black, have and have-nots, young and old, Spanish and other non-English speaking, urban, suburban and rural."

The party strongly promotes protection of the rights of minorities with regard to equal opportunities. It favors affirmative action, which pushes the code from a -4 to at least a -4.5; rounding up, we give the code of -5.

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

"Provisions which discriminate against working women and single people should be corrected.

...Elimination of discrimination against women in public accommodation and public facilities, public education and in all federally-assisted programs and federally-contracted employment.

...Availability of maternity benefits to all working women; temporary disability benefits should cover pregnancy, childbirth, miscarriage and recovery.

...Appointment of women to positions of top responsibility in all branches of the federal government to achieve an equitable ratio of women and men.

...Develop affirmative programs in universities and colleges for recruitment of minorities and women for administration and teaching positions and as students...

Laws authorizing federal grants on a matching basis for financing State Commissions of the Status of Women."

The party also advocates action in many areas of concern not included in the statements above. In general, it is a very broad statement of concern -- including specific proposals for action -- for guaranteeing women's rights. Affirmative action, especially in the context of higher education, is advocated for the first time in

this platform. The latter is the main factor in our decision to bump the code to -5.

[changed from -4 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1976

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"We pledge effective and vigorous action to protect citizens' privacy from bureaucratic technological intrusions, such as wiretapping and bugging without judicial scrutiny and supervision; and a full and complete pardon of those who are in legal and financial jeopardy because of their peaceful opposition to the Vietnam war, with deserters to be considered on a case-by-case basis.

We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. constitution to overturn to Supreme Court decision in this area.

...Courts should give priority to crimes which are serious enough to deserve imprisonment. Law enforcement should emphasize the prosecution of crimes against persons and property as a higher priority than victimless crimes."

H02: Personal Taxes

-1

"Finally, tax policy should be used if necessary to maintain the real income of workers as was done with the 1975 tax cut.

...We pledge the Democratic Party to a complete overhaul of the present tax system, which will review all special tax provisions to assure that they are justified and distributed equitably among our citizens. A responsible Democratic tax reform program could save over \$5 billion in the first year with larger savings in the future.

We will strengthen the Internal Revenue tax code so that high income citizens pay a reasonable tax on all economic income.

We will reduce the use of unjustified tax shelters in such areas as oil and gas, tax loss farming, real estate, and movies.

...We will end abuses in the tax treatment of income from foreign sources.

...We will overhaul federal estate and gift taxes to provide an effective and equitable tax structure to promote tax justice and alleviate some of the legitimate problems faced by farmers, small

businessmen and women and others who would otherwise be forced to liquidate assets in order to pay tax.

...We will curb expense account deductions...

...There are other areas of taxation where change is also needed. The Ford administration's unwise and unfair proposal to raise the regressive social security tax gives new urgency to the Democratic Party's goal of redistributing the burden of the social security tax by raising the wage base for earnings subject to the tax with effective exemptions and deductions to ease the impact on low income workers and two-earner families."

Though there is a proposal here to reduce the social security burden for the lower income group, the more general thrust in this platform is to overhaul the tax system so as to raise more revenues, especially from the rich. Hence, a -1 seems justified.

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

-1

See quotes and comments in H02.

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"At times, direct government involvement in wages and price decisions may be required to ensure price stability. But we do not believe that such involvement requires a comprehensive system of mandatory controls at this time. It will require that business and labor must meet fair standards of wage and price change. A strong domestic council on price and wage stability should be established with particular attention to restraining price increase in those sectors of our economy where prices are 'administered' and where price competition does not exist.

The federal government should hold public hearings, investigate and publish facts on price, profit, wage and interest rate increase that seriously threaten national price stability. Such investigation and proper planning can focus public opinion and awareness on the direction of price, profit, wage and interest rate decisions.

...However, beyond these strong national initiatives state and local governments must be given an increased, permanent role in administering social programs. The federal government's role should be the constructive one of establishing standards and goals with increased state and local participation."

More generally, the platform calls for extensive involvement in numerous facets by the government, much of which is regulatory in

nature. The change in score reflects the dropping of the call for a total restructuring of social, political and economic relationships which appeared in the 1972 platform.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-3

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 9 points, which converts to a score of -3.

H04: Social Services

-5

"There are people who will be especially difficult to employ. Special means for training and locating jobs for these people in the private sector, and, to the extent required, in public employment, should be established. Every effort should be made to create jobs in the private sector. Clearly, useful public jobs are far superior to welfare and unemployment payments. The federal government has the responsibility to ensure that all Americans able, willing and seeking work are provided opportunities for useful jobs.

...We reiterate our support for full funding of neighborhood legal services for the poor.

...The Democratic Party has always emphasized that adequate income and health care for senior citizens are basic federal government responsibilities.

...We will not permit an erosion of social security benefits.

...We believe that Medicare should be made available to Americans abroad who are eligible for Social Security.

...Central to the success of that policy are the Democratic Party's commitment to full employment, incentives for urban and rural economic development, welfare reform, adequate health care, equalization of education expenditures, energy conservation and environmental quality."

Considering that there is also a call for "comprehensive national health insurance" (see H05), a -5 is justified under the coding scheme.

H05: Health Care

-2

"We need a comprehensive national health insurance system with universal mandatory coverage. Such a national health insurance system should be financed by a combination of employer-employee shared payroll taxes and general tax revenues.

...We must shift our emphasis in both private and public

health care away from hospitalization and acute-care services to preventive medicine and the early detection of the major cripplers and killers of the American people. We further support increased federal aid to the government laboratories as well as private institutions to seek the cure to heart disease, cancer, sickle cell anemia, paralysis from spinal cord injury, drug addiction. All levels of government must concern themselves with increasing the number of doctors and paramedical personnel in the field of primary health care."

The platform calls for a national health insurance system with both the government and the private sector having a role in the provision of health care.

H06: Environmental Protection

-2

"Cleaning up air and water supplies and controlling the proliferation of dangerous chemicals is a necessary part of a successful national health program.

...Those who would use the environment must assume the burden of demonstrating that it will not be abused. For too long this burden has been on government agencies, representing the public, to assess and hopefully correct the damage that has already been done.

...Federal environmental anti-pollution requirement programs should be as uniform as possible to eliminate economic discrimination. A vigorous program with national minimum environmental standards fully implemented, recognizing basic regional differences, will ensure that states and workers are not penalized by pursuing environmental programs."

It can be inferred from these statements that the party anticipates a continuing direct role for the government, while calling for an extensive regulatory effort as well.

H07: Education

-3

"We should also work to expand federal support in areas of educational need that have not yet been addressed sufficiently by the public schools.

The Party affirms its support for public school education. The Party also renews its commitment to the support of a constitutionally acceptable method of providing tax aid for the education of all pupils in non-segregated schools in order to ensure parental freedom in choosing the best education for their children."

Unlike the platforms through 1968, this platform continues (as in 1972) to call for a constitutional way to provide tax aid to

private schools, or at least to those attending such schools.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"...We must assure parity return to farmers based on cost of production plus a reasonable profit.

...Excess production beyond the needs of the people for food shall be converted to industrial purposes.

...Revitalize basic credit programs for farmers; provide adequate credit tailored to the needs of young farmers."

Though in fewer and less precise terms, this platform essentially continues what was promised in 1972.

[changed from -2 on 5/14/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

"We recognize the essential role played by the arts and humanities in the development of Americans. Our nation cannot afford to be materially rich and spiritually poor. We endorse a strong role for the federal government in reinforcing the vitality and improving the economic strength of the nations' artists and art institutions, while recognizing that the artists must be absolutely free from any government control. We would support the growth and development of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities through adequate funding, the development of special anti-recession employment programs for artists, copy rights reform to protect the rights of authors, artists and performers, and revision of the tax laws that unfairly penalize artists. We further pledge our support for the concept and adequate financing of public broadcasting."

[changed from -4 on 5/14/97]

H10: Defense Spending

-1

"We will ensure that human needs are not sacrificed to military spending, while maintaining the military forces we require for our security.

...By its undue emphasis on the size of the defense budget as the size of the primary measure of both our national resolve and the proficiency of our armed forces, the administration has forgotten that we are seeking not to outspend, but to be able to

deter, and if necessary outfight our potential adversaries. While we must spend whatever is legitimately needed for defense, cutbacks on duplication and waste are both feasible and essential...We must be tough-minded about the development of new weapons systems which add only marginal military value. The size of our military budget should not be dictated by bureaucratic imperatives or the needs of defense contractors but by our assessment of international realities."

This platform is very specific on its objective of reducing the defense burden but is very much in line with the 1972 platform.

[changed from -2 on 5/14/97]

H11: Foreign Aid

-2

"We pledge significant financial support to the International Fund for Agricultural Development; more effective food aid through further revision of the U.S. Food for Peace program; significant contributions to a multination world food reserve system, with appropriate safeguards for American farmers; and continuing efforts to promote American food exports.

...The United States should not provide aid to any government-anywhere in the world- which uses secret police, detention without charges, and torture to enforce its powers. Exceptions to this policy should be rare, and the aid provided should be limited to that which is absolutely necessary.

...We will work to see that the United States does its fair share in international development assistance efforts, including participation in the fifth replenishment of the World Bank's International Development Association. We will implement a foreign assistance policy which emphasizes utilization of multilateral and regional development institutions, and one that includes a review of aid programs, country by country, to reinforce those projects whose financial benefits go to the people most in need and which are consistent with overall United States foreign policy goals."

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"However, beyond these strong national initiatives state and local governments must be given an increased, permanent role in administering social programs. The federal government's role should be the constructive one of establishing standards and goals with increased and local participation.

...The Democratic Party also reaffirms the role of state and general purpose local governments as the principal governments in the orderly administration of federal aid and revenue sharing programs."

Some of the language that implied an even heavier-handed federal government in 1972 is absent in this platform. Hence, the reduction from a -2 to -1!

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"...efforts should be made to strengthen minority business programs, and increase minority opportunities for business ownership. We support similar programs, and opportunities for women. Federal contracts and procurement opportunities in such areas as housing, transportation and energy should support efforts to increase the volume of minority and small business involvement. Regulatory agencies and the regulated small business must work together to see that federal regulations are met, without applying a stranglehold on the small firm or farm and with less paperwork and red tape.

...The Democratic Party is committed to making the U.S. Postal Service function properly as an essential public service."

The Postal Service is the only governmentally owned means of production mentioned in the platform. It appears that the party is more concerned over a major role for government in regulating the private sector, rather than in expanding (or even diminishing) governmentally owned enterprises. In tone, this platform seems more similar to that of 1952 than of 1956 or 1960, and hence we give a code of +1.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

"The government must also work to improve the ability of our economy to respond to change. Competition in the private sector, a re-examination, reform and consolidation of the existing regulatory structure, and promotion of a freer but fair system of international trade will aid in achieving that goal.

...The next Democratic administration will commit itself to move vigorously against anti-competitive concentration of power within the business sector. This can be accomplished in part by

strengthening the anti-trust laws and insuring adequate commitment and resource for encouraging the development of small business, including the family farm.

...The Democratic Party believes that competition is preferable to regulation and that government has a responsibility to seek the removal of unreasonable restraints and barriers to competition, to restore and, where necessary, stimulate the operation of market forces. Unnecessary regulation should be eliminated or revised, and the burden of excessive paperwork and red tape imposed on citizens and businesses should be removed.

...However, government must not shirk its responsibility to impose and rigorously enforce regulations where necessary to ensure health, safety and fairness. We reiterate our support for unflinching antitrust enforcement, and for the selection of an Attorney General free of political obligations and committed to rigorous antitrust prosecution."

This platform is weaker than the previous platforms in its support of regulation since it favors some regulations while opposing others.

H16: Minority Rights

-5

"Accordingly, we affirm this party's commitment to full and vigorous enforcement of all equal opportunities laws and affirmative action.

...At all levels of government services, we will recruit appoint and promote women and minorities.

...We call for compliance for civil rights requirements in hiring and promotion in school systems."

Overall, the party's position remains the same as in the previous platform.

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"...efforts should be made to strengthen minority business programs, and increase minority opportunities for business ownership. We support similar programs and opportunities for women.

...At all levels of government services, we will recruit, appoint and promote women and minorities." There is also mention of guaranteeing women equal access to mortgage credit.

Though in many respects the party's position remains similar to that of 1972, there is no specific mention of affirmative action

programs for women this time. This is certainly the case with regard to education, where there was such mention in 1972, and the affirmative action statement in the section on equal employment opportunity seems limited to "minorities."

H18: Immigration

98 [BTN: +0]

"We support a provision in the immigration laws to facilitate acquisition of citizenship by Resident Aliens."

[changed from +0 on 5/14/97; BTN added 5/22/97]

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1980

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"The Democratic Party has been committed to protecting fundamental civil liberties. Toward that end, over the past years, the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress have enacted legislation to control the use of wiretaps by the government in the pursuit of foreign intelligence; developed the government's first comprehensive program to protect privacy; and worked to enact a criminal code which scrupulously protects civil liberties.

...Social and technological changes are threatening our citizens' privacy. To meet this challenge, the Carter Administration has developed the first comprehensive privacy policy. Under this policy, administrative action has been taken to cut the number of federal files on individuals and legislation has been passed to protect the privacy of telephone conversations and bank accounts.

...[The Carter Administration]...has strongly supported the policy of self-determination and the right to practice the ancestral religions that are important to many tribal members."

Elsewhere: "We call for passage of legislation to charter the purposes, prerogatives, and restraints on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other intelligence agencies of government with full protection for the civil rights and liberties of American citizens living at home or abroad. Under no circumstances should American citizens be investigated because of their beliefs.

...The Democratic Party recognizes reproductive freedom as a fundamental human right..."

This statement is very similar to what was covered in the 1972 platform, and hence the same code (+4) should apply.

[changed from +3 on 5/14/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

+0

"We commit ourselves to targeted tax reductions designed to stimulate production and combat recession as soon as it appears so that tax reductions will not have a disproportionately inflationary effect. We must avoid untargeted tax cuts which would increase inflation. Any tax reduction must, if it is to help solve pressing economic problems, follow certain guiding principles.

...In 1976, this Party pledged to seek fundamental tax reform, for we believe that our tax system had lost much of its needed fairness and equity. President Carter honored that pledge by proposing to Congress the most comprehensive and far-reaching set of tax reform proposals ever made by any Administration. That proposal would have closed over \$9 billion worth of tax loopholes, simplified tax reduction for low and middle income taxpayers.

Once again, we call on Congress to legislate meaningful tax reform."

The platform calls for targeted reduction and at the same time continue for reduction of the tax burden of low and middle income groups. Unlike in 1976, it is not clear here whether the net result would be an increase or decrease in taxes. We can only assume that the reductions and increases may be offsetting.

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

+0

"We commit ourselves to targeted tax reductions designed to stimulate production and combat recession as soon as it appears so that tax reductions will not have a disproportionately inflationary effect. We must avoid untargeted tax cuts which would increase inflation. Any tax reduction must, if it is to help solve pressing economic problems, follow certain guiding principles.

...To revive productivity and revitalize our economy, we need a national effort to strengthen the American economy. It must include new tax depreciation rules to stimulate selective capital investment.

...In 1976, this Party pledges to seek fundamental tax reform, for we believe that our tax system had lost much of its needed fairness and equity. President Carter honored that pledge by proposing to Congress the most comprehensive and far-reaching set of tax reform proposals ever made by any Administration. That proposal would have closed over \$9 billion worth of tax loopholes, simplified tax reduction for low and middle income taxpayers.

Once again, we call on Congress to legislate meaningful tax reform."

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H03: Scope of Government NOT DONE

-3

"To involve the private sector in solving our economic problems, and to reduce the burden on government, we must leverage federal dollars with funds from the private sector.

...We as Democrats will continue our policy of drastic cuts in social programs which impose unfair burdens on the poor and the aged, on women, on children and on minorities."

Although this platform mentions a role for private sector money, it appears that it is to help the government carry out its agenda rather than to take over tasks currently done by government. Hence, we continue the code of -3 from the previous program.

[changed from -2 on 5/15/97]

H03C: Scope (computed)

-4

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 10 points, which converts to a score of -4.

H04: Social Services

-5

"Just as we must protect workers in their workplace, so must we protect them when they are disabled by accidents or sicknesses resulting from their work. The Democratic Party supports federal legislation to assure adequate minimum benefit levels to those who are unemployed, including expansion of coverage to all wage and salary workers and extended benefits for the long-term unemployed. It must not artificially disregard those who have already been unemployed for a long time.

...In the areas of health care, housing, education, welfare and social services, civil rights, and care for the disabled, elderly and veterans, a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress have put the federal government back in the business of serving our people.

...We will not support reduction in the funding of any program whose purpose is to serve the basic human needs of the most needy in our society - programs such as unemployment, income maintenance, food stamps, and efforts to enhance the educational, nutritional or health needs of children.

...The Democratic Party will oppose any effort to tamper with the Social Security system by cutting or taxing benefits as a violation of the contract the American government has made with its

people."

In addition, the party "pledges to seek a national health insurance program" (see below).

H05: Health Care

-2

"...the Democratic Party pledges to seek a national health insurance program with the following features;

Comprehensive medical benefits, including preventative, diagnostic, therapeutic, health maintenance and rehabilitation services, and complete coverage of the cost of catastrophic illness or injury.

...Reform of the health care system, including encouragement of health maintenance organization and other alternative delivery systems;

-Building in the private health care delivery sector and preservation of the physician-patient relationship;

-Provision for maximum individual choice of physician, other provider, and insurer;

-Maintenance of private insurance industry with appropriate public regulation;

-Significant administrative and organizational roles for state and local government in setting policy and in resource planning."

H06: Environmental Protection

-3

"We must strive to ensure that environmental regulations cost no more than necessary and are streamlined to eliminate waste, duplication and delay. We must not lose sight of the fact that the benefits of these regulations far outweigh their costs. We must work to reform legislation without deforming it.

...We support the allocation of resources to the Environmental Protection Agency and other environmental agencies sufficient to carry out their mandates.

We support strict adherence to automobile pollution standards.

We will support policies to eliminate acid rain pollution from power plant emissions.

We will commit ourselves to efficient transportation alternatives, including mass transit, car pooling, van pooling, employer based commuter plans, and hydrogen and electric commuter vehicles.

...We will seek a strong 'super-fund' law financed by government and industry.

...We will fund adequately the Land and Water Conservation Fund, to protect our national park system.

We will implement vigorously the Toxic Substances Control Act."

This platform contains more specific programs and pledges than was true for the previous platforms, including the pledge to seek a "super fund" law.

H07: Education

-3

"Federal aid to education plays a significant role in guaranteeing that jurisdictions of differing financial capacity can spend equal amounts on schooling. We favor a steady increase in federal support with an emphasis on reducing inter- and intra-state disparities in ability to support quality education. The federal government and the states should be encouraged to equalize or to take over educational expenses, relieving the overburdened property tax payer.

...The party reaffirms its support of school education and would not support any program or legislation that would create or promote economic, sociological or racial segregation. Our primary purpose in assisting elementary and secondary education must be to assure a quality public school system for all students.

Private schools, particularly parochial schools, are also an important part of our diverse educational system. The Party accepts its commitment to the support of a constitutionally acceptable method of providing tax aid for the education of all pupils in schools which do not racially discriminate, and excluding so called segregated academies. Specifically, the Party will continue to advocate constitutionally permissible federal education legislation which provides for the equitable participation in federal programs of all low and moderate income pupils."

This part of the platform is similar in important respects to what was included in 1976. The greater emphasis is still upon public education, though there is still the pledge to seek a constitutional way of providing tax aid which indirectly supports private education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"Legislation to transfer from the SBA to the Farmers Home Administration responsibility for providing loans to farmers in financial need.

...Rapidly rising costs of production, especially energy costs, make it imperative that we increase the level of support for farm prices and income by increasing target prices to cover the cost of production. For those farm products not covered by target

prices, such as soybean, cattle, hogs, poultry, sugar cane, and sugar beets, we pledge support programs that will maintain viable domestic production. Low cost farm credit should be extended with the least possible delay in times of stress from decreased farm income or disasters."

This is very similar to what was promised in 1976.

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

"During the 1980s, the Party is committed to:

-Encouraging business participation in a comprehensive effort to achieve a truly mixed economy for support of the arts and humanities by individuals, foundations, corporations and governments at every level;

-Supporting strong, active National Endowments both for the Arts and the Humanities, and strengthening the Public Broadcasting System; and

-... We will work to meet the cultural needs of minorities, encourage their greater participation in the performing arts on a national level, and provide grants for the arts in low income neighborhoods."

[changed from -4 on 5/13/97]

H10: Defense Spending

+3

"...The revival of American strength has been a central preoccupation of the Democratic Administration.

...It was the Democratic Party's greatest hope that we could, in fact, reduce our military effort. But the realities of the world situation, including the unremitting buildup of Soviet military forces, required that we begin early to reverse the decade-long decline in American defense efforts.

...This increase is necessary in order to compensate for the decline in U.S. military strength over the previous eight years and to assure a high quality of military personnel, an effective nuclear deterrent capability, a capable conventional fighting force and an improved intelligence capability."

While acknowledging the need for a strong national defense the language of the platform indicates some feeling of reluctance on the part of the Democratic party to see increases in defense spending.

H11: Foreign Aid

"The Democratic Administration will work with the Congress to develop and sustain policies and programs of economic cooperation with the developing nations, guided by the test of mutual interest. ... We will contribute the United States' fair share to the capital of the multilateral development bank and agencies, and we will continue substantial and innovative U.S. programs of direct development assistance to low-income countries.

...The participation of U.S. private enterprises in the economic growth of developing nations will be selectively encouraged, with due regard for our own employment objectives."

Though the "fair share" language is introduced here, we judge this to be a similar commitment to that made in the previous platform.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+0

"We must continue and strengthen efforts at prison reform, to upgrade the safety of our penal institutions, to enhance rehabilitation of offenders, and to lower recidivism level.

...Further efforts should be made to demonstrate the feasibility of restitution by the perpetrators of crime."

In this platform, some emphasis is placed on rehabilitation, though punishment is presumably still a significant part of the picture.

[changed from -3 on 5/14/97]

H13: Centralized Power

+1

"From the time of Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic Party has dedicated itself to the principle that the federal government has a duty to ensure that all regions, states and localities share in the benefits of national economic prosperity and that none bears more than its share of economic adversity.

...Social services must continue to be developed and operated at the local level, close to the users, with knowledge of and sensitivity to both the particular problems of each case and the community's unique infrastructure, resources, and support networks.

We must develop a community-level system for coordinating existing public and voluntary programs that support the family and individual initiative, and develop programs to fill existing gaps in order to provide the variety and extent of social services appropriate for each locality.

...In this regard, we endorse the language of legislation which emphasized the intent of Congress 'to protect the rights of state and local governments and public and private institutions in the area of educational policies and administration of programs.'

...Ensuring that federal programs are administered in ways which encourage local solutions to local problems."

