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Nixon Policies Versus Republican Platforms

Republican Party Platforms are long, tedious documents which are hammered out every four years by the Resolutions Committees of the National Nominating Conventions. After approval by this Committee, each Platform is then adopted by the Republican National Convention as a whole. The Resolutions Committee is made up of Delegates from every state in the country who conscientiously work long hours for about two weeks before completing their task.

The resulting handiwork of such a large group of able and articulate men and women is a document that, while it may never win any prizes for literary style, nevertheless is a faithful synthesis of the views of the Republican Party leadership and members in the 50 states of the Union. Republican Party Platforms truly coalesce the ideology of all Republicans, and it seems to matter little whether the writing is directed by Senator Everett Dirksen as in 1968, Congressman Melvin Laird as in 1964, Senator Charles Percy as in 1960, Senator Prescott Bush as in 1956, or John Foster Dulles as in 1952.

On August 11, John Lindsay formally announced that he was leaving the Republican Party and registering as a Democrat. This action only confirmed what everyone had known for a number of years, namely, that Lindsay had long since abandoned Republican principles and could not by any stretch of the imagination be considered a Republican. When newsmen asked for a comment, Governor Ronald Reagan said that Lindsay's move affords a good opportunity for each of us to evaluate our own principles in relation to our Party and see if we are in the right one.

Here is an evaluation of the Nixon Administration in relation to the last five Republican Platforms: 1968, 1964, 1960, 1956, and 1952. Richard Nixon himself ran on four of these national Platforms -- twice as a Vice Presidential candidate, and twice as