Though it is not clear how much "power" rather than simply "administrative responsibility" is implied in each case, there can be little question that this platform shows more concern with local "control," especially over implementation of federal programs, than did previous platforms.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"The property of small business is an important national priority. Over half of the major innovations in the past twenty years have come from firms with less than 1,000 employees, and technological innovation has accounted for nearly half of America's economic growth.

...America must commit itself to a free, open competitive economy.

...We support continued assistance to private, nonindustrial forest owners to increase their management potential.

...The private expression statutes guarantee the protection and security of the mail for all Americans. They are essential to the maintenance of a national postal system, which will require an adequate public service subsidy to assure the delivery of mail to all Americans."

Though it is clear that the party favors free enterprise, their is explicit mention and acceptance of a role for government in owning the postal service.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

"Consistent with our basic safety, health, and environmental goals, we must continue to deregulate over-regulated industries and to remove other unnecessary regulatory burdens on the state and local governments and on the private sector, particularly those which inhibit competition.

...Removal of governmental regulations which are unnecessary and stifle business initiative.

...In regulated sectors of our economy, government serves too often to entrench high price levels and stifle competition. Regulation must balance protected benefits against potential adverse effects on competitiveness. Necessary regulation should be

achieved at minimum cost and at reduced burden to industry. In unregulated sectors of the economy, we must increase antitrust enforcement, greatly improve the speed and efficiency of antitrust litigation, and renew efforts to prevent the concentration of economic power - both in specific industries and across the economy as a whole- which operates to stifle growth and to fuel inflation.

...While consumer regulation programs are necessary to achieve social goals, we recognize that an effective competition policy frees the market place from regulation. Therefore, we support vigorous enforcement and strengthening of the antitrust laws.

...We pledge vigorous antitrust enforcement in those areas of the economy which are not regulated by government and in those which are, we pledge an agency-by-agency review to prevent regulation from frustration competition."

The thrust here is similar to that of the 1976 platform.

H16: Minority Rights

-5

"The Democratic Party renews its commitment to eliminating discrimination in education because of sex, and demands full and expeditious enforcement of Title IX of the 1972 education amendments.

...The Democratic Party continues to support programs aimed at achieving communities integrated both in terms of race and economic class through constitutional means.

...We call for strict compliance with civil rights requirements in hiring and promotion in school systems.

The Democratic Party firmly commits itself to protect the civil rights of every citizen and to pursue justice and equal treatment under the law for all citizens.

...An effective affirmative action program is an essential component of our commitment to expanding civil rights protection.

...Our commitment to civil rights embraces not only a commitment to legal equality, but a commitment to economic justice as well.

...The Democratic Party is committed to continue and strengthen the policy of appointing more women and minorities to federal positions at all levels including the Supreme Court."

This platform continues to pledge support for civil rights for minorities, including direct government involvement. Governmental affirmative action, which would serve as a model for others, remains part of the agenda.

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

"The Democratic Party, therefore, commits itself to strong steps to close the wage gap between men and women, to expand child care opportunities for families with working parents, to end the tax discrimination that penalizes married working couples, and to ensure that women can retire in dignity.

We will strictly enforce existing anti-discrimination laws with respect to hiring, pay and promotions.

...The Democratic Party must lead the way in ensuring that women and minorities are afforded real equality in the work force, neither displacing the others. As the nation's single largest employer, the hiring and promotion practices must set an example. Every branch of government will be mandated not only to hire qualified women and minorities, but also affirmatively to seek out able minorities and women within the government for training and promotion.

...In the 1980s, the Democratic Party commits itself to a Constitution, economy, and society open to women on an equal basis with men."

The platform calls for broad governmental action to ensure equal treatment of women in a variety of situations, including hiring practices, pay, education, etc. Governmental affirmative action is part of the agenda.

[changed from -4 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

"The Democratic Party asserts that the Immigration and Naturalization Service, in enforcing the immigration laws, must recognize its obligation to respect fully the human and constitutional rights of all within our borders. Such respect must include an end to practices affecting Hispanic, Caribbean, and Asian/Pacific American communities such as 'neighborhood sweeps' and stop and search procedures which are discriminatory or without probable cause.

...All groups must be protected from discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, language, age, sex or sexual orientation. This includes specifically the right of foreign citizens to enter this country. Appropriate legislative and administrative action to achieve these goals should be undertaken.

...America's roots are found in the immigrants and refugees who have come to our shores to build new lives in a new world. The Democratic Party pledges to honor our historic commitment to this heritage.

...We will oppose any legislation designed to allow workers

into the country to undercut U.S. wages and working conditions, and which would re-establish the bracero program of the past.

...We will work with other nations to develop international policies to regularize population movement and to protect the human rights of migrants even as we protect the jobs of American workers and the economic interest of the United States."

The platform calls the protection of American jobs from uncontrolled importation of foreign workers. Though remaining adamantly opposed to discrimination, the language of the platform shows a more restrictive attitude to immigration relative to the platform of 1964, which resulted in a code of -4.

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1984

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"The Democratic Platform affirms its support of the principles of religious liberty, religious tolerance and church/state separation and of the Supreme Court decisions forbidding violation of those principles. We pledge to resist all efforts to weaken those decisions.

...The Democratic Party recognizes reproductive freedom as a fundamental human right. We therefore oppose government interference in the reproductive decisions of Americans, especially government interference which denies poor Americans their right to privacy by funding or advocating one or a limited number of reproductive choices only. We fully recognize the religious and ethical concerns which many Americans have about abortion. But we also recognize the belief of many Americans that a woman has a right to choose whether and when to have a child."

Though this language is not as broad as that of 1980, the general tone -- plus the reference to abortion rights -- seem to justify continuing the code of +4.

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

+0

"Our tax code must produce sufficient revenue to finance our defense and allow for investment in our future, and we will ask every American to pay his or her fair share. But by broadening the tax base, simplifying the tax code, lowering rates, and eliminating unnecessary, unfair and unproductive deductions and tax expenditures, we can raise the revenues we need and promote growth without increasing the burden on average taxpayers.

...We will close loopholes, eliminate the preferences and write-offs, exemptions, and deductions which skew the code toward the rich and toward unproductive tax shelters."

As in 1980, it is not clear that the overhauled tax system

would result in much net change in the overall level of personal taxation.

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

-1

"Our tax code must produce sufficient revenue to finance our defense and allow for investment in our future, and we will ask every American to pay his or her fair share. But by broadening the tax base, simplifying the tax code, lowering rates, and eliminating unnecessary, unfair and unproductive deductions and tax expenditures, we can raise the revenues we need and promote growth without increasing the burden on average taxpayers.

...We will close loopholes, eliminate the preferences and write-offs, exemptions, and deductions which skew the code toward the rich and toward unproductive tax shelters."

...Under the Reagan Administration the rate of taxation on corporations has been so substantially reduced that they are not contributing their fair share to federal revenues. We believe there should be a 50% minimum corporate tax.

...We will toughen compliance procedures to reduce the \$100 billion annual tax evasion."

The party intends to increase revenues from corporations, with the net effect of increasing the amount of taxes overall (i.e. with the net level of personal taxes held constant).

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"We have a proud legacy to build upon: the Democratic tradition of caring, and a Democratic commitment to an activist government that understands and accepts its responsibilities.

...Providing adequate child care for millions of American children who need it, and for their parents, is surely not a responsibility that belongs solely to the federal government. But, like the responsibility for decent housing and health care, it is one where federal leadership and support are essential.

...America's greatest resource is our people. As Democrats, we affirm the need for both public and private investment - in our children; in our educational institutions and our students; in jobs, training, and transitional assistance for our workers - to build - America's future.

...We call for the immediate restoration of the cuts in

funding of education programs by the Reagan Administration, and for a major new commitment to education.

...The private sector must also recognize its responsibility to join partnerships which strengthen our diverse public and private higher education system.

...Government is only one force among many woven into the fabric of American economic life. Just as the wrong overall economic policy can disrupt the best private decisions, the best government economic policies will not put us on a path to long-term growth unless business, labor, and other private institutions meet the challenge of a new era.

...We support rigorous research and information programs to develop and assist farmers.

...We reaffirm our commitment to the long-term goal of comprehensive national health insurance."

While constructing a very broad agenda, the party emphasizes the need for a sharing of responsibility between public and private sectors. Within the mix, the scope of government would obviously be quite broad.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-3

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 9 points, which converts to a score of -3.

H04: Social Services

-5

"Social Security is one of the most important and successful initiatives in the history of our country, and it is an essential element of the social compact that binds us together as a community. There is no excuse - as the Reagan Administration has repeatedly suggested - for slashing Social Security to pay for excesses in other areas of the budget. We will steadfastly oppose such efforts, now and in the future.

...The Democratic Party is committed to reversing regressive Reagan policies and to providing more adequate food aid for poor families, infants, children, elderly and handicapped persons."

In addition, the platform calls for programs covering a broad range of social services, including: school lunches, child care, community-based programs for returning students to school, national health insurance, and decent housing.

H05: Health Care

Among the statements dealing with health care: "...We reaffirm our commitment to the long-term goal of comprehensive national health insurance and view effective health care cost containment as an essential step toward that goal."

H06: Environmental Protection

"Ronald Reagan sees no role for government in conserving energy, and he has gutted promising conservation efforts. The Democratic Party supports extension of the existing tax credits for business and residential energy conservation and renewable energy use, and expansion of those tax credits to include the incorporation of passive solar designs in new housing. The Democratic Party also supports faithful implementation of existing programs for energy efficiency standards for new appliances; upgrading of fuel efficiency standards for new automobiles; establishment of comparable fuel efficiency standards for new light trucks and vans; and development of an energy efficiency rating system to be used to advise home buyers at the time of sale of the likely future energy costs houses.

The Democratic Party supports revitalizing the Environmental Protection Agency by providing it with a budget increase adequate to allow it to carry out its substantially increased responsibility to protect the people and enforce the law.

The Democratic Party is committed to enforcing existing laws, to dramatically increasing Superfund resources to clean up all sites that threaten public health, and to assuring that everyone whose health or property is damaged has a fair opportunity to force the polluters to pay for the damage. This increased support should be financed at least in part through new taxes on the generation of hazardous wastes, so companies have an economic incentive to reduce the volume and toxicity of their dangerous wastes.

The Democratic Party believes in retaining ownership and control of our public lands, and in managing those lands according to the principles of multiple use and sustained yield, with appropriate environmental standards and mitigation requirements to protect the public interest.

...The Democratic Party support adequate funding of and restoration of federal programs to protect fully national parks, wildlife refuges, and wilderness areas from external and internal threats."

H07: Education RECHECK IN FULL PROGRAM: tax aid for privates?

"Private schools, particularly parochial schools, are also an important part of our diverse educational system.

Our primary purpose in assisting elementary and secondary education must be to assure a quality public school system for all students."

There is no substantial change in the party's position from its stance in 1980.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-3

"We will bring farm credit interest rates down and set supports at levels that at least enable farmers to recover actual production costs. We will use the full range of programs to reduce excess production when necessary to assure fair prices to farmers. As the overall economy improves, we will gradually adjust price supports toward a firm goal of parity of income.

...We must restore the ability of U.S. farm products to compete in world markets, and increase world-wide demand for American agricultural products. We must also resist efforts to lower commodity price supports; such action would only lower farm income without addressing the economic policies which are the root cause of declining competitiveness of U.S. farm products in world markets."

H09: Cultural Supports

-2

"The Democratic Party will set a new tone of respect for learning and artistic achievement. Not only will the federal agencies that support them be strengthened and freed from political intimidation, but the White House itself will once again be a place where American culture and intellectual life - in all its rich diversity - is honored.

...The Democratic party is also committed to the survival of public television and radio stations, which allow all Americans regardless of ability to pay, to appreciate high quality alternative programming. We oppose the efforts of the Reagan Administration to enact Draconian cuts which would totally undermine the viability of this nation's excellent public broadcasting system."

This makes fewer commitments than the previous programs which received codes of -3.

H10: Defense Spending

-1

"As Democrats, we believe in devoting the needed resources to ensure our national security. But military might cannot be measured solely by dollars spent. American military strength must be secured at an affordable cost. We will reduce the rate of increase in defense spending. Through careful reevaluation of proposed and existing weapons, we will stop throwing away money on unworkable or unnecessary systems; through military reform we will focus defense expenditure on the most cost-effective military policies. We will insist that our allies contribute fairly to our collective security, and that the Department of Defense reduces its scandalous procurement waste."

The party accepts the strong role played by government in national defense, but calls for careful review of expenditures, and an overall reduction in the "rate of increase" in defense spending.

H11: Foreign Aid

-3

"...The United States also must offer substantially greater economic assistance to [African nations with problems of hunger and famine], while engaging in a North-South multilateral dialogue that addresses mutual economic development strategies, commodities pricing, and other treaties relevant to international trade."

The platform accepts the governmental role in providing foreign aid. The difference between the previous platform and this one is the call for "substantially greater economic assistance" at least to a particular subset of developing countries.

H12: Rehabilitation of lawbreakers

98

No mention of rehabilitation or punishment for offenders in this platform.

H13: Centralized Power

+1

"The states must be the cornerstone of our health care policies, but a Democratic Administration will provide the leadership at the federal level to assure that health care is available to all who need help at a cost we can afford.

...Democratic Party will act swiftly to ensure states' authority to regulate routes and schedules for radioactive and other hazardous shipments.

...Although the primary responsibility for law enforcement rests at the local level, Democrats believe the federal government can play an important role by encouraging local innovation and the implementation of new crime control methods as their effectiveness is shown."

In the limited areas discussed above, the party recognizes that the state and local governments have responsibilities, but even then it is recognized that the national level should provide "assurances" or "encouragement."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98 [BTN code: +1]

"The Democratic Party recognizes that small businesses create many, if not most of the new jobs in our country, and are responsible for much of the innovation. They are thus our greatest hope for the future. Our capacity as a nation to create an environment that encourages and nurtures innovative new businesses will determine our success in providing jobs for our people. In the private sector, spurring innovation means paying special attention to the needs of small, including minority and women-owned, and rapidly growing businesses on the cutting edge of our economy.

...The Democratic Party pledges to bring about these reforms and create a new era of opportunity for the entrepreneurs who have always led the way in our economy."

This is not directly enough related to the variable to justify a code.

[For analyses where a "best guesstimate" is considered better-than-nothing, the code of +1 might be substituted for the missing data code. We base this "best guess" on the fact that the most relevant information in the platform does suggest a strong commitment to the free enterprise system, which could be considered broad enough to encompass private ownership of at least most means of production. It should be emphasized that our confidence in this code is far less than normal for these data.]

[changed from +1 on 5/14/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-2

"Mr. Reagan denies government's critical role in our economy. Government cannot, and should not, dominate our free enterprise economy. But American prosperity has been most pronounced when the government played a supportive or catalytic role in the nation's economic fortunes.

...In general, competitive markets are more likely to restrain sudden surges of prices than are markets dominated by a few large firms. No Democratic administration will forget the use of old fashioned anti-trust policy to keep markets competitive and prices down.

...We must encourage competition while preventing regulatory decisions which substantially increase basic telephone rates and which threatens to throw large numbers of low-income, elderly, or rural people off the telecommunications networks.

...The Democratic Party strongly reaffirms its commitment to federal programs which are designed to enhance and protect the health and safety of all Americans.

...The Democratic party also supports faithful implementation of existing programs for energy efficiency standards for new appliances..."

Specific mention is made of a role for government in regulating: occupational safety and health, land reclamation, management of newly generated toxic waste, and air quality.

This statement is somewhat broader and more enthusiastic toward regulation than the 1980 or 1976 platforms.

H16: Minority Rights

-5

"... (W)e reaffirm our long-standing commitment to civil rights for all. We pledge to enforce the laws guaranteeing equal opportunity for all Americans. The next Democratic Administration will offer unwavering support for the following:

A Democratic Administration will return the Commission on Civil Rights to an independent status and increase its funding.

A Democratic Administration will, by vigorously enforcing laws and strengthening education and training opportunities, increase minority participation in the workplace and eliminate wage inequities which leave minorities at the bottom of the pay scale.

We will enhance the authority of the Department of Housing and Urban Development to enforce our fair housing laws. A Democratic Administration will work to provide the Department with the resources and the power to seek cease and desist orders to prevent housing discrimination against minorities, women and families with children.

The Party reaffirms its longstanding commitment to the eradication of discrimination in all aspects of American life through the use of affirmative action, goals, timetables, and other verifiable measurements to overturn historic patterns and historic burdens of discrimination in hiring, training, promotions, contract procurement, education, and the administration of all federal programs."

The platform calls for an end to discrimination, for affirmative action, and for vigorous enforcement of civil rights law.

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"...(W)e pledge an end to the Reagan Administration's punitive policy toward women, minorities, and poor and support the reaffirmation of the principle that the government is still responsible for protecting the civil rights of all citizens. Government has a special responsibility to those whom society has historically prevented from enjoying the benefits of full citizenship for reasons of race, religion, sex, age, national origin and ethnic heritage, sexual orientation, or disability.

...The goal for the coming decades is not only full justice under the law, but economic justice as well. In the recent past, we have put our nation on the road toward achieving equal protection of all our citizens' human rights. The challenge now is to continue to press that cause, while joining a new battle - to assure justice and opportunity in the workplace, and in the economy.

...The Democratic Party defines non-discrimination to encompass both equal pay for equal work and equal pay for work of comparable worth, and we pledge to take every step, including enforcement of current law and amending the Constitution to include the unamended ERA, to close the wage gap.

We also support efforts to reform private and civil service pension rules to ensure equal treatment for women, prohibit discrimination in insurance practices, and improve enforcement of child-support obligations.

...We support policies calling for increased involvement of minorities and women in job training and apprenticeship programs.

...We oppose efforts to restrict the opportunities of women in the military based solely on gender."

There is nothing that specifically mentions affirmative action for women, and we are reluctant to assume that language dealing with affirmative action for "minorities" applies also to women, since the platform seems to maintain the distinction throughout.

H18: Immigration

-3

"The Democratic Party will implement a balanced, fair, and non-discriminatory immigration and refugee policy consistent with

the principle of affording all applications for admission equal protection under the law... Additionally, it will work to ensure that the Refugee Act of 1980, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of ideology and race in adjudicating asylum claims, is complied with."

Though this platform does not call for increasing the number immigrants, it does call for a non-discriminatory immigration policy.

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1988

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"We further believe that we must work for the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution; that the fundamental right to reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability to pay;... our immigration policy should be reformed to promote fairness, nondiscrimination and family reunification and to reflect our constitutional freedoms of speech, association and travel."

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H2B: Total Taxes

98 [BTN: -1]

"[We believe in] Investing in America and reducing the deficit requires that the wealthy and corporations pay their fair share and that we restrain Pentagon spending."

[For analyses where a "best guesstimate" is considered better-than-nothing, the code of -1 might be substituted for the missing data code. We base this "best guess" on the fact that the statement above mentions both increasing revenues and cutting defense expenditures, and we interpret the statement as suggesting that the net result would still be an increase in the overall level of taxation.]

[changed from +1 on 5/15/97]

H03: Scope of Government

-3

"We believe that governments at the national, state and local level, in partnerships between those levels and in partnerships with the private sector, exist to help us solve our problems instead of adding to them."

Throughout the platform, the national government is assigned a broad range of responsibilities, including in the areas of: training and employment programs, child care, health care, nutrition, child support enforcement, prenatal care, education. The program stops short, though, of calling for governmental ownership of the means of production.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-1

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 7 points, which converts to a score of -1.

H04: Social Services

-5

"[We believe]... with training and employment programs- including child care and health care- that can help people move from welfare to work, with portable pension and an adequate Social Security System, safeguarded against emasculation and privatization, that can help assure a comfortable and fulfilling old age, with opportunities for voluntary national public service, above and beyond current services.

...We must provide the resources to care for our newborns, educate our children, house the homeless, heal the sick, wage total war on drugs and protect the environment."

This platform continues to call for substantial government role in providing social services. Furthermore, it explicitly opposes the "privatization" of social security.

H05: Health Care

-2

"We believe that Americans should enjoy access to affordable, comprehensive health services for both the physically and mentally ill, from parental care for pregnant women at risk to more adequate care for our Vietnam and other veterans, from well-baby care to

childhood immunization to Medicare; that a national health program providing federal coordination and leadership is necessary to restrain health care costs while assuring quality care and advanced medical research; that quality, affordable, long-term home and health care should be available to all senior and disabled citizens, allowing them to live with dignity in the most appropriate setting; that an important first step toward comprehensive health services is to ensure that every family should have the security of basic health insurance; and that HIV/AIDS epidemic is an unprecedented public health emergency requiring increased support for accelerated research on, and expedited FDA approval of, treatments and vaccines, comprehensive education and prevention, compassionate care, adoption of the protection of the civil rights of those suffering from AIDS or AIDS-Related Complex or testing positive for the HIV antibody."

Though references to a "national health program" and ensurance of basic health insurance for everyone stop short of being an explicit call for national health insurance, we read the tone of this statement as the same as in 1984.

H06: Environmental Protection

-3

"[We believe] ...that pollution must be stopped at the source by shifting to new, environmentally sound manufacturing and farming technologies; that the federal government must promote recycling as the best, least costly way to solve the trash crisis, aggressively enforcing toxic waste laws and require polluters to be responsible for future clean-up costs; that this nation must redouble its efforts to provide clean waterways, sound water management and safe drinkable ground water throughout the country; that our national parks, forests, wildlife refuges, and costal zones must be protected and used only in an environmentally sound manner; that all offshore oil drilling in environmentally sensitive areas should be opposed; and that regular world environmental summits should be convened by the United States to address the depletion of the ozone layer, the 'greenhouse effect', the destruction of tropical forest and other global threats and to create a global action plan for environmental restoration."

H07: Education

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H08: Agricultural Supports

-1

"A workable agricultural policy should include supply management, reasonable price supports, soil conservation and protection of rural water quality, credit and foreclosure relief, the return of federally held foreclosed lands to minority beginning and restarting farmers..."

This platform's statement on agriculture, while still referring to price supports, is weaker than what was provided in previous programs.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

-1

"We believe that our national strength has been sapped by a defense establishment wasting money on duplicative and dubious new weapons instead of investing more in readiness and mobility; that our national strength will be enhanced by more stable defense budgets and by a commitment from our allies to assume a greater share of the cost and responsibilities required to maintain peace and liberty; and that as military spending and priorities change, government should encourage the conversion of affected military facilities and the retraining of workers to facilitate the creation of new forms of communication, space development and new peacetime growth and productivity."

This platform sees defense spending as a drain on national resources but continues to recognize that defense is essential to national security.

H11: Foreign Aid

-3

"We believe that we must provide leadership, compassion and economic assistance to those nations stunted by overwhelming debt, deprivation and austerity, and that we must work to promote active agreements between developing and industrial countries, and the major public and commercial lenders, to provide debt relief and

rekindle and sustain economic growth and democracy in Latin America, Asia, and the poorest continent, Africa, which deserves special attention. We further believe that we must enlist the trade surplus nations to join with us in supporting new aid initiatives to fuel growth in developing countries that, though economically depressed, are rich in human and natural potential."

In tone, this statement is similar to what was in the previous program.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

"We believe that this effort should include comprehensive programs to educate our children at the earliest ages on the dangers of alcohol and drug abuse, readily available treatment and counseling for those who seek to address their dependency, the strengthening of vital interdiction agencies such as the U.S. Coast Guard and Customs."

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

98

"We believe that governments at the national, state and local level, in partnerships between those levels and in partnerships with the private sector, exist to help us solve our problems instead of adding to them."

No position on the issue is specifically advocated in the platform.

[changed from +0 on 5/15/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98

"[We believe that we can and must improve our competitiveness in the world economy] ...through more public-private and business-labor cooperation and mutual respect, through more intergovernmental partnerships."

The platform does not speak on the issue of ownership of the means of production.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"[We believe in] ...reforming and expanding community reinvestment laws, and reversing the trend of financial concentration and deregulation."

This platform is stronger than the 1984 platform, e.g. in calling for re-regulating the financial industry. In addition, there are calls for enforcing occupational safety standards, enforcing anti-trust and security laws, etc.

H16: Minority Rights

-5

"We believe that we honor our multicultural heritage by assuring equal access to government services, employment, housing, business enterprise and education to every citizen regardless of race, sex, national origin, religion, age, handicapping condition or sexual orientation; that these rights are without exception too precious to jeopardized by Federal Judges and Justice Department officials chosen during the past years.

...[We believe that this country's democratic process must be revitalized:] ...by assuring and pledging the full and equal access of women and minorities to elective office and party endorsement.

...We further believe that voting rights of all minorities should be protected... and the lingering effects of past discrimination eliminated by affirmative action, including goals, timetables, and procurement set-asides."

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"We further believe that we must work for the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution; that the fundamental right to reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability to pay.

...[We believe that this country's democratic process must be revitalized:] ...by assuring and pledging the full and equal access of women and minorities to elective office and party endorsement.

...We believe that government should set the standard in recognizing that worker productivity is enhanced by the principle of pay equity for working women."

The main thrust appears to be the same as in 1984, and again there is no specific mention of affirmative action for women.

H18: Immigration

-4

"...(O)ur immigration policy should be reformed to promote fairness, non-discrimination and family unification and to reflect our constitutional freedoms of speech, association and travel."

Even though this statement is very short, it is similar in content to 1964, when a code of -4 was assigned.

Country: United States

Party: Democratic

Program: 1992

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"Above all the Revolution of 1992 is about restoring the basic American values that built this country and will always make it great: personal responsibility, individual liberty, tolerance, faith, family and hard work.

...Democrats stand behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with Roe v. Wade, regardless of ability to pay, and support a national law to protect that right. It is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual Americans - not governed - can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction.

...Democrats support immigration policies that promote fairness, non-discrimination, and family reunification, and that reflect our constitutional freedoms of speech, association and travel."

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

+0

"Growth and equity work in tandem. People should share in society's common costs according to their ability to pay. In the last decade, mounting payroll and other taxes have fallen disproportionately on the middle class. We will relieve the tax burden on middle class Americans by forcing the rich to pay their fair share. We will provide long-overdue tax relief to families with children. To broaden opportunity, we will support fair lending practices."

There is mention here of reducing taxes for some groups and raising taxes for others. Our read is that the net result would be a draw.

H02B: Total Taxes

+0

See quotes and comments from above.

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"The revolution of 1992 is about a radical change in this way government operates.

But, a shift to a more efficient, flexible and result-oriented government that improves services, expands choices, and empowers citizens and communities to change our country from the bottom up".

Government's best role is to enable people and communities to solve their own problems."

Though the platform generally provides many roles for government, the language also departs from previous platforms in the language that effectively redefines the purpose (and hence scope) of government. Specifically, this refers to the language on enabling others to help themselves.

H03C: Scope (computed)

-2

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for a total of 8 points, which converts to a score of -2.

H04: Social Services

-5

"We will continue to help those who cannot help themselves. We will offer people on welfare a new social contract. We'll invest in education and job training, and provide the child care and health care they need to go to work and achieve long-term self-sufficiency. We will give them the help they need to make the transition from welfare to work, and require people who can work to go to work within two years in available jobs either in the private sector or in community service to meet unmet needs."

The language under "health care" also implies that the party would legislate "universal access to quality, affordable health care."

The social service programs advocated by this platform continue to be as extensive as in previous platforms.

H05: Health Care

-2

"All Americans should have universal access to quality, affordable health care -- not as a privilege, but as a right.

We will enact a uniquely American reform of the health care system to control costs and make health care affordable; ensure quality and choice of health care providers; cover all Americans regardless of preexisting conditions."

H06: Environmental Protection

-4

"We reject the Republican myth that energy efficiency and environmental protection are enemies of economic growth.

...For ourselves and future generations, we must protect our environment. We will protect our old growth forests, preserve critical habitats, provide a genuine 'no net loss' policy on wetlands, reduce our dependence on toxic chemicals, conserve the critical resources of soil, water and air, oppose new offshore oil drilling and mineral exploration and production in our nation's many environmentally critical areas, and address ocean pollution by reducing oil and toxic waste spills at sea. We believe America's youth can serve its country through a civilian conservation corps. To protect the public health, we will clean up the environmental horrors at federal facilities, insist that private polluters clean up their toxic and hazardous wastes, and vigorously prosecute environmental criminals. We will oppose Republican efforts to gut the Clean Air Act in the guise of competitiveness. We will reduce the volume of solid waste and encourage the use of recycled materials while discouraging excess packaging. To avoid the mistakes of the past, we will actively support energy-efficiency, recycling, and pollution prevention strategies."

The platform identifies numerous areas where the government should be involved. However, the platform does not clearly indicate whether the government should be the sole actor in environmental protection. The platform calls for "insisting" that private polluters clean up their waste and for "encouraging" recycling efforts fall short of calling for direct governmental involvement but are more in line with stricter enforcement and regulation.

H07: Education

-4

"We oppose the Bush Administration's efforts to bankrupt the public school system -- the bedrock of democracy -- through private school vouchers."

This platform is explicit in its opposition to the voucher system that the Republicans have been proposing. Implied in this statement is that primacy is given to quality public school education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"A sufficient and sustainable agricultural economy can be achieved through fiscally responsible programs. It is time to reestablish the private/public partnership to ensure that family farmers get a fair return for their labor and investment, so that consumers receive safe and nutritious foods, and that needed investments are made in basic research, education, rural business development, market development and infrastructure to sustain rural communities."

There is no call this time for direct subsidies and government intervention. There is call for "fiscally responsible programs" and for private sector involvement. In all, this justifies the change from -1 in the 1988 platform.

H09: Cultural Supports

-1

"We believe in public support for the Arts, including a National Endowment for the Arts that is free from political manipulation and firmly rooted in the First Amendment's freedom of expression guarantee".

H10: Defense Spending

-2

"To begin making our economy grow, the president and Congress should agree that savings from defense must be reinvested productively at home.

...America is the world's strongest military power and we must remain so. A post-Cold War restructuring of American forces will produce substantial savings beyond those promised by the Bush Administration, but that restructuring must be achieved without undermining our ability to meet future threats to our security."

The change in score reflects the stronger position concerning defense cuts as compared to the 1988 platform.

H11: Foreign Aid

"Support for the struggle against poverty and disease in the developing world, including the heartbreaking famine in Africa. We must not replace the East-West conflict with one between North and South, a growing divide between the industrialized and developing world. Our development programs must be reexamined and restructured to assure that their benefits truly help those most in need to help themselves. At stake are the lives of millions of human beings who live in hunger, uprooted from their homes, too often without hope. The United States should work to establish a specific plan and timetable for the elimination of world hunger."

The language of the platform does not call for reduction in foreign aid, and implies a continuing role.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+1

"Democrats will redouble efforts to ferret out and punish those who betray the public trust, rig financial markets, misuse their depositors' money, or swindle their customers.

...Democrats also favor innovative sentencing and punishment options, including community service and boot camp for first time offenders; tougher penalties for rapists; victim-impact statements and restitution to ensure that crime victims will not be lost in the complexities of the criminal justice system."

Unlike some previous programs (e.g. 1972), in the 1992 platform there appears to be more emphasis on punishment than on rehabilitation, though "innovative sentencing and punishment options" are part of the package.

[changed from -1 on 5/15/97]

H13: Centralized Power

+1

"We vow to make government more decentralized, more flexible, and more accountable -- to reform public institutions and replace public officials who aren't leading with ones who will.

...Government's best role is to enable people and communities to solve their own problems."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98 [BTN: +1]

"We believe in free enterprise and the power of market forces."

[For analysis where a "best guesstimate" is considered better-than-nothing, the code of +1 might be substituted for the missing data code. We base this "best guess" on the fact that the most relevant information in the platform does suggest a strong commitment to the free enterprise system, which could be considered broad enough to encompass private ownership of at least most means of production. It should be emphasized that our confidence in this code is far less than normal for these data.]

[changed from +1 on 5/15/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

"We reject both the do-nothing government of the last twelve years and the big government theory that says we can hamstring business and tax and spend our way to prosperity.

...We believe in free enterprise and the power of market forces.

...Our workplaces must be revolutionized to make them more flexible and productive. We will reform the job safety laws to empower workers with greater rights and to hold employers accountable for dangers on the job.

...The government's neutrality between labor and management cannot mean neutrality about the collective bargaining process, which has been purposely crippled by Republican administrations."

This platform is not as supportive of widely ranging regulation as were some earlier platforms. Nevertheless, there is mention of some regulatory programs that are supported.

H16: Minority Rights

-5

"Democrats will continue to lead the fight to ensure that no Americans suffer discrimination or deprivation of rights on the basis of race, gender, language, national origin, religion, age, disability, sexual orientation, or other characteristics irrelevant to ability. We support the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; affirmative action; stronger protection for voting rights for racial and ethnic minorities, including language access to voting; and continued resistance to discriminatory English-only pressure groups. We will reverse the Bush Administration's assault on civil rights enforcement, and instead work to rebuild and vigorously use remedies for women; aggressively prosecute hate crimes; strengthen legal services for the poor; deal with other

nations in such a way that Americans for any origin do not become scapegoats or victims of foreign policy disputes; provide civil rights protection for gay men and lesbians and an end to Defense Department discrimination; respect Native American culture and our treaty commitments; require the United States Government to recognize its trustee obligations to the inhabitants of Hawaii generally, and to Native Hawaiians in particular; and fully enforce the Americans with Disability Act to enable people with disabilities to achieve independence and function at their highest possible level.

...Governments must end the inequalities that create educational ghettos among school districts and provide equal educational opportunity for all."

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-5

"Democrats will continue to lead the fight to ensure that no Americans suffer discrimination or deprivation of rights on the basis of race, gender, language, national origin, religion, age, disability, sexual orientation, or other characteristics irrelevant to ability. We support the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; affirmative action; stronger protection for voting rights for racial and ethnic minorities, including language access to voting; and continued resistance to discriminatory English-only pressure groups. We will reverse the Bush Administration's assault on civil rights enforcement, and instead work to rebuild and vigorously use remedies for women."

Here it seems clearer than in 1984 or 1988 that women are included within the call for affirmative action.

[changed from -4 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-4

"Democrats support immigration policies that promote fairness, non-discrimination and family reunification, and that reflect our constitutional freedoms of speech, association and travel."

This is essentially the same as what was included in the 1988 platform.

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1952

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Limitation of Individual Freedoms

+4

"We maintain that man was not born to be ruled, but that he consented to be governed; and that the reasons that moved him thereto are few and simple. He has voluntarily submitted to government because, only by the establishment of just laws, and the power to enforce those laws, can orderly life be maintained, full and equal opportunity for all be established, and the blessings of liberty be perpetuated.

We charge that they [the Democratic Administration] have arrogantly deprived our citizens of precious liberties.

...We charge that they have violated our liberties by turning loose upon the country a swarm of arrogant bureaucrats and their agents who meddle intolerably in the lives and occupation of our citizens."

The above statement reflects the party's opposition to the Democratic administration's level of governmental involvement in people's lives, and implies a Republican preference for granting significantly more freedom to individuals.

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"We will aid small business in every practicable way. We shall remove tax abuses and injurious price and wage controls.

Our goal is a balanced budget, a reduced national debt, an economical administration and a cut in taxes.

...Reduction of expenditures by the elimination of waste and extravagance so that the budget will be balanced and a general tax reduction can be made."

H02B: Total Taxes

+1

"We will aid small business in every practicable way. We shall remove tax abuses and injurious price and wage controls.

Our goal is a balanced budget, a reduced national debt, an economical administration and a cut in taxes.

...Reduction of expenditures by the elimination of waste and extravagance so that the budget will be balanced and a general tax reduction can be made."

H03: Scope of Government

+2

"We maintain that man was not born to be ruled, but that he consented to be governed; and that the reasons that moved him thereto are few and simple. He has voluntarily submitted to government because, only by the establishment of just laws, and the power to enforce those laws, can orderly life be maintained, full and equal opportunity for all be established, and the blessings of liberty be perpetuated.

...We charge that they [Democratic Administrations] have arrogantly deprived our citizens of precious liberties by seizing powers never granted.

...We charge that they work unceasingly to achieve their goal of national socialism.

...The Federal Government and State and local governments should continuously plan programs of economically justifiable public works."

From the overall tone of these statements (with the possible exception of the last) and in the context of scores given for other variables which affect scope, we judge this platform to be favoring a relatively small public sector, and there is nothing to indicate that the party would favor large or costly expansions.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for 3 points.

H04: Social Services

+1

"The best assurance of preserving the benefits for which the worker has paid is to stop the inflation which causes the tragic loss of purchasing power, and that we propose to do.

We favor amendment of the Old Age and Survivors Insurance

system to provide coverage for those justly entitled to it but who are now excluded."

From these statements and from those associated with variables dealing with particular services (such as health care), we judge the code of +1 to be appropriate.

H05: Health Care

+3

"We recognize that the health of our people as well as their proper medical care cannot be maintained if subject to Federal bureaucratic dictation. There should be a division of responsibility between government, the physician, the voluntary hospital, and voluntary health insurance. We are opposed to Federal compulsory health insurance with its crushing cost, wasteful inefficiency, bureaucratic dead weight, and debased standards of medical care. We shall support those health activities by government which stimulate the development of adequate hospital services without Federal interference in local administration. We favor support of scientific research. We pledge our continuous encouragement of improved methods of assuring health protection."

The platform is generally negative toward a government role in health care, though it does call for the government to play a supporting role as in providing "encouragement" and some financial assistance. It is absolutely clear that the party opposes national health insurance, and it is nearly as clear that it would oppose anything but limited governmental regulation of the health care industry.

[changed from +1 on 5/24/97]

H06: Environmental Protection

+0

"We vigorously advocate a full and orderly program for the development and conservation of our natural resources.

We favor reasonable depletion allowances, defense procurement policies, synthetic fuels research, and public land policies, including good-faith administration of our mining laws, which will encourage exploration and development of our mineral resources consistent with our growing industrial and defense needs.

...We favor protection of our fisheries by domestic regulation and treaties...

...We favor restoration of the traditional Republican public land policy, which provided opportunity for ownership by citizens to promote the highest land use.

...In the management of public lands and forests we pledge

elimination of arbitrary bureaucratic practices."

This platform contains both indications of need for regulation in some areas and pledges to cut regulations in other areas.

[changed from +1 on 5/25/97]

H07: Education

-4

"The tradition of popular education, tax-supported and free to all, is strong with our people. The responsibility for sustaining this system of popular education has always rested upon the local communities and the States. We subscribe fully to this principle."

We assume that the platform uses "popular" education to imply public education. The platform does not mention the private provision of education. Although the party is not necessarily opposed to private education, neither is it on record as supporting a larger role for the private sector in the educational sphere.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+1

"We denounce the Administration's use of tax money and a multitude of Federal agencies to put agriculture under partisan political dictation and to make the farmer dependent upon government.

We condemn as a fraud on both the farmer and the consumer the Brannan plan scheme to pay direct subsidies from the federal treasury in lieu of prices to producers.

We favor a farm program aimed at full parity prices for all farm products in the market place."

While favoring a price support program, the party opposes direct subsidies. Instead, it favors credit and loan programs for those producing farm market products.

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense spending

+4

"On the prudent assumption that Communist Russia may not accomodate our own disgracefully lagging program for preparedness, we should develop with utmost speed a force in being, as distinguished from paper plans of such power as to deter sudden attack or promptly and decisively defeat it. This defense against sudden attack requires the quickest possible development of appropriate and completely adequate air power and the simultaneous readiness of coordinated air, land, and sea forces, with all necessary installations, bases, supplies and munitions, including atomic weapons in abundance.

...Generally, we shall see to it that our military services are adequately supported in all ways required, including manpower, to perform their appropriate tasks in relation to the defense of this country and to meet our treaty obligations."

What the party is committing itself to seems to be a major defense establishment, requiring substantial expenditures, as a high priority item.

H11: Foreign Aid

+0

"We shall always measure our foreign commitments so that they can be borne without endangering the economic health or sound finances of the United States. Stalin said that the 'moment for the decisive blow' would be when the free nations were isolated and were in a state of 'practical bankruptcy.' We shall not allow ourselves to be isolated and economically strangled, and we shall not let ourselves to go bankrupt.

Sums available by this test, if competently used, will be more effective than vastly larger sums incompetently spent for vague and endless purposes. We shall not try to buy good will. We shall earn it by sound, constructive, self-respecting policies and actions."

It seems clear from this language that the party wants only a low level of foreign aid. It is much less clear whether the Republicans would support increases or decreases from the current level. A "truly neutral" score of +0 seems appropriate.

[changed from -1 on 5/27/96]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

+1

"We charge that [the Democrats] have weakened local self-government which is the cornerstone of the freedom of men.

...We favor restoration to the States of their rights to all lands and resources beneath navigable inland and offshore waters within their historic boundaries.

...We favor greater local participation in the operation and control, and eventual local ownership, of federally-sponsored, reimbursable water projects.

We vigorously opposed the efforts of this national Administration, in California and elsewhere, to undermine state control over water use, to acquire paramount water rights without just compensation, and to establish all-powerful federal socialistic valley authorities.

...The tradition of popular education, tax supported and free to all, is strong with our people. The responsibility for sustaining the system of popular education has always rested upon local communities and the States. We subscribe fully to this principle.

...We believe that it is the primary responsibility of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, and this power, reserved to the States, is essential to the maintenance of our Federal Republic. However, we believe that the Federal Government should take supplemental action within its constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination... We will prove our good faith by: ...Enacting Federal legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory practices. Federal action should not duplicate such practices; should not set up another huge bureaucracy."

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

"We condemn the President's seizure of plants and industries to force the settlement of labor disputes by claims of inherent Constitutional powers.

...We vigorously oppose the efforts of this national Administration, in California and elsewhere, to undermine state control over water use, to acquire paramount water rights without just compensation, and to establish all-powerful federal socialistic valley authorities.

...We favor restoration of the traditional Republican public land policy, which provided opportunity for ownership by citizens to promote the highest land use.

...We pledge a more efficient and frequent mail delivery service."

It appears that the party wants the return of some industries to the private sector, and certainly opposes on principle any growth in ownership by government.

H15: Regulation of the Private Sector

+1

After painting a picture of extensive and harmful regulation under Democrats, this platform argues: "Neither small nor large business can flourish in such an atmosphere. The Republican Party will end this hostility to initiative and enterprise.

We will aid small business in every practicable way. We shall remove tax abuses and injurious price and wage controls. Efforts to plan and regulate every phase of small business activity will cease.

...At the same time, we shall relentlessly protect our free enterprise system against monopolistic and unfair trade practices.

We will oppose Federal rent control except in those areas where the expansion of defense production has been accompanied by critical housing shortages."

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"...We believe that it is the primary responsibility of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, and this power, reserved to the states, is essential to the maintenance of our Federal Republic. However, we believe that the Federal Government should take supplemental action within its constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination against race, religion or national origin.

...Appointing qualified persons, without distinction of race, religion or national origin, to responsible positions in the Government.

Enacting Federal legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices. Federal action should not duplicate state efforts to end such discriminatory practices; should not set up another huge bureaucracy."

The platform is short on specifics as to what the party will implement, though the general thrust favors protection of minority rights.

H17: Women's Rights

-3

"We recommend to Congress the submission of a Constitutional Amendment providing equal rights for men and women.

We favor legislation assuring equal pay for equal work regardless of sex."

The party favors an ERA and equal pay for equal work. This is what the Democrats call for in 1952 as well.

H18: Immigration

-2

"We pledge continued aid to refugees from communism...

...Subversive elements must be screened out and prevented from entering our land, but the gates must be left open for practical numbers of desirable persons from abroad whose immigration to this country provides an invigorating infusion into the stream of American life, as well as a significant contribution to the solution of the world refugee and over-population problems.

We pledge continuing revision of our immigration and naturalization laws to do away with any unjust and unfair practices against national groups which have contributed some of our best citizens."

This platform calls for what is generally an open policy, but also states some specific exceptions. We read "practical numbers," for instance, " to imply that party sees the need to impose limits on the number of immigrants who would be welcome.

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1956

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"[The Founding Fathers] not only proclaimed that the freedom and rights of men came from the Creator and not from the State, but they provided safeguards to those freedoms.

...But in all that people can individually do as well for themselves, Government ought not to interfere."

Elsewhere it says "We hold that the major world issue today is whether Government shall be the servant or the master of men. We hold that the Bill of Rights is the sacred foundation of personal liberty."

Though the platform seems to make some allowance for government involvement in situations where people cannot "individually do as well for themselves," it is not clear that this statement is intended to speak directly to the issue of individual freedoms. In tone, the relevant statements in this platform seem to add up to the same code as in 1952, a "+4."

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"We hold that the protection of the freedom of men requires that budgets be balanced, waste in government eliminated, and taxes reduced.

...Then, insofar as consistent with a balanced budget, we pledge to work toward these additional objectives:

Further reductions in taxes with particular consideration for low and middle income families.

Initiation of a sound policy of tax reductions which will encourage small independent businesses to modernize and progress.

Continual study of additional ways to correct inequities in the effect of various taxes."

The platform calls for a lightening of tax burden on low and middle income families. Since the level of cuts is not specified,

we assume that nothing drastic is planned.

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

+1

The platform calls for a lightening of the tax burden on small businesses as well as on lower and middle income families. (See quotes and comments for variable H02.)

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H03: Scope of Government

-1

"While jealously guarding the free institutions and preserving the principles upon which our Republic was founded and has flourished, the purpose of the Republican Party is to establish and maintain a peaceful world and build at home a dynamic prosperity in which every citizen fairly shares.

..To meet the immense demands of our expanding economy, we have initiated the largest highway, air and maritime programs in history, each soundly financed.

...We have supported measures that have made more housing available than ever before in history, reduced urban slums in local-federal partnership, stimulated record home ownership, and authorized additional low-rent public housing."

The platform calls for some specific social programs that the government needs to expand into.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for 4 points.

H04: Social Services

-3

"We are proud of and shall continue our far-reaching and sound advances in matters of basic human needs - expansion of social

security - broadened coverage in unemployment insurance - improved housing - and better health protection for all our people. We are determined that our government remain warmly responsive to the urgent social and economic problems of our people.

...The Republican Party believes that the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the people is as important as their economic health. It will continue to support this conviction with vigorous action.

Republican action created the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as the first new Federal department in 40 years, to raise the continuing consideration of these problems for the first time to the highest council of Government, the President's Cabinet.

...We shall continue to seek extension and perfection of a sound social security system.

...To continue and expand the Republican-sponsored school milk program, to encourage further use of the school lunch program now benefiting 11 million children and to foster improved nutritional levels..."

The social service package that is mentioned in this platform is quite extensive; however, it is not as extensive as what the Democrats are advocating in their 1956 platform.

H05: Health Care

+1

"Republican leadership has enlarged Federal assistance for construction of hospitals, emphasizing low-cost care of chronic diseases and the special problems of older persons, and increased Federal aid for medical care of the needy.

We have asked the largest increase in research funds ever sought in one year to intensify attacks on cancer, mental illness, heart disease and other dread diseases.

We demand once again, despite the reluctance of the Democrat 84th Congress, Federal assistance to help build facilities to help train more physicians and scientists.

We have encouraged a notable expansion and improvement of voluntary health insurance, and urge that reinsurance and pooling arrangements be authorized to speed this progress."

As contrasted to the 1952 platform, this time there is no strong statement against national health insurance, and several areas of governmental involvement seem to be supported. Nevertheless, there is nothing to suggest that the Republicans' former reluctance to have the government become a direct health care provider has changed.

H06: Environmental Protection

+0

"One of the brightest areas of achievement and progress under the Eisenhower Administration has been in resource conservation and development...

Policies of sound conservation and wise development... have been pursued by the Eisenhower Administration. While meeting the essential development needs of the people, this Administration has conserved and safeguarded our natural resources for the greatest good of all...

...We favor a comprehensive study of the effect upon wildlife of the drainage of our wetlands.

...Enacted new legislation to encourage multiple use of the public domain.

...We recommend continuing study and evaluation of the advisability of returning unused or inadequately used public lands.

We commend the Administration for expanding forest research and access road construction.

We shall continue to improve timber conservation practices, recreational facilities, grazing management, and watershed protection of our national forests and our public domain.

...we believe the Federal Government should foster a long-term policy for the development and prudent use of domestic mineral resources...

...We favor freedom of mineral producers from unnecessary governmental regulation...

...We pledge that we will continue the policies of sound conservation and wise development instituted by this administration to insure that our resources are managed as a beneficial trust for all people."

The platform lists a number of areas of concern, but also emphasizes the "use" and "development" side of publicly owned land and resources. While there is recognition of some role for government, it does not appear to be terribly activist, and there are mentions in some areas of the need for reduction of regulation.

[changed from +2 on 5/25/97]

H07: Education

-4

"Four thousand communities, studying their school populations and their physical and financial resources, encouraged our Republican Administration to urge a five-year program of Federal assistance in building schools to relieve a critical classroom shortage.

The Republican Party will renew its efforts to enact a program based on sound principles of need and designed to encourage increased state and local efforts to build more classrooms.

...The Republican Party is determined to press all such actions that will help insure that every child has the educational

opportunity to advance to his own greatest capacity."

The platform does not mention the private provision of education. Although the party is not necessarily opposed to private education, neither it is on record as supporting a larger role for the private sector in the educational sphere.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+2

"It does not envision making farmers dependent upon direct governmental payments for their incomes. Our objective is markets which return full parity to our farm and ranch people when they sell their products.

...To encourage agricultural producers in their efforts to seek solutions to their own production and price problems."

The platform continues to reject the use of subsidies in solving the problems facing agriculture but calls for programs that will work through the market. This time the range of acceptable, indirect programs seems more targeted and less general than in 1952.

[changed from +4 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+4

"We shall maintain our powerful military strength as a deterrent to aggression and as a guardian of the peace. We shall maintain it ready, balanced and technologically advanced for these objectives only.

...The military strength of the United States has been a key factor in the preservation of world peace during the past four years. We are determined to maintain that strength so long as our security and the peace of the world require it.

We will maintain and improve the effective strength and state of readiness of all these armed forces."

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"We support [President Eisenhower's] offer of United States participation in an international fund for economic development financed from the savings brought by true disarmament without effective inspection.

...Where needed, we shall help friendly countries maintain such local forces and economic strength as provide a first bulwark against Communist aggression or subversion.

...We will continue efforts with friends and allies to assist the underdeveloped areas of the free world in their efforts to attain greater freedom, independence and self-determination, and to raise their standards of living.

...Recognizing economic health as an indispensable basis of military strength and world peace, we shall strive to foster abroad and to practice at home, policies to encourage productivity and profitable trade."

This platform sounds slightly friendlier toward foreign aid than was the case in 1952. At least conditionally, the party appears likely to support small increases.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

+1

"We hold that the strict division of powers and the primary responsibility of State and local governments must be maintained, and that the centralization of powers in the national Government leads to expansion of the mastery of our lives.

...Our many economic and social advances of the past four years are the result of our faithful adherence to our 1952 pledge to reverse a 20-year Democratic philosophy calling for more and more power in Washington."

Elsewhere, it says "We are unalterably opposed to unwarranted growth of centralized Federal power. We shall carry forward the worthy effort of the Kestnbaum Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs to clarify Federal relationships and strengthen State and local government."

Though the preferred distribution of power is unclear, what is clear (especially from the first statement) is that the party feels

that State and local governments have a claim to being "primary" in the federal relationship, and that they party is intent on holding back the growth of power at the central level. In the context of the rest of the platform, it seems reasonable to assume that something like a 40/60 relationship is what the party would prefer.

[changed from +0 on 5/24/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

"We shall continue to dispense with Federal activities wrongfully competing with private enterprise, and take other sound measures to reduce the cost of Government.

Postal Service. In the last four years, under direction from President Eisenhower to improve the postal service and reduce costs, we have modernized and revitalized the postal establishment from top to bottom, inside and out.

...In the marketing of federally produced power we support preference to public bodies and cooperatives under the historic policy of the Congress."

Largely on the basis of the first statement above, we judge a continuation of the +3 code to be justified, in spite of the statements concerning (and apparently accepting) a governmental role in postal delivery and power.

H15: Regulation of the Private Sector

-1

"We believe in good business for all business - small, medium and large. We believe that competition in a free economy opens unrivaled opportunity and brings the greatest good to the greatest number.

...We have eliminated a host of needless controls.

...We shall continue to advocate the maintenance and expansion of a strong, efficient, privately owned and operated and soundly financed system of transportation that will serve all of the needs of our Nation under Federal regulatory policies that will enable each carrier to realize its inherent economic advantages and its full competitive capabilities.

...Legislation to enable closer Federal scrutiny of mergers which have significant or potential monopolistic connotations;

Procedural changes in the antitrust laws to facilitate their enforcement;

Continuance of the vigorous SEC policies which are providing maximum protection to the investor and maximum opportunity for the financing of small business without costly red tape.

...In addition, the Eisenhower Administration has enforced more vigorously and effectively than ever before, the laws which protect the working standards of our people."

Unlike the previous program, this one does not contain a general, principled argument against regulation. In fact, in spite of noting that the party has eliminated some controls already, this platform lists several areas in which regulation is favored.

[changed from +1 on 5/24/97]

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"Continue to fight for the elimination of discrimination in employment because of race, creed, colour, national origin, ancestry or sex.

...Great progress has been made in eliminating employment discrimination on the part of those who do business with the Federal Government and secure Federal contracts. This Administration has impartially enforced Federal civil rights statutes, and we pledge that we will continue to do so. We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the Second Session of the 84th Congress.

...The Republican Party accepts the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed" locally through Federal District Courts."

The platform pledges enforcement of civil rights statutes and the desegregation in schools "with all deliberate speed." The Democrats are assigned a code of -4 for a statement that is much broader in application and which calls for immediate action in the direction of school desegregation. This Republican plank, then, justifies only a -3 code, which is the same code applied to the similar Democratic plank in 1956.

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-2

"Assure equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

...Continue to fight for the elimination of discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry or sex."

Unlike in 1952 (and the Democrats in both 1952 and 1956),

there is no mention here of an equal rights amendment.

[changed from -3 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-4

"The Republican Party supports an immigration policy which is in keeping with the traditions of America in providing a haven for oppressed peoples, and which is based on equality of treatment, freedom from implications of discrimination between racial, nationality and religious groups, and flexible enough to conform to changing needs and conditions.

...In that concept, this Republican Administration sponsored the Refugee Relief Act to provide asylum for thousands of refugees, expelled and displaced persons, and undertook in the face of Democratic opposition to correct the inequalities in existing law and to bring our immigration policies in line with the dynamic needs of the country and principles of equality and justice.

We believe also that the Congress should consider the extension of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 in resolving this difficult refugee problem which resulted from world conflict. To all this we give our wholehearted support."

The administration favors what appears to be an open policy that grants asylum for many people, but this could be eventually checked by the "dynamic needs of the country."

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1960

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual freedom

+4

"Government's primary role is to help provide the environment within which the individual can seek his own goals." This statement, plus others that are tangentially relevant (see for instance, under H03 below), seem to support continuation of a +4 from the previous platforms.

H02: Personal Taxes

98

"Our tax structure should be improved to provide greater incentives to economic progress, to make it fair and equitable, and to maintain and deserve public acceptance."

Although it recognizes the importance of taxes, the platform does not espouse increase or decrease in taxes.

[changed from +0 on 5/23/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

98

"Broadly-based tax reform to foster job-making and growth-making investment for modernization and expansion, including realistic incentive depreciation schedules.

...Our tax structure should be improved to provide greater incentives to economic progress, to make it fair and equitable, and to maintain and deserve public acceptance."

[changed from +0 on 5/23/97]

H03: Scope of Government

"Discharge by government of responsibilities for those activities which the private sector cannot do or cannot so well do, such as constructive federal-local action to aid areas of chronic high unemployment, a sensible farm policy, development and wise use of natural resources, suitable support of education and research, and equality of job opportunity for all Americans.

...The Federal Government can and should help state and local communities combat juvenile delinquency by inaugurating a grant program for research.

...We believe that the Republican program is based upon a sounder understanding of the action and scope of government. There are many things a free government cannot do for its people as well as they can do them for themselves. There are some things no government should promise to attempt to do. The functions of government are so great as to bear no needless enlargement. We limit our proposals and our pledges to those areas for which the government of a great republic can reasonably be made responsible. To the best of our ability we have avoided advocating measures that would go against the grain of a free people." **ADDED 5/24/97**

This party sees the role of the government as being second to the private sector in terms of social programs. The party, however, pledges to expand one of its programs, and to help state and local communities.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for 6 points.

H04: Social Services

-2

"We pledge:

Correction of defects in the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act to protect employees' and beneficiaries' interests.

...Strengthening the unemployment insurance system and extension of its benefits.

...Continued improvement of manpower skills and training to meet a new era of challenges, including action programs to aid older workers, women, youth, and the physically handicapped.

...Encouragement of training programs by labor, industry and government to aid in finding new jobs for persons dislocated by automation or other economic changes.

In the housing area, the platform includes "... (The

Republican Party will vigorously support the following steps, all designed to supplement and not supplant private initiative."

In addition, the platform specifically pledges continued support and effort directed at a sound social security program. This platform does not, though, seem as broad or as deep in its support of social services as was the case in the previous platform. More emphasis is placed now on training and finding people jobs, and beyond social security it does not seem that the party is particularly enthused about broad governmental involvement in this area. Hence, a -2 -- rather than the -3 of 1956 -- seems appropriate here.

[changed from -3 by RH and JF on 6/20/97]

H05: Health Care

+1

"Development of a health program that will provide the aged needing it, on a sound fiscal basis and through a contributory system, protection against burdensome costs of health care. Such a program should:

Provide the beneficiaries with the option of purchasing private health insurance - a vital distinction between our approach and Democratic proposals in that it would encourage commercial carriers and voluntary insurance organizations to continue their efforts to develop sound coverage plans for the senior population.

...We pledge: federal help in new programs to build schools of medicine, dentistry, and public health and nursing, and financial aid to students in those fields."

Though there is no direct reference to government as direct health care provider, it can be assumed from what is (and is not) here that the party sees government primarily as benefactor to elderly who need help in buying private health insurance.

[changed from -1 on 5/24/97]

H06: Environmental Protection

-1

[We favor] Discharge by government of responsibility for those activities which the private sector cannot do or cannot so well do such as ... development and wise use of natural resources...

...Our objective is for further growth, greater strength, and increased utilization in each great area of resource use and development.

...We are confronted with major problems in the field of

environmental health. We pledge:

-Strengthened federal enforcement powers in combatting water pollution and additional resources for research and demonstration projects. Federal grants for the construction of waste disposal plants should be made only when they make an identifiable contribution to clearing up polluted streams.

-Federal authority to identify, after appropriate hearings, air pollution problems and to recommend proposed solutions."

The platform calls for the strengthening of the government's regulatory role and its enforcement powers in certain areas. In contrast to the earlier platforms, this one contains less language devoted to "development" and fewer calls for reduction of regulation. Hence, the score of -1.

H07: Education

-4

"Primary responsibility for education must remain with the local community and state. The federal government should assist selectively in strengthening education without interfering with full local control of schools.

...One objective of such federal assistance should be to help equalize educational opportunities. Under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, the federal government will spend more than a billion dollars in 1960 to strengthen American education.

(W)e pledge:

-Federal support to the primary and secondary schools by a program of federal aid for school construction - pacing it to the real needs of individual school districts in states and territories, and requiring state approval and participation.

...Education best fulfills its high purpose when responsibility for education is kept close to the people it serves - when it is rooted in the homes, nurtured in the community and sustained by a rich variety of public, private and individual resources."

The platform does not mention the private provision of education. (We do not read the reference to private resources as necessarily referring to private education, per se.) Although the party is not necessarily opposed to private education, neither is it on record as supporting a larger role for the private sector in the educational sphere.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"To assure steady balanced growth and agricultural progress, we pledge:

Use of price supports at levels best fitted to specific commodities, in order to widen markets, ease production controls, and help achieve increased farm family income.

Improvement of credit facilities for financing the capital needs of modern farming".

This platform, unlike the previous two platforms, makes no specific mention of (opposition to) subsidies. However, it does favor "price supports" and "credit facilities." Since the lack of mention of subsidies creates ambiguity as to whether +1 or -1 applies, we opt for the +0 code.

[changed from +1 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The platform says nothing on cultural supports.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"There is no price ceiling on America's security. The United States can and must provide whatever is necessary to insure its own security and that of the free world and to provide any necessary increased expenditures to meet new situations, to guarantee the opportunity to fulfill the hopes of men of good will everywhere."

H11: Foreign Aid

-1

"Our mutual security program of economic help and technical assistance; the Development Loan Fund, the Inter-American Bank, the International Development Association and the Food for Peace Program, which create the conditions for progress in less-developed countries; our leadership in international efforts to help children, eliminate pestilence and disease and aid refugees - these are programs wise in concept and generous in purpose. We mean to continue in support of them.

...We will encourage the countries of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia, to initiate appropriate regional groupings to work out plans for economic and educational development. We anticipate that the United Nations Special Fund would be of assistance in developing such plans. The United States would offer its cooperation in planning, and the provision of technical personnel for this purpose. Agreeable to the developing

nations, we would join with them in inviting countries with advanced economies to share with us a proportionate part of the capital and technical aid required. We would emphasize the increasing use of private capital and government loans, rather than outright grants, as a means of fostering independence and mutual respect."

As compared to the 1956 platform, this statement is more detailed but continues the same general thrust.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

+1

"We pledge:

Support of the historic policy of Congress in preserving the integrity of the several States to govern water rights.

...Vigorous state and local governments are a vital part of our federal union. The federal government should leave to state and local governments those programs and problems which they can best handle and tax sources adequate to finance them.

...Primary responsibility for education must remain with the local community and state. The federal government should assist selectively in strengthening education without interfering with full local control of schools.

...The Federal Government can and should help state and local communities combat juvenile delinquency by inaugurating a grant program for research, demonstration, and training projects and by placing greater emphasis on strengthening family life in all welfare programs for which it shares responsibility."

This essentially continues the position taken in the previous platforms.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

"We therefore accord high priority to vigorous economic growth and recognize that its mainspring lies in the private sector of the economy. We must continue to foster a healthy climate in that sector.

... and by keeping the federal government from unjustly

competing with private enterprise upon which Americans mainly depend for their livelihood."

This platform, which again recognizes accomplishments of the post office, also continues to state general opposition to government ownership -- if the last statement above is taken to mean that the party would prefer to reduce what the government currently owns. Assuming that meaning, we code a continuation of the +3 code from the previous program.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

"Spurring the economy by advancing the successful Eisenhower-Nixon program fostering new and small business, by continued active enforcement of the anti-trust laws, by protecting consumers and investors against the hazard and economic waste of fraudulent and criminal practices in the market place, and by keeping the federal government from unjustly competing with private enterprise upon which Americans mainly depend for their livelihood.

...Continued improvement of our vital transportation network, carrying forward rapidly the vast Eisenhower-Nixon national highway program and promoting safe, efficient, competitive and integrated transport by air, road, rail and water under equitable, impartial and minimal regulation directed to those ends.

...In safeguarding the health of the nation the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration's initiative has resulted in doubling the resources of the Food and Drug Administration and in giving it new legal weapons. More progress has been made during this period in protecting consumers against harmful food, drugs, and cosmetics than at any other time in our history. We will continue to give strong support to this consumer protection program."

This continues the thrust of the previous program. Once again, the platform is more positive than negative toward regulation, and fails to include a principled statement against regulation in general.

[changed from +0 on 5/24/97]

H16: Minority Rights

-4

1. Voting. We pledge:

Continued vigorous enforcement of the civil rights laws to guarantee the right to vote to all citizens in all areas of the country.

2. Public Schools. We pledge:

The Department of Justice will continue its vigorous support of court orders for school desegregation

3. Employment. We pledge:

Continued support for legislation to establish a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the excellent work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Appropriate legislation to end the discriminatory membership practices of some labor union locals.

4. Housing. We pledge:

Action to prohibit discrimination in housing constructed with the aid of federal subsidies.

5. Public Facilities and Services. We pledge:

Removal of any vestige of discrimination in the operation of federal facilities or procedures which may at any time be found.

...We reaffirm the constitutional right to peaceable assembly to protest discrimination in private business establishments.

...(W)e pledge the full use of the power, resources and leadership of the federal government to eliminate discrimination based on race, color, religion or national origin and to encourage understanding and good will among all races and creeds."

This plank is more like the Democrats' plank in 1960 than the Republicans' plank in 1956. Hence, we assign the code of -4.

H17 Women's Rights

-2

"We pledge...action on...(a)ssurance of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex."

This continues the same general thrust as in 1956.

[changed from -3 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-4

"Immigration has been reduced to the point where it does not provide the stimulus to growth that it should, nor are we fulfilling our obligation as a haven for the oppressed. Republican conscience and Republican policy require that:

The annual number of immigrants we accept be at least doubled.

...The guidelines of our immigration policy be based upon judgment of the individual merit of each applicant for admission and citizenship."

This calls for an open, non-discriminatory policy.

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1964

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"Every person has the right to govern himself, to fix his own goals, and to make his own way with a minimum of governmental interference.

...We Republicans shall first rely on the individual's right and capacity to advance his own economic well-being, to control the fruits of his efforts and to plan his own and his family's future; and where government is rightly involved, we shall assist the individual in surmounting urgent problems beyond his own power and responsibility to control.

...We pledge: - support of a Constitutional amendment permitting those individuals and groups who choose to do so to exercise their religion freely in public places, provided religious exercises are not prepared or prescribed by the state or political subdivision thereof...

In furtherance of our faith in the individual, we also pledge the maximum restraint of Federal intrusions into matters more productively left to the individual."

H02: Personal Taxes

+2

"We pledge...

-tax credits and other methods of assistance to help needy senior citizens meet the costs of medical and hospital insurance...

-tax credits for those burdened by the expenses of college education...

(W)e also pledge...protecting every citizen against the high taxes forced by excessive spending, in order that each individual may keep more of his earning for his own and his family's use.

...(W)e pledge:

-further reduction in individual and corporate tax rates as fiscal discipline is restored.

...(W)e also pledge:

- complete reform of the tax structure, to include simplification

as well as lower rates to strengthen individual and business incentives."

This platform calls for tax reduction across the board and for control of government spending.

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

+2

"(W)e pledge:
-further reduction in individual and corporate tax rates as fiscal discipline is restored."

(See also statements under H02.)

H03: Scope of Government

+2

"It is for government to foster and maintain an environment of freedom encouraging every individual to develop to the fullest his God-given powers of mind, heart and body; and, beyond this, government should undertake only needful things, rightly of public concern, which the citizen cannot himself accomplish.

...Within our Republic the Federal Government should act only in areas where it has Constitutional authority to act, and then only in respect to proven needs where individuals and local or state governments will not or cannot adequately perform."

The platform calls for limits in government role and specifically calls for government to act in areas where the constitution allows.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for 5 points.

H04: Social Services

+1

"Within our Republic, the Federal Government should act only in areas where it has constitutional authority to act, and then only in respect to proven needs where individuals and local or

state governments will not or can not adequately perform.

...This Administration has refused to take practical free enterprise measures to help the poor.

...This Administration has proposed a so-called war on poverty which characteristically overlaps, and often contradicts, the 42 existing Federal poverty programs. It would dangerously centralize federal controls and bypass effective state, local and private programs.

...It has demonstrated little concern for the acute problems created for the poor by inflation.

....We pledge:

-a strong, sound system of Social Security, with improved benefits to our people."

This statement is a clear departure from the positions taken in 1956 and 1960, and comes closer to the rather negative posture expressed in 1952. Though there is support for the Social Security program, the tone of the rest of the plank is generally negative toward federal government involvement, and even suggests more of a "free enterprise" approach to solving social problems.

[changed from +0 by RH and JF on 6/20/97]

H05: Health Care

+1

"We pledge:

(F)ull coverage of all medical and hospital costs for the needy elderly people, financed by general revenues through broader implementation of Federal-State plans, rather than the compulsory Democratic scheme covering only a small percentage of such costs, for everyone regardless of need."

Though opposition to compulsory national health insurance is clear, the party does pledge to have the government pay medical and hospital costs for the elderly (undoubtedly in private facilities). (It should be noted that the latter applies only to the elderly, not to the population in general.

[changed from -1 on 5/24/97]

H06: Environmental Protection

+0

"(W)e pledge:

-to establish realistic priorities for the concentration of Federal spending in the most productive and creative areas, such as ... oceanography, and the wise development and use of natural resources in the water as well as on land, while resisting Democratic efforts

to spend wastefully and indiscriminately.

-full cooperation of all governmental levels and private enterprise in advancing the balanced use of the nation's natural resources to provide for man's multiple needs;

-continuing review of public-land laws and policies to assure maximum opportunity for all beneficial uses of the public lands; including the development of mineral resources;

-comprehensive water-resource planning and development, including projects for our growing cities, expanded research in desalinization of water, and continued support of multi-purpose reclamation projects;

-support of sustained yield management of our forests and expanded research for control of forest insects, disease, and forest fires;

-protection of traditional domestic fishing grounds and other actions, including tax incentives, to encourage modernization of fishing vessels, and improve processing and marketing practices."

While the platform addresses a number of relevant areas, it is unclear what role the national government is expected to play. Preferences for and against regulation, to the extent that they are discernable, seem to be offsetting.

[changed from -1 on 5/25/97]

H07: Education

-4

"(W)e pledge:

-to continue the advancement of education on all levels, through such programs as selective aid to higher education, strengthened State and local tax resources, including tax credits for college education, while resisting the Democratic efforts which endanger local control of schools;

...-to establish realistic priorities for the concentration of federal spending in the most productive and creative areas, such as education,..."

The platform does not mention the private provision of education. Although the party is not necessarily opposed to private education, neither is it on record as supporting a larger role for the private sector in the educational sphere.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+1

In this platform, the Republicans pledge "development of truly voluntary commodity programs for commercial agriculture, including payments in kind out of government-owned surpluses, diversion of unneeded land to conservation uses, price supports free of

political manipulation in order to stimulate and attain fair market prices, together with adequate credit facilities and continued support of farm-owned and operated cooperatives including rural electric and telephone facilities, while resisting all efforts to make the farmer dependent, for his economic survival, upon either compensatory payments by the Federal Government or upon the whim of the Secretary of Agriculture."

The change in score reflects the specific calls against direct compensation to farmers. Some form of price support continues to be advocated, however.

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"We will maintain a superior, not merely equal, military capability as long as the Communist drive for world domination continues. It will be a capability of balanced force, superior in all its arms, maintaining flexibility for effective performance in the rapidly changing science of war.

...We will end "second-best" weapons policies. We will end the false economies which place price ahead of the performance upon which American lives may depend."

H11: Foreign Aid

+0

"Republicans will recast foreign aid programs. We will see that all will serve the cause of freedom. We will see that none bolster and sustain anti-American regimes; we will increase the use of private capital on a partnership basis with foreign nationals, as a means of fostering independence and mutual respect but we assert that property of American Nationals must not be expropriated by any foreign government without prompt and adequate compensation as contemplated by international law.

Freedom's wealth must never support freedom's decline, always its growth. America's tax revenues derived from free enterprise sources must never be employed in support of socialism. America must assist young and underdeveloped nations. In the process,

however, we must not sacrifice the trust of old friends.

Our assistance, also, must be conditional upon self-help and progress toward the development of free institutions. We favor the establishment in underdeveloped nations of an economic and political climate that will encourage the investment of local capital and attract the investment of foreign capital."

While continuing to support the concept of foreign aid, this platform places more emphasis on private capital and private investment than was the case in 1960, and this time there is also no statement in favor of any particular new program that would indicate an increase in public aid. It would appear that any increases would be paid for from private funds.

[change from -1 on 5/27/97]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H13: Centralized Power

+1

"Within our Republic the Federal Government should act only in areas where it has Constitutional authority to act, and then only in respect to proven needs where individuals and local or state governments will not or cannot adequately perform.

...(W)e pledge:

...-to continue the advancement of education on all levels, through such programs as selective aid to higher education, strengthened State and local tax resources, including tax credits for college education, while resisting the Democratic efforts which endanger local control of schools.

...-maximum reliance upon subordinate levels of government and individual citizens to meet the nation's needs, in place of establishing even more Federal agencies to burden the people.

...In furtherance of our faith in limited, frugal and efficient government we also pledge:

- credit against federal taxes for specified state and local taxes paid, and a transfer to the states of excise and other federal tax sources, to reinforce the fiscal strength of state and local governments so that they may better meet rising school costs and other pressing urban and suburban problems such as transportation, housing, water systems and juvenile delinquency.

...-revitalization of municipal and county governments throughout America by encouraging them, and private citizens as well, to

develop new solutions of their major concerns through a streamlining and modernizing of state and local processes of government, and by a renewed consciousness of their ability to reach these solutions, not through Federal action, but through their own capabilities."

In essence, this platform continues the position of the previous platform.

[changed from -1 on 5/24/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

"We Republicans shall vigorously protect the dynamo of economic growth -- free, competitive enterprise -- that has made America the envy of the world.

...We pledge - a continual re-examination and reduction of government competition with private business, consistent with the recommendations of the second Hoover Commission."

In the platform, the party continues to call for reduction in government ownership.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+1

"(W)e pledge:

-an end to power-grabbing regulatory actions, such as the reach by the Federal Trade Commission for injunctive powers and the ceaseless pressing by the White House, the Food and Drug Administration and Federal Trade Commission to dominate consumer decisions in the market place;

-returning the consumer to the driver's seat as the chief regulator and chief beneficiary of a free economy, by resisting excessive concentration of power, whether public or private;

-a drastic reduction in burdensome Federal paperwork and overlapping regulations, which weigh heavily on small businessmen struggling to compete and to provide jobs;

-improvement, and full and fair enforcement, of the anti-trust statutes, coupled with long-overdue clarification of Federal policies and interpretations relating thereto in order to strengthen competition and protect the consumer and small business;

-constant opposition to any form of unregulated monopoly, whether business or labor."

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"We pledge continued opposition to discrimination based on race, creed, national origin or sex. We recognize that the elimination of any such discrimination is a matter of heart, conscience, and education, as well as of equal rights under the law.

...We pledge to help assure equal opportunity and good education for all, while opposing Federally-sponsored 'inverse discrimination'."

H17: Women's Rights

-1

"We pledge:

-continued opposition to discrimination based on race, creed national origin or sex. We recognize that the elimination of any such discrimination is a matter of heart, conscience, and education, as well as of equal rights under the law."

The party pledges -- in very general and vague terms -- elimination of discrimination, but there is no mention of specific programs aimed primarily for the benefit of women.

[changed from -3 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

98 [BTN: -3]

"...We pledge:

-immigration legislation seeking to re-unite families and continuation of the "Fair Share" Refugee Program."

Determination of a non-missing code would require some knowledge of the content of the "Fair Share" Refugee Program, i.e. whether it was primarily a pro- or anti- immigration program. Though it sounds here as though it may involve some type of quota system, we are reluctant to make that leap for coding purposes. Hence, we have assigned a code of 98, but offer -3 (see also 1968) as a BTN code for those preferring to avoid missing values.

[changed from -4 by RH/JF on 6/8/97]

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1968

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"Decentralization of power, as well as strict Congressional oversight of administrative and regulatory agency compliance with the letter and spirit of the law, are urgently needed to preserve personal liberty, improve efficiency,...

...The dynamism of our economy is produced by millions of individuals who have the incentive to participate in decision-making that advances themselves and society as a whole. Government can reinforce these incentives, but its over-involvement in individual decisions distorts the system and intrudes inefficiency and waste.

...Our party historically has been the party of freedom. We are the only barricade against those who, through excessive government power, would overwhelm and destroy man's liberty."

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"[W]e continue to favor tax credits for those burdened with the cost of higher education, and also tax deductions to encourage savings for this purpose.

...By responsibly applying federal expenditure controls to priority needs, we can in time live both within our means and up to our aspirations. Such funds as become available with the termination of the Vietnam war and upon recovery from its impact on our national defense will be applied in a balanced way to critical domestic needs and to reduce the heavy tax burden. Our objective is not an endless expansion of federal programs and expenditures financed by heavier taxation."

Weaker than most of the platforms prior to this one, this platform specifies a very narrowly applicable tax credit program, and then indicates a desire to reduce taxes when the Vietnam war is over. This is most likely a +.5, so we round up to the code of +1.

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]6

H02B: Total Taxes

+1

See quotes and statements under H02 above.

[changed from -0 on 5/23/97]

H03: Scope of Government

+2

"The dynamism of our economy is produced by millions of individuals who have the incentive to participate in decision-making that advances themselves and society as a whole. Government can reinforce these incentives, but its over-involvement in individual decisions distorts the system and intrudes inefficiency and waste."

The change in score reflects the dropping of the reference to constitutional provisions for government action.

H03C: Scope (computed)

98

The platform addresses 10 of the 11 relevant issue variables, for 5 points.

H04: Social Services

+1

"[W]e advocate expanded, better programs for pre-school children.

...Welfare and poverty programs will be drastically revised to liberate the poor from the debilitating dependence which erodes self-respect and discourages family unity and responsibility. We will modify the rigid welfare requirements that stifle work motivation and support locally operated children's day care centers to free the parents to accept work.

...We favor maximum reliance on community leaders utilizing the regular channels of government to provide needed public services.

...We will strengthen the Social Security system and provide automatic cost of living adjustments under Social Security and the Railroad Retirement Act."

Like in 1964, the party continues to endorse the Social Security program, but in a context which is more generally negative toward governmental (and especially at the federal level) involvement in providing social services. Though the support for locally operated day care centers is a new twist, it does not seem substantial enough to justify moving the code from the +1 position.

H05: Health Care

+1

"We pledge to encourage the broadening of private health insurance plans, many of which cover hospital care only, and to review the operation of government hospital care programs in order to encourage more patients to utilize non-hospital facilities."

Assuming that "government hospital care programs" means some type of insurance for government employees, rather than any form of governmentally-provided health care, then the continuation of +1 seems appropriate.

[changed from -1 on 5/24/97]

H06: Environmental Protection

-1

"Air and water pollution, already acute in many areas, require vigorous state and federal action, regional planning, and maximum cooperation among neighboring cities, counties and states. We will encourage this planning and cooperation and also spur industrial participation by means of economic incentives.

...We pledge a reversal of present policies and the adoption of a progressive national fisheries policy, which will make it possible for the first time to utilize fully the vast ocean reservoir of protein. We pledge a more energetic control of pollution, encouragement of an increase in fishery resources, and will also press for international agreements assuring multi-national conservation."

The platform is more pro-regulation than the previous platform. It is closer to the statement in the 1960 platform.

H07: Education

-3

"We will encourage state, local or private programs of teacher training.

...To help assure excellence and equality of educational

opportunity, we will urge the states to present plans for federal assistance which would include state distribution of such aid to non-public school children and include non-public school representatives in the planning process. Where state conditions prevent use of funds for non-public school children, a public agency should be designated to administer federal funds.

...To help colleges and universities provide this opportunity, we favor grant and loan programs for expansion of their facilities. We will also support a flexible student aid program of grants, loans and work opportunities, provided by federal and state governments and private organizations."

This is the first time that the party mentions private education in a platform. There is no reason to think, though, that the role envisioned for the private sector is more than "very small," relative to public education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"To promote the development of American agriculture, we pledge:

-Farm policies and programs which will enable producers to receive fair prices in relation to the prices they must pay for other products;

-Sympathetic consideration of proposals to encourage farmers, especially small producers, to develop their bargaining position."

There is no direct reference to the party's position with regard to direct subsidies, though there is mention of the failure of the Democrat's programs. The statement regarding fair prices is somewhat weaker than earlier promises of income parity.

[changed from +1 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

98

The program says nothing that could be used to code this variable.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"A strange Administration preference for such second-best weaponry... has deprived our armed forces of more advanced weapons

systems. Improvements in our submarines have been long delayed as the Soviets have proceeded apace with their own. Our anti-submarine warfare capabilities have been left seriously inadequate, new fighter planes held up, and new strategic weaponry left on the drawing boards.

This mismanagement has seriously weakened the ability of the United States to meet future crises with great power and decisiveness.

...We pledge to include [all that is necessary for] a comprehensive program to restore the pre-eminence of U.S. military strength.

...We are determined to assure our nation of the strength required in future years to deter war and to prevail should it occur."

H11: Foreign Aid

+1

"A more selective use of our economic strength has become imperative. We believe foreign aid is a necessary ingredient in the betterment of less developed countries. Our aid, however, must be positioned realistically in our national priorities. Only those nations which urgently require America's help and clearly evince a desire to help themselves will receive such assistance as can be diverted from our pressing needs. In providing aid, more emphasis will be given to technical assistance. We will encourage multilateral agencies so that other nations will help share the burden. The administration of all aid programs will be revised and improved to prevent waste, inefficiency and corruption. We will vigorously encourage maximum participation by private enterprise.

...Nations hostile to this country will receive no assistance from the United States. We will not provide aid of any kind to countries which aid and abet the war efforts of North Vietnam."

As compared to the previous programs, this one is more negative toward foreign aid. While recognizing the necessity of continuing some foreign aid, there is no indication of willingness to support increases (unless funded by private capital), and there are indications of cuts for some countries.

[changed from -1 on 5/17/97]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+3

"We must re-establish the principle that men are accountable for what they do, that criminals are responsible for their crimes, that while the youth's environment may help to explain the man's

crime, it does not excuse that crime.

...Republican leadership in Congress has:

-Total commitment to a federal program to deter, apprehend, prosecute, convict and punish the overlords of organized crime in America, including full implementation of the Congressional mandate that court-supervised wiretapping and electronic surveillance tools be used against the mobsters and racketeers;

-A new approach to the problem of chronic offenders, including adequate staffing of the corrections system and improvement of rehabilitative techniques."

Though the greater emphasis is clearly upon punishment, there is mention here of improving rehabilitative techniques.

[changed from +4 on 5/30/97]

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"We pledge:

Presidential leadership which will buttress state and local governments;

Vigorous Federal support to innovative state programs, using new policy techniques such as urban development corporations, to help rebuild our cities...

A complete overhaul and restructuring of the competing and overlapping jumble of Federal programs to enable state and local governments to focus on priority objectives...

...Decentralization of power, as well as strict Congressional oversight of administrative and regulatory agency compliance with the letter and spirit of the law, are urgently needed to preserve personal liberty, improve efficiency, and provide a swifter response to human problems.

We pledge full federal cooperation with these efforts, including revision of the system of providing federal funds and reestablishment of the authority of state governments in coordinating and administering the federal programs. Additionally we propose the sharing of federal revenues with state governments."

In contrast to previous programs which received a score of +1, this platform places greater initiative and authority in the hands of the central government, while emphasizing the need to better equip the state and local governments for administering federal programs. A pledge to create broader grants to allow more local flexibility does not seem to fully offset the federal government's upper hand.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

"We endorse the concept of state and community development corporations.

...We are determined to eliminate and prevent improper federal competition with private enterprise."

There is no substantive change in the party's position.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-1

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

The party also explicitly opposes wage and price controls, but favors controls to reduce pollution and wants the Department of Transportation to regulate competition in the transportation sector. There is no principled statement against regulation.

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H16: Minority Rights

98 [BTN: -1]

"We pledge:

- concern for the unique problems of citizens long disadvantaged in our total society by race, color, national origin, creed, or sex.

...We believe the Indian and Eskimo must have equal opportunity to participate fully in American society".

The relevant statements here are too vague to support a code for this variable. On the other hand, for those wishing to substitute a BTN code for the missing value, we suggest continuing the code of -1 from the previous platform.

[changed from -1 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

98 [BTN: -1]

"We pledge:

- concern for the unique problems of citizens long disadvantaged in our total society by race, color, national origin,

creed, or sex."

As for H16, there is not sufficient detail to support a code with much confidence. However, we feel a BTN of -1 is justified.

[changed from -1 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-3

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

We judge this language to be enough different from that of 1956 or 1960 to require a code different from their -4's. This assumes that by "selective support for the American labor market," the party is actually advocating some type of quota system (by occupation). There is no clear indication that the party wishes to increase the overall amount of immigration this time.

[changed from -4 by RH/JF on 6/8/97]

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1972

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

98 [BTN: +4]

"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 reaffirm our view that voluntary prayer should be freely permitted in public places...

...Our Republican Party pledges a new era of progress for man - progress toward more freedom, toward greater protection of individual rights, toward more security from want and fear, toward greater fulfillment and happiness for all."

The relevant statements in this platform do not deal directly or broadly enough with the subject matter of this variable to allow much confidence in applying a code. Hence, we opt for the missing data code, but also offer a "best guess" for use by those who would prefer living with the possibility of error to living with missing data.

[changed from +4 on 5/24/97]

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"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;

-A simplified tax system to make it easier for all of us to pay no more and no less than we rightly owe;

-Prudent fiscal management, including the elimination of unnecessary or obsolete programs, to keep the tax burden to a minimum.

...(W)e remain committed to General Revenue Sharing, which could reduce the oppressive property tax.

...We will continue pressing for:
-Reform (of) our tax system so that persons 65 or over will receive increased tax-free income."

The party claims to have already reduced taxes substantially. In this platform, it pledges to "keep the tax burden to a minimum." In one place, the platform argues that "Only if the taxpayers' money is prudently managed can taxes be kept at reasonable levels." So the party wants increases in neither expenditures nor taxes. Given the claims to have already reduced taxes and the promise to keep them at this level, a +1 seems justified here.

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H0B: Total Taxes

+1

See quotes and comments in H02.

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H03: Scope of Government

+2

"We hold the government planners should be guided by the people through their locally elected representatives. We believe that real solutions require the full participation of the private sector."

H03C: Scope (computed)

+0

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for 6 points, which converts to a score of 0.

H04: Social Services

-1

"We are determined to improve Federal manpower programs to reduce unemployment and increase productivity by providing better information on job openings and more relevant job training... We commit ourselves to the full educational opportunities and the humane care, treatment and rehabilitation services necessary for the handicapped to become fully integrated into the social and

economic mainstream.

President Nixon proposed to change our welfare system "to provide each person with a means of escape from welfare into dignity." ...

In companion actions, our efforts to improve the nutrition of poor people resulted in basic reforms in the Food Stamp Program... the School Lunch Program...

Since 1969, we have increased the Federal support for family planning threefold...

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...

...Significant numbers of Americans still lack the means for decent housing, and in such cases -- where special need exists -- we will continue to apply public resources to help people acquire better apartments and homes.

...We have undertaken a wide variety of demonstration programs to assure our children, particularly poor children, a good start in life ...

...(W)e are seeking and have sought in many ways to help older Americans...

...We flatly oppose the notion that the hard-earned tax dollars of American workers should be used to support those who can work but choose not to, and who believe that the world owes them a living free from any responsibility or care."

Compared to the two previous programs, the rather negative tone regarding welfare (abuse) continues, though there are now more specific programs that are mentioned in a positive light. Though we can see arguments for either a +0 or a -1 in this case, we opt for the -1 since the positive statements do seem to slightly outweigh the negative.

[changed from +1 on 6/21/97]

H05: Health Care

+0

"To improve efficiency in providing health and medical care, we have developed and will continue to encourage a pluralistic approach to the delivery of quality health care, including innovative experiments such as health maintenance organizations.

...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. The National Health Insurance Partnership plan and the Family Health Insurance Plan proposed by the president meet these specifications. They would build on existing private health insurance systems, not destroy them.

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 overall quality of health care for all Americans.

...We have undertaken a wide variety of demonstration programs to assure our children, particularly poor children, a good start in life - for example, the Parent and Child Center program for infant care.

...We are improving medical care for poor children through more vigorous treatment procedures under Medicaid and more effectively targeting maternal and child health services to low-income mothers."

While opposing "nationalized compulsory health insurance," the party is willing to join in a cooperative venture to at least "upgrade" the current private insurance system.

[changed from -2 on 5/24/97]

H06: Environmental Protection

-2

"First, new decision-making organizations were set in place...We also created a National Industrial Pollution Control Council to enlist the private sector more actively against environmental decay, and Presidential Federal Property Review Board was appointed to ferret out Federal property for transfer to local park and recreational uses.

...(W)e proposed a broad range of actions to facilitate research and development for clean energy, provide energy resources on Federal lands, assure a timely supply of nuclear fuels, use energy more efficiently, balance environmental and energy needs and better organize Federal efforts.

The oceans are a vast, largely untapped reservoir of resources, a source of food, minerals, recreation and pleasure, with great potential for economic development. For their maintenance we must:

-Encourage the development of coastal zone management systems by the States, in cooperation with the Federal Government, to preserve the coastal environment while allowing for its prudent social and economic development."

The language of the platform is quite strong, with several specific pledges on government role. Despite statements about private sector participation, the platform clearly sees a strong

role for government. This is a step beyond what was stated and pledged in the previous platform.

H07: Education

-3

"We have also proposed grant and loan programs to support a national commitment that no qualified student should be barred from college by lack of money. The Education Amendment of 1972 embodied substantial portions of that proposal and marked the Nation's most far-reaching commitment to make higher education available to all.

...Our non-public schools, both church-oriented and nonsectarian, have been our special concern. The President has emphasized the indispensable role these schools play in our educational system -from the standpoints of the large numbers of pupils they serve, the competition and diversity they help to maintain in American education, and the values they help to teach -and he has stated his determination to help halt the accelerating trend of nonpublic school closures.

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."

The platform recognizes the special role of private education but there is nothing here to suggest that the role envisioned for the private sector is more than "very small," relative to public education. In fact, there is no mention of expanding the private role; rather, efforts are to be directed at keeping more of such schools from closing.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"For the future, we pledge to intensify our efforts to:

- Keep farm prices in the private sector, not subject to price controls;
- Support family farms as the preferred method of organizing agricultural production, and protect them from the unfair competition of farming by tax-loss corporations and non-farm enterprises;
- Reform Federal estate tax laws, which often force the precipitate sale of family farms to help pay the tax, in such ways as to help support the continuance of family farms as institutions of great importance to the American way of life;
- Provide greater credit, technical assistance, soil and water conservation aid, environmental enhancement, economic stimulus and

sympathetic leadership to America's rural areas and communities."

Instead of price controls and direct subsidies, the platform calls for tax incentives, loans and credit to help agriculture. There is no mention of subsidies, per se, and hence the +0 code.

[changed from +1 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

"We believe, with the President, that the Federal Government has a vital role as catalyst, innovator, and supporter of public and private efforts for cultural development.

...We have supported a three-year extension of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, and increased the funding of its two endowments by more than four times the level of three years ago.

...We have also expanded the funding of public broadcasting.

For the future, we pledge continuance of our vigorous support of the arts and humanities."

The platform calls for funding of the arts, including direct grants, through public-supported foundations. Support is also forthcoming for public broadcasting.

H10: Defense Spending

+4

"The Nixon Doctrine recognizes that continuing defense and development are impossible unless the concerned nations shoulder the principal burden.

...The irresponsible proposals 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 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 have sharply reduced defense spending... The 1973 defense budget imposes the smallest economic burden on the country of any defense budget in more than twenty years."

This platform couples pledges to maintain a strong defense with language on cutbacks and cost-sharing among nations.

H11: Foreign Aid

+1

"Since World War II, our country has played the major role in the international effort to assist the developing countries of the world. Reform of our foreign assistance program, to induce a greater international sharing of the aid effort, is long overdue. The reforms proposed by the President have been approved only in part. We call for further reforms to make our aid more effective and protect the taxpayer's interests."

[changed from -1 on 5/27/97]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

-1

"We recognize that programs involving work releases, study releases and half-way houses have contributed substantially to the rehabilitation of offenders and we support these programs.

...We have given the rehabilitation of criminal offenders more constructive, top-level attention than it has received at any time in our nation's history.

...We believe the correctional system not only should punish, but also should educate and rehabilitate."

This platform appears contradictory to the previous one. Here, the focus of the statements is more upon rehabilitation than punishment, though the reference to "not only should punish, but also..." suggests that punishment is remain an important part of the mix.

[changed from -3 on 5/30/97]

H13: Centralized Power

-1

"We pledge to carry [Federal aid to education] forward in a manner consistent with our conviction that the Federal Government should assist but never control the educational process.

...President Nixon proposed to change our welfare system... and his goals were these:

Uniform Federal payment standards for all welfare recipients... We [i.e. at the Federal level] will continue to support expanded family planning programs and will foster research in this area

...Republican urban strategy rejects throwing good money after bad money. Instead, through fundamental fiscal, management and program reforms, we have created a new Federal partnership through

which State, county and municipal governments can best cope with specific problems.

Our Party recognizes counties as viable units of regional government with a major role in modernizing and restructuring local services, eliminating duplication and increasing local cooperation. We urge Federal and State governments, in implementing national goals and programs, to utilize the valuable resources of counties as area-wide, general-purpose governments."

As in the previous program, it appears that the party is placing greater authority in the hands of the Federal government, while continuing to be concerned that the state and local levels be adequately supported to help carry out the national priorities.

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+3

"We reaffirm our support for the basic principles of capitalism which underlie the private enterprise system of the United States... [We] hold that nothing has done more to help the American people achieve their unmatched standard of living than the free-enterprise system.

...We will continue to press for the enactment of General and Special Revenue Sharing and to pursue further initiatives both to decentralize governmental activities and to transfer more such activities to the private sector."

The administration advocates transferring some activities to the private sector.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

-3

"We will press on for greater competition in our economy. The energetic antitrust program of the past four years demonstrates our commitment to free competition as our basic policy. The Antitrust Division has moved decisively to invalidate those "conglomerate" mergers which stifle competition and discourage economic concentration. The 87 antitrust cases filed in fiscal year 1972 broke the previous one-year record of more than a decade ago, during another Republican Administration.

...For mine health and safety, we have implemented the most comprehensive legislation in the Nation's history, resulting in a major reduction in mine-related accidents. We pledge continued advancement of the health and safety of workers.

...The American consumer has a right to product safety; clearly specified qualities and values, honest descriptions and guarantees, fair credit procedures, and due recourse for fraud and deception. We are addressing these concerns forcefully, with

executive action and legislative and legal initiatives.

...We pledge vigorous enforcement of all consumer protection laws and to foster more consumer education as a vital necessity in a marketplace ever increasing in variety and complexity."

The platform calls for consumer protection, vigorous enforcement of anti-trust laws, and work safety legislation which signals an increase in the number of areas where regulation should be implemented.

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"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 this 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 pledge continued support of collegiate and university efforts to insure that no group in our society - racial, economic, sexual or regional - is denied access to the opportunities of higher education.

...We will continue our Party's open-door policy and work to assure all minorities full opportunity for participation in the political process. We pledge vigorous support of the Bilingual Act and the Ethnic Studies Heritage Act.

We will press on with our fight against social injustice and discrimination, building upon the achievements already made."

H17: Women's Rights

-5

"We fully endorse the principle of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities for women.

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

...[We] have:...

Required all firms doing business with the Government to have affirmative action plans for the hiring and promotion of women.

...Requested Congress to expand the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights to cover sex discrimination.

...Recommended and supported passage of ... Title IX...

...Continued our support for the Equal Rights Amendment..."

They go on to pledge continuation of these efforts, but stop short of calling for affirmative action in the government.

Nevertheless, the party is clearly endorsing affirmative action plans for the private sector, in requiring such plans from businesses working with the government.

This plank advocated action in many areas of concern for women's rights including the employment of women to the highest level positions in the Federal government.

[changed from -4 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-3

"We stand for an equitable, non-discriminatory immigration policy, reaffirming our support of the principles of the 1965 Immigration Act - non-discrimination against national origins, reunification of families, and the selective admission of the specially talented. The immigration process must be just and orderly, and we will increase our efforts to halt the illegal entry of aliens into the United States.

...We firmly support the right of all persons to emigrate from any country, and we have consistently upheld that doctrine."

There is continuation of the call for non-discriminatory immigration policy, though this time there is also a promise to "increase our efforts to halt" illegal entry.

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1976

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+3

"We believe that liberty can be measured by how much freedom you have to make your own mistakes. Government must step in when your liberties impinge on your neighbors'. Government must deal with other governments and protect you from aggressors.

...Liberty depends in great measure on the privacy that each American retains."

The platform states that the government "must step in" in instances when one's personal liberty violates another's', and this is the main reason for our decision to code a change from the 1972 score of +4.

In addition, the party for the first time gives its support to those seeking a right-to-life amendment, which some would view as an infringement of personal liberties (i.e. of the pregnant woman). However, the language of "right-to-life" itself highlights the Republicans' position that they are concerned about protecting the rights/freedoms of the unborn child. There is also language about protecting against "intrusions into the family structure through [the Supreme Court's] denial of the parents' obligation and right to guide their minor children."

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"The Republican Party advocates a legislative policy to obtain a balanced federal budget and reduced tax rates. While the best tax reform is tax reduction, we recognize the need for structural tax adjustments to help the working men and women of our nation. To that end, we recommend tax credits for college tuition, post-secondary technical training, and child care expenses incurred by working parents.

...As Republicans, we are proud that in this Platform we have urged tax reductions rather than increased government spending. With firm restraint on federal spending, this platform pledges that its proposals for tax changes -- reductions, structural adjustments, differentials, simplifications and job-producing

incentives can all be achieved within the balanced federal budgets we also demand as vital to the interests of all Americans. Without such spending restraint, we cannot responsibly cut back taxes. We reaffirm our determination that any net reduction of revenues must be offset by reduced government spending."

Although tax reduction is advocated and expenditure cuts are called for, there is no reason to think that the party is calling for drastic cuts. The party clearly establishes a balanced budget as having a higher priority than even tax reductions.

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

+1

See quotes and comments in H02.

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H03: Scope of Government

+3

"Republicans try to find ways to take care of needs through the private sector first while it seems automatic for Democrats to take care of them through the governmental system.

...The Republican Party has always believed that the proper role of government is to do only those things which individuals cannot do for themselves.

The platform is clear in its call that the private sector should be the initial provider and the government as a last resort.

H03C: Scope (computed)

+2

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for 4 points, which converts to a score of +2.

H04: Social Services

+3

"...(G)overnment must be compassionate in caring for those citizens who are unable to care for themselves.

...Families must continue to be the foundation of our nation.

Families - not government programs - are the best way to make sure our children are properly nurtured, our elderly are cared for, our cultural and spiritual heritages are perpetuated, our laws are observed and our values are preserved.

If families fail in these vitally important tasks, there is little the government, no matter how well-intentioned, can do to remedy the results.

...(I)t is imperative that our government's programs, actions, officials and social welfare institutions never be allowed to jeopardize the family. We fear the government may be powerful enough to destroy our families; we know that it is not powerful enough to replace them.

...The following goals should govern the reform of the welfare system:

1. Provide adequate living standards for the truly needy;
2. End welfare fraud and prevent it in the future with emphasis on removing ineligible recipients from the welfare rolls, tightening food stamp eligibility requirements, and ending aid to illegal aliens and voluntarily unemployed;
3. Strengthen work requirements, particularly directed at the productive involvement of able-bodied persons in useful community work projects;
4. Provide educational and vocational incentives to allow recipients to become self-supporting.

...We also oppose the guaranteed annual income concept or any programs that reduce the incentive to work.

...We will not let the Social Security system fail..."

The platform begins now to call for lesser government involvement in the provision of social services, with the "family" offered as the substitute. The implication is that families should bear the prime responsibility and not the government. The statement is negative enough toward governmental provision of basic social services to justify a code of +3.

H05: Health Care

+0

"Families should be supported in trying to take care of their elderly. Too often government laws and policies contribute to the deterioration of family life. Our tax laws, for example, permit a contribution to a charitable institution that might care for an elderly parent, but offer little or no incentive to provide care in the home.

...We should utilize our private health insurance system to assure adequate protection for those who do not have it. Such an approach will eliminate red tape and high bureaucratic costs inevitable in a comprehensive national program.

The Republican Party opposes compulsory national health insurance.

...The most effective, efficient and economical method to improve health care and extend its availability to all is to build on the present health delivery and insurance system, which covers nine out of every ten Americans."

In essence, the party is repeating its position of 1972.

H06: Environmental Protection

+0

"We are intensely aware of the need to protect our environment and provide safe working conditions in American industry, while at the same time preventing the loss of jobs and the closing of small businesses through unrealistic or over-rigorous government regulations. We support a balanced approach that considers the requirements of a growing economy and provides jobs for American workers.

...We support establishment of a presidential panel, including representatives of environmental groups, industry, the scientific community and the public to assist in the development of national priorities on environmental and energy issues. This panel will hear and consider alternative policy recommendations set forth by all of the interested groups, and then develop solutions that represent the overall public interest on environmental and energy matters.

...We have a responsibility to future generations to conserve our non-renewable natural resources. Consistent with our needs, conservation should remain our national policy.

...We also believe that Americans are realistic and recognize that the emphasis on environmental concerns must be brought into balance with the needs for industrial and economic growth so that we can continue to provide jobs for an ever-growing work force."

There is a promise to look into the issue of environmental protection, but pledges of government action are minimal in this platform. There is an emphasis placed on bringing into balance "the needs for industrial and economic growth" with the need for a clean and safe environment.

H07: Education

-3

"We favor consideration of tax credits for parents making elementary and secondary school tuition payments.

...Responsibility for education, particularly on the elementary and secondary levels, belongs to local communities and parents. Intrusion by the federal government must be avoided.

...Diversity in education has great value. Public schools and non-public schools should share in education funds on a

constitutionally acceptable basis. Private colleges and universities should be assisted to maintain healthy competition and to enrich diversity. The cost of expanding public campuses can be kept down if existing private institutions are helped to accommodate our student population."

Mention is made of the need to find ways to assist "existing private institutions," but there is no language that would suggest expanding private education's role beyond what we consider to have been "very small," relative to public education.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"Government should not dictate to the productive men and women who work the land. To assure this, we support the continuation of the central principles of the Agricultural Act of 1973, with adjustments of target prices and loan levels to reflect increased production costs.

...(W)hen a foreign nation subsidizes its farm exports, our farmers deserve protection against such unfair practices."

This is similar to what has been said in the previous few programs, except that even fewer programs are mentioned in a positive way. There is no reference to direct subsidies.

[changed from +1 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

-3

"We are committed to steadily increase our support through the National Endowments for the nation's museums, theaters, orchestras, dance, opera and film centers as well as for individual artists and writers.

...We favor continued federal assistance to public broadcasting which provides us with creative educational and cultural alternatives.

...Much of the support of the arts and humanities comes from private philanthropy. This generosity should be encouraged by government policies that facilitate charitable donations."

The platform calls for tax incentives to patrons of the arts and at the same time supports public assistance to the arts and to public broadcasting.

H10: Defense Spending

+4

"We must achieve maximum value for each defense dollar spent. Along with the elimination of the draft and the creation, under a Republican President, of all-volunteer armed services, we have reduced the personnel requirements for support functions without affecting our basic posture... Substantial economies have been made in weapons procurement and we will continue to act in a prudent manner with our defense appropriations.

Our national defense effort will include the continuation of the major modernization program for our strategic missile and bomber forces...

We will increase our Army to 16 divisions, reinforce our program of producing new tanks and other armored vehicles...

Our Navy... must have a major shipbuilding program..."

The party praises its Administration for having cut military spending on some programs; efficiency is now a key element of the plank. On the other hand, many expansions are promised. In essence, this continues the thrust of the 1972 platform.

[changed from +3 on 5/25/97]

H11: Foreign Aid

+0

"Eight years ago we pledged to eliminate waste and to make more business-like the administration of the United States foreign aid programs. We have endeavored to fulfill these pledges. Our foreign economic assistance programs are now being operated efficiently with emphasis on helping others to help themselves, on food production and rural development, on health programs and sound population planning assistance, and on development of human resources.

We have sought to encourage others, including the oil producing countries, to assume a larger share of the burden of assistance. We shall continue our efforts to secure adequate sources of financing for economic projects in emerging countries."

While continuing to recognize the need for some foreign aid, the emphasis here is upon getting others to assist in development projects.

[changed from -1 on 5/27/97]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+2

"The victim of a crime should be treated with compassion and justice. The attacker must be kept from harming others. Emphasis must be on protecting the innocent and punishing the guilty.

...The federal criminal code should include automatic and mandatory minimum sentences for persons committing offenses under federal jurisdiction that involve exceptionally serious crimes, such as trafficking in hard drugs, kidnapping and aircraft hijacking; and that involve injuries committed by repeat offenders.

...Treat the addicts, but, at the same time, remove the pushers from the street and give them mandatory sentences.

States should recognize that antiquated and overcrowded prisons are not conducive to rehabilitation. A high priority of prison reform should be to help the young first-time offender. There should be adequate separation of young adult offenders, more relevant prison industries, better counseling, community-based alternatives and more help in getting a job for the offender who has served his or her time."

Though there is mention of the need for rehabilitation here, the emphasis of that statement is on first-time offenders. The overall plank is clearly more punishment-oriented.

[changed from +1 on 5/30/97]

H13: Centralized Power

+2

"(W)e believe that government action should be taken first by the government that resides as close to you as possible. Governments tend to become less responsive to your needs the farther away they are from you. Thus, we prefer local and state government to national government, and decentralized national government wherever possible.

...Local government is simply accountable to the people, and local people are perfectly capable of making decisions.

We reaffirm the long standing principle of the Republican Party that the best government is the one closest to the people. It is less costly, more accountable, and more responsive to the people's needs.

...Fighting crime is - and should be - primarily a local responsibility.

...Responsibility for education, particularly on the elementary and secondary levels, belongs to local communities and parents. Intrusion by the federal government must be avoided.

...We oppose federalizing the welfare system; local levels of government are most aware of the needs of their communities.

...The federal government has a special responsibility to foster those elements of our national transportation system that are essential to foreign and interstate commerce and national defense. In other transportation systems that primarily support local needs, the federal government's responsibility is to encourage the greatest possible decision-making and flexibility on the part of state and local governments to spend funds in ways that

make the best sense for each community.

...We are determined to preserve land use planning as a unique responsibility of state and local government."

This seems even more supportive of a stronger local role than was the case in the earlier programs receiving a code of +1. Though a 1.5 might be ideal, we round up to the code of +2.

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+1

"Federal, state and local government resources combined are not enough to solve our urban problems. The private sector must be the major participant.

...Government support should emphasize capital formation and technical assistance for small and minority businesses.

...In the United States today we are the best housed nation in the history of world civilization. This accomplishment was achieved by a private enterprise system using free market concepts.

...Democrats have also proposed that the federal government compete with industry in energy development by creating a national oil company. We totally oppose this expensive, inefficient and wasteful intrusion into an area which is best handled by private enterprise."

The party does not call for returning presently held properties, but does oppose extension into a new area, while recognizing private enterprise as the champion of American prosperity.

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+3

This platform contains a whole section titled "Bureaucratic Overregulation," which includes some of the following.

"...We oppose government-controlled grain reserves, just as we oppose federal regulations that are unrealistic in farm practices, such as those imposed by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Since farmers are practicing conservationists, they should not be burdened with unrealistic environmental regulations. We are concerned about regulations issued by the Army Corps of Engineers that will regulate all "routine" agricultural and forestry activities on "all" our waters and wetland, and support legislation

to exempt routine farming operations from these requirements. The adjudication of water rights should be a matter of state determination.

...We believe that the extent of federal regulation and bureaucratic interference in the lives of the American people must be reduced.

...The Republican Party believes in and endorses the concept that the American economy is traditionally dependent upon fair competition, antitrust laws must treat all segments of the economy equally.

We believe that the extent of federal regulation and bureaucratic interference in the lives of the American people must be reduced. The programs and activities of the federal government should be required to meet strict tests of their usefulness and effectiveness.

...We are intensely aware of the need to protect our environment and provide safe working conditions in American industry, while at the same time preventing the loss of jobs and the closing of small businesses through unrealistic or over-rigorous government regulations. We support a balanced approach that considers the requirements of a growing economy and provides jobs for American workers."

The platform is explicit in its opposition to much regulation, but calls for some specific regulation, though much less so than in 1972. The platform continues to call for enforcement of anti-trust laws.

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"There must be vigorous enforcement of laws to assure equal treatment in job recruitment, hiring, promotion, pay, credit, mortgage access and housing.

...We reaffirm our pledge to work to eliminate discrimination in all areas for reasons of race, color, national origin, age, creed or sex and to enforce vigorously laws guaranteeing women equal rights."

The thrust is very similar to 1972 and 1980.

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-4

"We reaffirm our pledge to work to eliminate discrimination in all areas for reasons of race, color, national origin, age, creed or sex and to enforce vigorously laws guaranteeing women equal

rights.

The Republican Party reaffirms its support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

...We reiterate the pledges elsewhere in this platform of support for child care assistance, part-time and flexible-time work that enables men and women to combine employment and family responsibilities, estate tax reform, small business assistance for women, rape prevention and elimination of discriminatory housing practices."

The party pledges to eliminate discrimination and to correct inequities over a broad range of areas, but stops short of advocating affirmative action.

H18: Immigration

-2

"There should be considerable concern over the presence of several million illegal aliens in the country who fill jobs that otherwise would be available to American workers. We support increased efforts to deal more effectively with this problem and favor legislation prohibiting employers from knowingly hiring illegal aliens."

The platform calls for tighter controls to prevent employment of illegal aliens. Though there was a (milder) statement of this type in the 1972 platform, there is clearly a change of tone (i.e. more negative) in this platform.

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1980

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"Our case for the individual is stronger than ever. A defense of the individual against government was never more needed. We will continue to mount it.

...It has long been a fundamental conviction of the Republican Party that government should foster in our society a climate of maximum individual liberty and freedom of choice.

...The Republican Party commits itself to guaranteeing an individual's right of privacy. We support efforts of state governments to ensure individual privacy."

As in 1976, the Party again supports a right-to-life amendment. Particular emphasis is given to the freedom of parents to control their own homes and families, i.e. to guide their minor children in making decisions about abortion. In addition, this time there are even more and stronger statements than in 1976 dealing with personal freedoms other than abortion, and there is no longer any statement dealing with the government's right to intervene when citizens are infringing upon their neighbor's rights. Though closer to a "3.5," we round up to the code of +4.

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"From America's grassroots to the White House we will stand united as a party behind a bold program of tax rate reductions, spending restraints, and regulatory reforms that will inject new life into the economic bloodstream of this country.

...(W)e believe it is essential to cut personal tax rates out of fairness to the individual...

Therefore, the Republican Party supports across-the-board reductions in personal income tax rates, phased in over three years, which will reduce tax rates from the range of 14 to 70 percent to a range from 10 to 50 percent.

...We believe that an essential aspect of balancing the budget is spending restraint by the federal government and higher economic

growth, not higher tax burdens on working men and women."

This platform is different in tone and substance from earlier platforms. We judge the promises to make "bold," across-the-board reduction in taxes -- coupled with similar cuts in expenditures, to justify a code of at least "2.5;" rounding up, we give the code of +3.

H02B: Total Taxes

+3

See quotes and comments from H02.

H03: Scope of Government

+3

"We recognize both the need to provide assistance in many cases and the responsibility of citizens to provide for their own needs.

...Government must never elbow aside private institutions - schools, churches, volunteer groups, labor and professional associations - in meeting the social needs in our neighborhoods and communities.

...While we recognize the role of the federal government in establishing certain minimum standards designed to improve the quality of life in America, we reaffirm our conviction that these standards can best be attained through innovative efforts of American business without the federal government mandating the methods of attainment.

...Republicans support an end to the growth of the federal government and pledge to return the decisionmaking process to the smaller communities of society.

...The forces of the free market must be brought to bear to promote competition, reduce costs, and improve the return on investment to stimulate capital formation in the private sector. The role of government must change from one of overbearing regulation to one of providing incentives for technological and innovative developments, while assuring through anti-trust enforcement that neither predatory competitive pricing nor price gouging of captive customers will occur."

The platform continually stresses self-help, the role of the private sector, and the need for government to reduce its role in various programs.

H03C: Scope (computed)

+2

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for 4 points, which converts to a score of +2.

H04: Social Services

+4

"We seek improvements in health care, education, housing, and opportunities for youth. We seek new avenues for the needy to break out of the tragic cycle of dependency.

...Our nation's welfare problems will not be solved merely by providing increased benefits. Public service jobs are not a substitute for employable skills, nor can increases in the food stamp program by themselves provide for individual dignity.

...We categorically reject the notion of a guaranteed annual income, no matter how it may be disguised, which would destroy the fiber of our economy and doom the poor to perpetual dependence."

Then follows a tick-list much like that in the 1976 platform, followed by:

..."Policies of the federal government leading to high taxes, rising inflation, and bureaucratic empire-building have made it difficult and often impossible for such individuals and groups to exercise their charitable instincts. We believe that government policies that fight inflation, reduce tax rates, and end bureaucratic excesses can help make private effort by the American people once again a major force in those works of charity which are the true signs of a progressive and humane society.

...We propose to assist families, and individuals of all ages, to meet the needs of the elderly, primarily through vigorous private initiative... Only new tax exemptions and incentives can make it possible for many families to afford to care for their older members at home.

...Social security is one of this nation's most vital commitments to our senior citizens. We commit the Republican Party to first save, and then strengthen, this fundamental contract between our government and its productive citizens.

...We pledge to clean up the much-abused disability system. We will also expand eligibility for Individual Retirement Accounts to enable more persons to plan for their retirement years.

...(W)e pledge to increase the availability of non-institutional child care. We see a special role for local, private organizations in meeting this need.

...Government must never elbow aside private institutions -- schools, churches, volunteer groups, labor and professional associations -- in meeting the social needs in our neighborhoods and communities."

The platform emphasizes the need for the private sector to play the primary role, even more so than was the case in the previous platform. There are calls for tax incentives in order for the private sector to help the poor and their own family members.

Aside from social security, this platform sees little that it likes about governmental involvement in social services.

H05: Health Care

+0

"Republicans unequivocally oppose socialized medicine, in whatever guise it is presented by the Democratic Party. We reject the creation of a national health service and all proposals for compulsory national health insurance.

...Republicans recognize that many health care problems can be solved if government will work closely with the private sector to find remedies that will enhance our current system of excellent care. We applaud, as an example, the voluntary effort which has been undertaken by our nation's hospitals to control costs. The results have been encouraging. More remains to be done.

...We advocate the reform of Medicare to encourage home-based care whenever feasible. In addition, we encourage the development of innovative alternate health care delivery systems and other out-patient services at the local level.

...We must maintain our commitment to the aged and to the poor by providing quality care through Medicare and Medicaid. These programs need the careful, detailed reevaluation they have never received from the Democrats, who have characteristically neglected their financial stability."

H06: Environmental Protection

+0

"Especially high on the agenda for changes in policy under Republican leadership are such regulatory issues as the Interior Department's ineffective predator control policies, EPA and FDA's excessive adherence to "zero risk" policies relative to the use of pesticides, herbicides, antibiotics, food additives, preservatives, and the like.

...Voluntary participation with adequate incentives is essential to the effective conservation of our soil and water resources.

...The nature of the environmental pollution is such that a government role is necessary to insure its control and the proper protection of public health."

This platform includes statements both favoring and opposing various types of environmental regulation.

H07: Education

"Federal education policy must be based on the primacy of parental rights and responsibility. Toward that end, we reaffirm our support for a system of educational assistance based on tax credits that will in part compensate parents for their financial sacrifices in paying tuition at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary level. This is a matter of fairness, especially for low-income families, most of whom would be free for the first time to choose for their children those schools which best correspond to their own cultural and moral values. In this way, the schools will be strengthened by the families' involvement, and the families' strengths will be reinforced by supportive cultural institutions."

This language differs from that of 1976, in that this is the first time there is indication that the party may want to "expand" rather than just "maintain" a role for private education. Making it possible for even "low-income families" to participate "for the first time" leads us to assign the code of -2, as compared to the -3 of 1976.

[changed from -3 on 5/25/97]

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"We will:
-increase net farm income by supporting and refining programs to bring profitable farm prices with the goal of surpassing parity levels in a market-oriented agricultural economy."

The platform recognizes the need for some agricultural support but also recognizes the agriculture sector as market-oriented.

[changed from +1 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

-1

"The Republican Party will restore the sound economy which is absolutely necessary for the arts and humanities to flourish. We will restore, as well, the integrity of federal programs in this area. Most important, to ensure the continued primacy of private funding for the arts, we reiterate our support of broader tax incentives for contributions to charitable and cultural organizations."

The emphasis of the platform is on tax incentives and the role of a sound economy in the support for arts. The language of the platform implies a reduced role for direct subsidies to the arts.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"Republicans commit themselves to an immediate increase in defense spending to be applied judiciously to critically needed programs. We will build toward a sustained defense expenditure sufficient to close the gap with the Soviets, and ultimately reach the position of military superiority that the American people demand.

...A Republican Administration will strive for early modernization of our theater nuclear forces...

...Republicans pledge to reverse Mr. Carter's dismantling of U.S. Naval and Marine forces. We will restore our fleet to 600 ships... We will build more aircraft carriers, submarines and amphibious ships. We will restore Naval and Marine aircraft procurement to economical rates enabling rapid modernization of the current forces, and expansion to meet the requirements of additional aircraft carriers.

...Republicans pledge to make the combat readiness of U.S. Armed Forces and the preparedness of the industrial base a top priority."

Unlike the previous few programs, there is no mention this time of cutting back, of working within budgetary constraints, etc.

[changed from +4 on 5/25/97]

H11: Foreign Aid

+1

"American foreign economic assistance is not a charitable venture; charity is most effectively carried out by private entities. Only by private economic development by the people of the nations involved has poverty ever been overcome. U.S. foreign economic assistance should have a catalytic effect on indigenous economic development, and should only be extended when it is consistent with America's foreign policy interest."

While short on specifics, the tone of this plank implies that the party would not favor increases in foreign aid, and in fact it is probably safe to assume that the party would actually favor reductions in non-private aid. We feel justified in assigning a +1 code here, in spite of the lack of specifics.

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+5

"Just as vital to efforts to stem crime is the fair but firm and speedy application of criminal penalties. The existence and application of strong penalties are effective disincentives to criminal actions. Yet these disincentives will only be as strong as our court system's willingness to use them.

We believe that the death penalty serves as an effective deterrent to capital crime and should be applied by the federal government and by states which approve it as an appropriate penalty for certain major crimes.

Republican government will work with local law enforcement agencies to apprehend and firmly punish drug pushers and drug smugglers, with mandatory sentences where appropriate."

The platform emphasizes the need for punishment as a deterrent for future crimes. There is no mention of rehabilitation in this platform nor reform of the prison system.

H13: Centralized Power

+2

"We oppose federalizing the welfare system; local levels of government are most aware of the needs in their communities. We support block grant programs that will help return control of welfare programs to the states. Decisions about who gets welfare, and how much, can be better made on the local level.

...We must develop a partnership between the federal and state governments which will not destroy traditional state supremacy in water law.

...Our states and localities have the talent, wisdom, and determination to respond to the variety of demands made upon them.

...We pledge to continue to redouble our effort to return power to the state and local governments."

We continue the code of +2 from the previous program.

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98 [BTN: +1]

"The next Republican Administration...will not only protect the cherished human right of property ownership, but will also work to help millions of Americans - particularly those from disadvantaged groups - to share in the ownership of the wealth of their nation.

...(O)ur free enterprise system is the source of all income, government and private...

...Because there are too many federal employees in comparison to private sector employees, there should be no further increase in

the number of civilian federal employees if that would increase the ratio of federal employees to private sector employees over the present ratio."

This platform calls for a moratorium on government employment, which may or may not have implications for growth/reduction in public enterprise. We do not feel comfortable in assigning a code outright for this variable, though a BTN of +1 (continuation from previous code) seems justified.

[changed from +1 on 5/24/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+4

"The prescription for good health care is deregulation and an emphasis upon consumer rights and patient choice.

...Another proposal long advocated by our Party is the drive to encourage the entrepreneur by reform of the regulatory laws which stifle the very life of business through fines, threats, and harassment. Republicans realize the immediate necessity of reducing the regulatory burden to give small business a fighting chance against the federal agencies. We believe that wherever feasible, small business should be exempt from regulations...

...An informed consumer making economic choices and decisions in the marketplace is the best regulator of the free enterprise system. Consumers are also taxpayers, workers, investors, shoppers, farmers, and producers. The Republican Party recognizes the need for consumer protection but feels that such protection will not be enhanced by the creation of a new consumer protection bureaucracy.

...The Republican Party pledges itself to a comprehensive program of government reform. We propose to enact a temporary moratorium on all new federal regulations that diminish the supply of goods and services and add significantly to inflation. Such a moratorium will be consistent with the goal of achieving a safe and healthy working environment. We shall work to reduce substantially the regulatory and paperwork burdens on small businesses.

...The crushing burden of excessive federal regulation such as many of those imposed on farmers, ranchers, foresters, and commercial fishermen by OSHA, EPA, the departments of Agriculture, Labor, Justice, Interior, and other government entities are unrealistic and unnecessary.

...We believe in the marketplace, rather than the bureaucrats, should regulate management decisions.

...The forces of the free market must be brought to bear to promote competition, reduce costs, and improve the return on investment to stimulate capital formation in the private sector. The role of government must change from one of overbearing regulation to one of providing incentives for technological and

innovative developments, while assuring through anti-trust enforcement that neither predatory competitive pricing nor price gouging of captive customers will occur."

Elsewhere, the platform says "The Republican Party declares war upon government over-regulation. While we recognize the role of the federal government in establishing certain minimum standards designed to improve the quality of life in America, we reaffirm our conviction that these standards can best be attained through innovative efforts of American business without the federal government mandating the methods of attainment."

This is by far the most detailed and negative statement on government regulation that any of the Republican platforms has so far included. It is clear that the party now opposes regulation on principle, and that it favors reducing or eliminating regulation in many (if not most) areas.

H16: Minority Rights

-3

"The truths we hold and the values we share affirm that no individual should be victimized by unfair discrimination because of race, sex, advanced age, physical handicap, difference of national origin or religion, or economic circumstance. However, equal opportunity should not be jeopardized by bureaucratic regulations and decisions which rely on quotas, ratios, and numerical requirements to exclude some individuals in favor of others, thereby rendering such regulations and decisions inherently discriminatory.

We pledge vigorous enforcement of laws to assure equal treatment in job recruitment, hiring, promotion, pay, credit, mortgage access and housing.

...We will:

-remain fully committed to the fair enforcement of all federal civil rights statutes and continue minority business enterprise and similar programs begun by Republican Administration but bungled by over-regulation and duplication during the Carter Administration.

...We propose to repeal federal restrictions and rewrite federal standards which hinder minorities from finding employment, starting their own businesses, gaining valuable work experience, or enjoying the fruits of their own labors."

The platform calls for enforcement but at the same time warns about the use of quota and other administrative measures that may discriminate against others.

H17: Women's Rights

-2

"We affirm our deep commitment to the fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of all Americans - blacks and whites, women and men, the young and old, rural and urban.

...We acknowledge the legitimate efforts of those who support or oppose the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

We reaffirm our Party's historic commitment to equal rights and equality for women.

We support equal rights and equal opportunities for women, without taking away traditional rights of women such as exemption from the military draft. We support the enforcement of all equal opportunity laws and urge the elimination of discrimination against women. We oppose any move which would give the federal government more power over families.

...The truths we hold and the values we share affirm that no individual should be victimized by unfair discrimination because of race, sex, advanced age, physical handicap, ... However, equal opportunity should not be jeopardized by bureaucratic regulations and decisions which rely on quotas, ratios, and numerical requirements to exclude some individuals in favor of others, thereby rendering such regulations and decisions inherently discriminatory."

The party no longer unequivocally supports the ERA, and it specifically opposes programs that would discriminate against some in favor of others. There is a general, but rather vague, statement in support of equal rights and equality for women.

[changed from -3 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-1

"We believe that to the fullest extent possible those immigrants should be admitted who will make a positive contribution to America and who are willing to accept the fundamental American values and way of life. At the same time, United States immigration and refugee policy must reflect the interests of the nation's political and economic well-being. Immigration into this country must not be determined solely by foreign governments or even by the millions of people around the world who wish to come to America. The federal government has a duty to adopt immigration laws and follow enforcement procedures which will fairly and effectively implement the immigration policy desired by American people.

The immediate adoption of this policy is essential to an orderly approach to the great problem of oppressed people seeking entry, so that the deserving can be accepted in America without adding to their hardships.

The refugee problem is an international problem and every effort should be made to coordinate plans for absorbing refugee

populations with regional bodies, such as the Organization of American States and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, on a global basis."

Not only does this statement bear a more negative tone than was the case in previous documents, but now there are hints at placing very real limits on the amount of immigration allowed, and provision is made for encouraging other countries to accept immigrants who might otherwise be intending to seek refuge here.

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1984

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"We are the party of limited government. We are deeply suspicious of the amount of information which governments collect. Governments limited in size and scope best ensure that no unnecessary information is demanded and that no disclosure is made which is not approved. We oppose national identification cards."

The platform supports the right of students to engage in voluntary prayer in schools, supports "aggressive enforcement of the Protection of Pupil Rights amendment," but also continues its support of a right-to-life amendment (which is this time framed in terms of the unborn child's "fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed"). Unlike in 1976, there is not a general statement giving government the right to intervene in situations where individuals are infringing on other's rights.

H02: Personal Taxes

+3

"We therefore oppose any attempts to increase taxes, which would harm the recovery and reverse the trend to restoring control of the economy to individual Americans.

...These sound economic policies have succeeded. We will continue our efforts to further reduce tax rates and now foresee no economic circumstances which would call for increased taxation."

In this platform, the party claims to have already reduced taxes, and now pledges to reduce even further. Opposition to tax increases is "unqualified."

H2B: Total Taxes

+3

"We therefore oppose any attempts to increase taxes, which would harm the recovery and reverse the trend to restoring control

of the economy to individual Americans.

...These sound economic policies have succeeded. We will continue our efforts to further reduce tax rates and now foresee no economic circumstances which would call for increased taxation."

H03: Scope of Government

+3

"The role of the federal government should be limited. We reaffirm our conviction that state and local governments closest to the people are the best and most efficient.

...To benefit all Americans, we support the privatization of government services whenever possible."

This administration re-affirms its commitment to a limited government. The plank mentions areas where the government should take the lead and where private innovations are more appropriate".

H03C: Scope (computed)

+3

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for 3 points, which converts to a score of +3.

H04: Social Services

+4

"...Especially during the two decades preceding Ronald Reagan's election, the federal government eroded their authority, ignored their rights, and attempted to supplant their functions with programs at once intrusive and ineffectual. It thereby disrupted our traditional patterns of caring, sharing, and helping. It elbowed out the voluntary providers of services and aid instead of working through them.

...Washington's governing elites thought they knew better than the people how to spend the people's money. They played fast and loose with our schools, with law enforcement, with welfare, with housing. The results were declining literacy and learning, an epidemic of crime, a massive increase in dependency, and the slumming of our cities.

... We must provide new incentives for self-help activities.

...Because there are different reasons for poverty, our programs address different needs and must never be replaced with an unitary income guarantee.

...Whenever possible, public assistance must be a transition to the world of work, except in cases, particularly with the aged

and disabled, where that is not appropriate. In other cases, it is long overdue."

In tone, and largely in substance as well, this platform is similar to the previous one, which received a code of +4.

H05: Health Care

+0

"Applying these principles, we will preserve Medicare and Medicaid. We will eliminate the excesses and inefficiencies which drove costs unacceptably high in those programs. In order to assure their solvency and to avoid placing undue burdens on beneficiaries, reform must be a priority. The Republican party reaffirms its commitment to assure a basic level of high quality health care for all Americans. We reaffirm as well our opposition to any proposals for compulsory national health insurance.

...Many health problems arise within the family and should be dealt with there. We affirm the right and responsibility of parents to participate in decisions about the treatment of children. We will not tolerate the use of federal funds, taxed away from parents, to abrogate their role in family health care."

H06: Environmental Protection

+0

"While protecting the environment, we should permit abundant American coal to be mined and consumed. Environmentally sound development of oil and natural gas on federal properties (which has brought the taxpayers \$20 billion in revenue in the last four years) should continue. We believe that as controls have been lifted from the energy marketplace, conservation and alternative sources of energy, such as solar, wind, and geothermal, have become increasingly cost-effective.

...Republicans believe that long-term soil, water and other conservation policies, emphasizing environmentally sound agricultural productivity, rangeland protection, fish and wildlife habitat, and balanced forestry management, must be top priority. Conservation practices must be intensified and integrated with farm programs to safeguard our most valuable resources. Volunteer participation, emphasizing State and local control and adequate incentives, is essential to effective conservation."

...We support programs to restore and protect our nation's estuaries, wetland resources and beaches.

The Republican Party endorses a strong effort to control and clean up toxic waste. We have already tripled funding to clean up hazardous waste dumps...

The Republican Party supports the continued commitment to

clean air and clean water. This support includes implementation of meaningful clean air and clean water acts.

...We also commit ourselves to development and renewable and efficient energy sources and to the protection of endangered or threatened species of plants and wildlife."

In this platform, the party includes statements that seem to oppose certain regulations, favor others, and call for voluntary private sector involvement in others.

[changed from +1 on 5/25/97]

H07: Education

-2

"Parents have the primary right and responsibility for the education of their children; and States, localities, and private institutions have the primary responsibility for supporting that parental role. America has been a land of opportunity because America has been a land of learning. It has given us the most prosperous and dynamic society in the world.

...In education, as in other activities, competition fosters excellence. We therefore support the President's proposal for tuition tax credits. We will convert the Chapter One grants to vouchers, thereby giving poor parents the ability to choose the best schooling available. Discrimination cannot be condoned, not may public policies encourage its practice. Civil rights enforcement must not be twisted into excessive interference in the education process.

...We offer hope, not despair; more opportunities for education through vouchers and tuition tax relief; and increased participation in the private enterprise system through the reform of counterproductive taxes and regulations."

Though now switching from tax credits to vouchers, the party is continuing the basic thrust from 1980. That is, the language suggests the possibility of growth in the private share of the educational sector. Nothing suggests, though, that the growth would be so dramatic as to justify a code other less "negative" than -2.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"The primary responsibility of government with respect to agriculture is to create the opportunity for a free and competitive economic and policy environment supportive of the American farmers' and ranchers' industrious and independent spirit and innovative talent. We further believe that, to the extent some well-managed

and efficient farms and ranches are temporarily unable to make a profit in the market place, it is in the public interest to provide reasonable and targeted assistance.

Republicans support a sound agricultural credit policy, including the Farm Credit System, to meet agriculture's expanded credit needs. We support an extensive examination of agricultural and rural credit and crop insurance programs to assure they are adequately serving our farmers and rural residents.

Republicans pledge to implement comprehensive Farmers Home Administration and commercial farm ranch debt restructuring procedures, including the establishment of local community farm and ranch finance committees, which will advise borrowers, lenders, and government officials regarding debt restructuring alternatives and farmer and rancher eligibility."

Though it is not completely clear what type of "assistance" the party intends for farmers who are failing in the market place, the context seems to imply that it would not include direct subsidies. We continue the code of +0.

[changed from +1 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

+0

"Important as technology is, by itself it is inadequate for a free society. The arts and humanities flourish in the private sector, where a free market in ideas is the best guarantee of vigorous creativity. Private support for the arts and humanities has increased over the last four years, and we encourage its growth.

...We support the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities in their efforts to correct past abuses and focus on developing the cultural values that are the foundation of our free society. We must ensure that these programs bring the arts and humanities to people in rural areas, the inner city poor, and other underserved populations."

The platform emphasizes private support of the arts, while at the same time mentioning the National Endowments in what could be seen as a supportive manner. Caution should be taken in the latter interpretation, however, since the main thrust of the "support" for the Endowments is in the form of encouragement to "correct past abuses," etc.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"We pledge to do everything necessary so that, in case of

conflict, the United States would clearly prevail.

...The first duty of government is to provide for the common defense.

...We must continue to devote the resources essential to deter a Soviet threat -- a threat which has grown and should be met by an improved and modernized U.S. defense capability.

...The Republican Party advocates a strong defense and fiscal responsibility at the same time. This Administration has already made major advances in eliminating the deep-rooted procurement problems we inherited. Republicans have changed the way the Pentagon does business, encouraging greater economy and efficiency, stretching the taxpayer's dollar."

This essentially continues the same thrust as in the previous program. The only difference, i.e. the mention this time of the elimination of procurement problems, does not seem sufficient to justify a reduction of code to +4.

[changed from +4 on 5/25/97]

H11: Foreign Aid

+2

"We have changed the Carter-Mondale policy of channeling increasing proportions of U.S. assistance through multinational institutions beyond our control. We strongly support President Reagan's decision not to increase funding for the International Development Association because of its predilection for nations with state-dominated economic systems. Our contribution to the International Fund for Agricultural Development will be eliminated due to its consistent bias toward non-market economies. And the anti-American bureaucracy of the U.N.'s Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) will no longer be supported by U.S. taxpayers. We will not support international organizations inconsistent with our interests. In particular, we will work to eliminate their funding of Communist states."

Going beyond the negative tone of the 1980 platform, this plank actually endorses specific cuts in foreign aid, without mentioning any offsetting increases. A +2 seems appropriate.

[changed from -1 on 5/27/97]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+5

"Republicans believe that individuals are responsible for their actions. Those who commit crimes should be held strictly accountable by our system of justice. The primary objective of the

criminal law is public safety; and those convicted of serious offenses must be jailed swiftly, surely, and long enough to assure public safety.

...The best way to deter crime is to increase the probability of detection and to make punishment certain and swift. As a matter of basic philosophy, we advocate preventive rather than merely corrective measures. Republicans advocate sentencing reform and secure, adequate prison construction. We concur with the American people's approval of capital punishment where appropriate and will ensure that it is carried out humanely."

This plank is **very** punishment-oriented; there is no mention of rehabilitation.

H13: Centralized Power

+2

"We reaffirm our conviction that State and local governments closest to the people are the best and most efficient.

...Federal administration of welfare is the worst possible, detached from community needs and careless with the public's money. Our long tradition of State and local administration of aid programs must be restored. Programs and resources must be returned to State and local governments and not merely exchanged with them. We will support block grants to combine duplicative programs under State administration.

...We support the decentralization necessary to put education back on the right track. We urge local school communities, including parents, teachers, students, administrators, and business and civic leaders, to evaluate school curricula - including extra-curricular activities and the time spent in them - and their ultimate effect upon students and the learning process."

Though this platform doesn't say as much as the previous platforms, the essence seems to continue the previous code of +2.

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

98 [BTN: +1]

"Free enterprise is fundamental to the American way of life. It is inseparable from the social, religious, political, and judicial institutions which form the bedrock of a nation dedicated to individual freedom and human rights.

...America's small business entrepreneurs have led the way in fueling economic recovery. Almost all the 11 million non-farm businesses in the United States are small, but they provide over 50 million jobs. We must keep them strong to ensure lasting

prosperity. Republicans reaffirm our historic ties with independent business people and pledge continued efforts to help this energetic segment of our economy.

...America's leadership in space depends upon the vitality of free enterprise."

Elsewhere, the platform says "We will work to enable those living in government-owned or subsidized housing to purchase their homes.

...We will, over time, replace subsidies and welfare projects with a voucher system, returning public housing to the free market."

While the language here is not directly enough related to the issue at hand to justify a code outright, we do feel that a BTN code of +1 (a continuation from previous platforms) is justified.

[changed from +1 on 5/24/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+4

"While President Reagan has done much to alleviate federal regulatory and bureaucratic burdens on individuals and businesses, Congress has failed to act. The size and scope of the federal government remains much too large and must be reduced.

...We have insisted on less federal interference with small business.

...We are committed to the termination of the Department of Energy. President Reagan has succeeded in abolishing that part which was telling Americans what to buy, where to buy it, and at what price - the regulatory part of DOE. Then he reduced the number of bureaucrats by 25 percent. Now is the time to complete the job."

Though the relevant statements here are fewer and less detailed, the same general tone continues from the 1980 platform. Hence, we feel justified in continuing the code of +4.

H16: Minority Rights

+0

"We are committed to excellence in education for all our children within their own communities and neighborhoods. No child should be assigned to, or barred from, a school because of race.

...We are committed to enforcing statutory prohibitions barring discrimination against any otherwise qualified handicapped individual, in any program receiving federal financial assistance, solely by reason of their handicap.

...We Republicans are proud of our efforts on behalf of all

minority groups, and we pledge to do even more during the next four years.

We will continue to press for enactment of economic and social policies that promote growth and stress individual initiatives of minority Americans."

When all relevant statements are taken into account, the party seems to be taking a "truly centrist" position. On the one hand, there is a rather general and vague statement in support of "efforts on behalf of minority groups," but on the other hand, there is a veiled statement in opposition to busing to achieve integration. There are no specific programs proposed to promote minority rights, with the exception of vague promises to support policies that "promote growth and stress **individual** initiatives of minority Americans." In other words, the party does not specifically oppose government involvement in protecting minority rights (with the exception of busing), but neither does it endorse specific governmental activities in that direction.

[changed from -4 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-2

"President Reagan believes, as we do, that all members of our party are free to work individually for women's progress. As a party, we demand that there be no detriment to that progress or inhibitions of women rights to full opportunity and advancement within this society.

The Republican Party continues to search for interested and qualified women for all government positions. We will continue to increase the number of first-time appointments for women serving in government at all levels."

This essentially continues the thrust of the previous platform.

[changed from -3 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-1

"We affirm our country's absolute right to control its borders. Those desiring to enter must comply with our immigration laws. Failure to do so not only is an offense to the American people but it is fundamentally unjust to those in foreign lands patiently waiting for legal entry. We will preserve the principle of family reunification."

In general tone, this platform seems to continue the direction

set in 1980.

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1988

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedoms

+4

"...Mindful of our religious diversity, we firmly support the right of students to engage in voluntary prayer in schools. We call for full enforcement of the Republican legislation that now guarantees equal access to school facilities by student religious groups.

...The unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We therefor reaffirm our support for a human life amendment to the Constitution, and we endorse legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to unborn children."

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"The Republican Party restates the unequivocal promise we made in 1984: We oppose any attempts to increase taxes. Tax increases harm the economic expansion and reverse the trend to restoring control of the economy to individual Americans."

Though there is no longer a call for across-the-board tax reductions (as in previous platforms), the party continues to pledge support for "tuition tax credits" and for reducing "to 15% the tax rates for long-term capital gains to promote investment...".

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H2B: Total Taxes

+1

See statements under H02 above.

[changed from 98 on 5/23/97]

H03: Scope of Government

+3

"We advocate privatizing those government assets that would be more productive and better maintained in private ownership. This is especially true of those public properties that have deteriorated under government control, and of public housing, where residents should have the option of managing their own project. In other areas as well citizens and employees should be able to become stockholders and managers of government enterprises that would be more efficiently operated by private enterprise. We will not initiate production of goods and delivery of services by the federal government if they can be procured from the private sector."

H03C: Scope (computed)

+2

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for 4 points, which converts to a score of +2.

H04: Social Services

+1

"Republicans are determined to help the homeless as a matter of ethical commitment, as well as sound public policy.

...Our top priority must be homeless families. As part of an overall emphasis on family responsibility, we will strongly enforce child support laws...

...We will work with State and local governments to ensure that education is available to homeless children. All appropriate federal education and health programs must make provision for the special needs of these youngsters.

...Republicans supported the creation of a new program to provide early intervention services to infants and toddlers with disabilities.

...We support the maintenance of income assistance programs for those who cannot work. In particular, we recognize our responsibility to ensure a decent standard of living for the aged, the disabled, and children dependent upon the community.

...Work is an essential component of welfare reform, and education is an essential component of employability. Welfare reform must require participation in education and work, and provide day care assistance and continued access to Medicaid during the transition to full independence.

...Fathers of welfare dependent children must be held accountable by mandating paternity determinations and requiring the participation of unemployed fathers in education and work programs."

This is a very targeted program, seeing needs for governmental involvement in helping the homeless, and especially homeless families. The very negative tone of the previous platforms, especially regarding welfare, is missing or significantly toned down this time. There is however, an attitude toward welfare that is still oriented toward work-fare and having families take responsibility for themselves. A +1 seems appropriate here.

[changed from +3 on 6/22/97]

H05: Health Care

+1

"Republicans believe in reduced government control of health care while maintaining an unequivocal commitment to quality health care.

...We are opposed to the establishment of government mandated professional practice fees and services requirements as a condition of professional licensure or license renewal.

...We are committed to improving the quality and financing of long-term care. We will remove regulatory and tax burdens to encourage private health care insurance policies for acute or long term care. We will work for convertability of savings, IRAs, life insurance, and pensions to pay for long term care.

...We will work to assure access to health care for all Americans through public and private initiatives."

This platform sounds more negative toward government involvement (including regulatory) in health care than the previous programs which received a +0 code.

[changed from +0 on 5/24/97]

H06: Environmental Protection

+0

"To advance private stewardship of natural resources, we call for a reduction in the amount of land controlled by government, especially in our western States. Private ownership is best for our economy, best for our environment, and best for our communities. We likewise consider water rights a State issue, not a federal one.

We will work for further reductions in air and water pollution

and effective actions against the threats posed by acid rain. These goals can and must be achieved without harmful economic dislocation.

We are committed to minimizing the release of toxins into the environment.

We will continue to lead the effort to develop new clean-coal technologies and to remove the barriers that prevent cleaner, alternative fuels from being used.

...We support strong enforcement of our environmental laws and will accelerate the pace of our national effort to clean up hazardous waste sites and to protect our groundwater. We will promote proper use of fertilizers and pesticides to minimize pollution of groundwater.

...We will support all serious efforts to cope with the special problems of illegal dumping of hospital and medical waste. We pledge close cooperation by the Environmental Protection Agency with States and industry groups to develop new approaches to the most cost-effective means for the safe disposal by responsible medical facilities. Those who continue to dump illegally threaten the very life and health of our communities, and we call for enactment by States of tough new felony laws that will permit swift prosecution of these criminals."

While favoring governmental regulation in several areas, the party also wants more of the public land to be returned to private hands.

[changed from +2 on 5/25/97]

H07: Education

-2

"Parents have the primary right and responsibility for education. Private institutions, communities, States, and federal government must support and stimulate that parental role. We support the right of parents to educate their children at home.

...Quality in education should be available to all our children within their communities and neighborhoods. Federal policy should empower low-income families to choose quality and demand accountability in their children's schooling.

...Choice in education, especially for poor families, fosters the parental involvement that is essential for student success, and States should consider enacting voucher systems or other means of encouraging competition among public schools.

Elsewhere, the platform says "We will continue to support tuition tax credits for parents who choose to educate their children in private educational institutions."

This essentially continues the position taken in the two previous programs.

H08: Agricultural Supports

+2

"Republicans will work to improve agricultural income through market returns at home and abroad, not government controls and subsidies."

This short plank explicitly states the party's disdain for governmental subsidies. There are pledges, however, to "renew and improve the successful farm programs set to expire in 1990."

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

-1

"Republicans consider the resurgence of the arts and humanities a vital part of getting back to basics in education...we will:

-Continue the Republic economic renaissance which has made possible a tremendous outpouring for arts and humanities.

-Support full deductibility for donations to tax-exempt cultural institutions in order to encourage the private support of arts and humanities.

-Support the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities and the Institute of Museum Services in their effort to support America's cultural institutions, artists, and scholars.

-Guard against the misuse of governmental grants by those who attack or derogate any race or creed and oppose the politicization of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities."

Whereas in 1988 the thrust of support for the Endowments was support to "correct past abuses," this time the statement seems to imply support for the general mission of the Endowments.

H10: Defense Spending

+5

"Republicans will support U.S. defense capabilities by keeping our economy strong and inflation rates low. Continued economic growth will allow more dollars to be available for defense without consuming a larger portion of the GNP or the federal budget; continued efficiency and economy will assure those dollars are well-spent.

...Republicans will implement a strategic modernization program...

...We will consistently undertake necessary improvements in our forces to maintain the effectiveness of our deterrent.

...The long-term security of our nation is the most important responsibility of the U.S. government. The domestic well-being of the American people cannot be ensured unless our country is secure from external attack.

...We will continue modernizing our strategic forces... We will redouble our commitment to force improvement to correct the dangerous imbalance that exists in conventional forces."

Repeating the argument that defense is the #1 priority, this platform actually calls for making it possible to spend even more on defense.

H11: Foreign Aid

98

"Republicans salute the Reagan-Bush Administration for responding with characteristic American compassion to famine conditions in Africa by providing record amounts of food, medical supplies, and other life-saving assistance.

...The health of children in developing countries...has been a priority of the Reagan-Bush Administration. Republicans have designated the Child Survival Program as one of our highest foreign assistance priorities. With the creation of the Child Survival Fund in early 1985, we have helped to ensure that children in developing countries worldwide get a decent start in life."

These statements are not broad enough to justify a code for this variable; they are statements of specific programs/projects that have been supported, without indication of what the party would do in the future.

[changed from -1 on 5/27/97]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+5

"Republicans oppose furloughs for those criminals convicted of first degree murder and others who are serving a life sentence without possibility of parole. We believe that victims' rights should not be accorded less importance than those of convicted felons.

...We will reestablish the federal death penalty.

...We will reform the exclusionary rule, to prevent the release of guilty felons on technicalities.

...We will reform cumbersome habeas corpus procedures, used to delay cases and prevent punishment of the guilty.

...We support State laws implementing preventive detention to allow courts to deny bail to those considered dangerous and likely to commit additional crimes."

H13: Centralized Power

+2

"We are committed to further return power from the federal government to State and local governments, which are more responsive to the public and better able to administer critical public services.

...We resolve to defederalize, denationalize, and decentralize government monopolies that poorly serve the public and waste the taxpayers' dollars. To that end, we will foster competition wherever possible.

...State and local administration of education, work, and welfare programs is best for both the taxpayers and those in need.

Local control is the best form of administration. That's why we merged federal programs into block grants for community development and housing."

Elsewhere, the platform argues for more (or complete) state control of programs that: return teen mothers to school, require welfare recipients to work, and deal with water use.

[changed from +2 on 5/24/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

"The federal government should follow the lead of those cities and states which are contracting out for a wide range of activities.

...We resolve to defederalize, denationalize, and decentralize government monopolies that poorly serve the public and waste the taxpayers' dollars.

...We advocate privatizing those government assets that would be more productive and better maintained in private ownership.

...We will not initiate production of goods and delivery of services by the federal government if they can be procured from the private sector."

This is, by some distance, the most negative platform the party has produced with regard to public ownership.

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+4

"We resist the calls of Democrats to turn back or eliminate the benefits that reducing regulations has brought to Americans from every walk of life in transportation, finance, energy and many

other areas. We want to reduce further the intrusion of government into the lives of our citizens. Consistent with the maintenance of a competitive market place, we are committed to breaking down unnecessary barriers to entry created by regulations, statutes, and judicial decisions, to free up capital for productive investment. Let Democrats trust the federal bureaucracy. Republicans trust the creative energy of workers and investors in a free market.

...More progress must be made in deregulation of natural gas.

...We support fully decontrolling prices and providing more open access to transportation."

Similar to the previous platform, this platform calls for further reducing government intervention in the private sector, but stops short of calling for the total elimination of all regulation.

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"We will continue our vigorous enforcement of statutes to prevent illegal discrimination on account of sex, race, creed, or national origin.

...We will resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment. Quotas are the most insidious form of reverse discrimination against the innocent.

...We will strongly enforce statutory prohibitions barring discrimination because of handicap in any program receiving federal financial assistance."

The platform calls for enforcement of statutes but at the same time resists the use of quota systems to implement equal rights. Unlike several other platforms before it, this one does not explicitly cover a broad array of affected areas. The strongest statements have to do with protecting rights of the handicapped, and **opposing** affirmative action.

[changed from -3 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-2

"We renew our historic commitment to equal rights for women.

We must remove the remaining obstacles to women's achieving their full potential and full reward. That does not include the notion of federally mandated comparable worth, which would substitute the decisions of bureaucrats for the judgement of individuals.

...The Republican Party strongly supports the achievements of women in seeking an equal role in the governing of our country."

Though not as detailed, these words seem to continue the thrust of the previous program.

[changed from -3 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-1

"We welcome those from other lands who bring to America their ideals and industry. At the same time, we insist upon our country's absolute right to control its borders. We call upon our allies to join us in the responsibility shared by all democratic nations for resettlement of refugees, especially those fleeing communism in Southeast Asia."

While being explicit in offering support to those fleeing communism in Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, the party is just as firm in declaring America's rights to control its borders. The offer of support for the Southeast Asian refugees is mixed with a call to other nations to do their share. Though this may be edging closer to the -1.5 area, we feel confident in continuing the code of -1 from the previous program.

Country: United States

Party: Republican

Program: 1992

Coders (independent): Samuel Sampson; Alex Tan

Final decisions (collective): Sampson, Tan, Harmel

H01: Individual Freedom

+4

"The right to own, use, and dispose of property inheres in mankind by nature and is a fundamental political tenet of all free nations. We applaud the wisdom of the First Congress for incorporating this guarantee of individual liberty in the Bill of Rights. We remind all government officials that property rights are not granted by government; rather, government is directed by the governed to protect the rights of private property owners."

The platform includes the same statement on the right to "human life" that was included in the 1988 platform. There is also mention of the right to "keep and bear arms."

H02: Personal Taxes

+1

"Our Republican position is equally clear: we will oppose any attempt to increase taxes. Furthermore, Republicans believe that the taxes insisted on by the Democrats in the 1990 budget agreement were recessionary...We believe the tax increases of 1990 should ultimately be repealed."

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H02B: Total Taxes

+1

"Republicans oppose the idea of putting a VAT on the backs of the American people.

...Our Republican position is equally clear: we will oppose any attempt to increase taxes."

[changed from +3 on 5/23/97]

H03: Scope of Government

+3

"Republicans want individuals and families to control their own economic destiny. Only long-term expansion of our economy and jobs can make the American dream a reality for generations to come.

...Privatization is an important alternative to higher taxes and reduced services. If private enterprise can perform better and more cheaply than government, let it do so."

H03C: Scope (computed)

+3

The platform addresses all 11 relevant issue variables, for 3 points, which converts to a score of +3.

H04: Social Services

+4

"Welfare is the enemy of opportunity and stable family...It brought a horrendous expansion of dependence, especially among mothers and children.

...Today's welfare system is anti-work and anti-marriage. It taxes families to subsidize illegitimacy. It rewards unethical behavior and penalizes initiative... Welfare can no longer be a check in the mail with no responsibility.

...We believe fathers and mothers must be held responsible for their children. We support stronger enforcement of child support laws. We call for strong enforcement and tough penalties against welfare fraud and insist that work must be a mandatory part of public insistence for all who are able to work.

...As the deficit comes under control, we aspire to further tax rate cuts, strengthening incentives to work, save, invest, and innovate. We also support President Bush's efforts to reduce federal spending and to cap the growth of non-Social Security entitlements.

...A Republican Congress, working with a Republican President, will consider non-Social Security mandatory spending portions of the federal budget when looking for savings."

In tone, this statement is similar to the platforms of 1980 and 1984 (+4) than of 1976 (+3).

H05: Health Care

+1

"Republicans believe government control of health care is irresponsible and ineffective. We believe health care choices should remain in the hands of the people, not government bureaucrats.

...The President's plan will make health care more affordable through tax credits and deductions that will offset insurance costs for 95 million Americans; and make health care more accessible, especially for small businesses, by reducing insurance costs and eliminating workers' worries of losing insurance if they change jobs...

...We encourage coordinated care in public programs and private insurance."

Opposition to a direct governmental role is clear, with much of the statement dealing with tax adjustments that will allow more accessibility of the private programs already in place.

[changed from +0 on 5/24/97]

H06: Environmental Protection

+3

"We oppose, however, bureaucratic harassment of farm, ranch, and timber families under statutes regarding endangered species and wetlands.

...With regard to wetlands, following our principle that environmental protection be reasonable, land that is not truly wet should not be classified as a wetland. Protection of environmentally sensitive wetlands must not come at the price of disparaging landowners' property rights. Thus, we endorse, as President Bush has done, legislation to discourage government activities that ignore property rights. We also find intolerable the use of taxpayer funds, through the Legal Services Corporation, to attack the agricultural community.

...Environmental progress must continue in tandem with economic growth. Crippling an industry is no solution at all. Bankrupt facilities only worsen environmental situations. Unemployment is a form of pollution too, poisoning families and contaminating whole communities."

The score reflects the platform's usage of words like "reasonable" protection laws and "balance" between protection and growth. Clearly the language of the platform implies the party's belief that an over-reaction in environmental protection is not warranted, i.e. government's role should be very limited.

H07: Education

-2

"Parents have the right to choose the best school for their children. Schools should teach right from wrong. Schools should reinforce parental authority, not replace it. We should increase flexibility from federal regulation. We should explore a new generation of break-the-mold New American Schools. Standards and assessment should be raised, not reduced to a lowest common denominator. Communities should be empowered to find what works. The pursuit of excellence in education is a fundamental goal... America needs public, private and parochial schools...

...The president's proposed "GI Bill for Children" will provide \$1,000 scholarships to middle- and low-income families, enabling their children to attend the school of their choice.

...Parents are the first and most important teachers of their children. They should have the right not only to participate in their child's education, but to choose for their children among the broadest array of educational choices, without regard to their income. We also support the right of parents to provide quality education through home-based schools."

H08: Agricultural Supports

+0

"We will continue to expand the growth of American agriculture through exports, development of new products, and new markets."

...We will continue working to ensure that farmers have access to credit, with particular consideration to the needs of young and beginning farmers."

As in the other programs which received codes of +0 for this variable, there is no mention of direct subsidies in this platform.

[changed from +1 on 5/23/97]

H09: Cultural Supports

+4

"The fine arts, including those with public support, can certainly enrich our society. However, no artist has an inherent right to claim taxpayer support for his or her private vision of art if that vision mocks the moral and spiritual basis on which our society is founded. We believe a free market in art - with neither suppression nor favoritism by government - is the best way to foster the cultural revival our country needs.

...We deplore the blatant political bias of the government-sponsored radio and television networks. It is especially outrageous that taxpayers are now forced to underwrite this biased broadcasting through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). We call for sweeping reform of CPB."

This entire plank falls just short of advocating no governmental support at all.

H10: Defense Spending

+3

"The greatest danger to America's security is here at home, among those who would leave the Nation unprepared for the new realities of the post-Cold War world... The Republican Party...calls for a new generation of defense against the Scuds of tomorrow.

Republicans call for a controlled defense drawdown, not a freefall.

...Once American defenses are allowed to decay, they cannot be rebuilt overnight. Effective arsenals, like effective leaders, require years of patient development. And our greatest asset of all, the people on whom our security depends, deserve a constant long-term investment in their quality, morale, and safety. The Republicans pledge to provide it."

The "drawdown" language leads us to the code of +3.

H11: Foreign Aid

98

"We will work with developing nations to make their economies attractive to private investment and will support innovations to guarantee repayment of their loans, including debt for equity swaps. Our experience can help them develop environmentally rational strategies for growth."

This and other tangentially related statements are not broadly or directly enough related to "foreign aid" to adequately support assignment of a code other than "missing."

[changed from -1 on 5/27/97]

H12: Rehabilitation of Lawbreakers

+5

"[The Democratic legacy] leaves law enforcement officers powerless to deter crime with the threat of certain punishment.

...They refuse to enact effective procedures to reinstate the death penalty for the most heinous crimes. They reject tougher, mandatory sentences for career criminals.

...For too long our criminal justice system has carefully protected the rights of criminals and neglected the suffering of

the innocent victims of crime and their families. We support the rights of crime victims to be present, heard, and informed throughout the criminal justice process and to be provided with restitution and services to aid their recovery.

...Drug users must face punishment, including fines and imprisonment, for contributing to the demand that makes the drug trade profitable. Among possible sanctions should be the loss of government assistance and suspension of drivers' licenses."

H13: Centralized Power

+1

"The success of America 2000 will depend upon the local community, where implementation and ultimate responsibility rest.

...Law enforcement must remain primarily a State and local responsibility. With 95 percent of all violent crimes within the jurisdiction of the States, we have led effort to increase the number of police protecting our citizens.

...We will not initiate any federal activity that can be conducted better on the State or local level. In doing so, we reassert the crucial importance of the Tenth Amendment. We oppose costly federal mandates that stifle innovation and force tax hikes upon states and localities... We will continue the process of returning power to local voters by replacing federal programs with block grants."

This platform does not include the same type of principled statement in support of greater local control that was contained in some earlier programs. Hence, we feel a reduction from +2 to +1 is called for.

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H14: State Ownership of Means of Production

+4

"Chief among these market reforms should be the privatization of state-owned industries such as the telecommunications, power, mining, and refining. Privatization should afford American companies the opportunity to purchase some of these assets, bring competition to these countries, and substantially reduce our trade deficit. The United States government should take all possible steps to assist American companies wishing to invest in privatized industries by adopting policies, rules, and regulations that will equitably facilitate these ventures, especially for small businesses.

...Privatization is an important alternative to higher taxes and reduced services. If private enterprise can perform better and

more cheaply than government, let it do so. This is especially true of properties now decaying under government control, such as public housing, where residents should have the option to manage their own projects. These citizens should have the chance to become stockholders and managers of government enterprises and to run them more efficiently as private enterprises. We applaud President Bush's initiative to allow States and localities to privatize facilities built with federal aid.

...We also seek to reduce the amount of land owned or controlled by the government, especially in the western states. We insist upon prompt payment for private lands certified as critical for preserving essential parks and preserves."

This platform continues to call for the privatization of government assets and services. A +4 again seems justified.

[changed from +3 on 5/24/97]

H15: Regulation of Private Sector

+4

"We support President Bush's freeze on new regulations. We applaud his Competitiveness Council, under Vice President Quayle, for fighting the regulatory mania, saving the public of \$20 billion with its initial 90-day moratorium on new regulations and billions more under the current 120-day freeze. We call for a permanent moratorium until our regulatory reforms are fully in place. They include market-based regulation, cost-benefit analysis of all new rule-making, and a Regulatory Budget that will make Congress admit - and correct - the harm it does by legislation that destroys jobs and competitiveness.

...We support legislation to require full compensation of property owners who are victims of regulatory takings.

...Bureaucratic government imposes too many regulatory barriers to affordable housing. These barriers must come down.

...We will also abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission, finally freeing shippers and consumers from horse-and-buggy regulation. We applaud the President's executive order that will assist communities to privatize government-controlled ventures, such as airports and toll roads."

Though stopping short of calling for complete elimination of all regulation, this platform does call pledge a freeze on all new regulation and calls for reduction or elimination of regulation in certain areas. The general thrust is the same as in 1980, '84, and '88.

H16: Minority Rights

-1

"Asserting equal rights for all, we support the Bush Administration's vigorous enforcement of statutes to prevent illegal discrimination on account of sex, race, creed, or national origin. Promoting opportunity, we reject efforts to replace equal rights with quotas or other preferential treatment."

In all respects, this plank is similar to its counterpart in 1988.

[changed from -3 on 5/30/97]

H17: Women's Rights

-2

"Asserting equal rights for all, we support the Bush Administration's vigorous enforcement of statutes to prevent illegal discrimination on account of sex, race, creed, or national origin. Promoting opportunity, we reject efforts to replace equal rights with quotas or other preferential treatment."

The party advocates equality while objecting to any type of preferential treatment.

[changed from -3 on 6/2/97]

H18: Immigration

-1

"Illegal entry into the United States, on the other hand, threatens the social compact on which immigration is based. That is, the Nation accepts immigrants and is enriched by their determination and values. Illegal immigration, on the other hand, undermines the integrity of border communities and already crowded urban neighborhoods. We will build on the already announced strengthening of the Border Patrol to better coordinate interdiction of illegal entrants through cross-border cooperation."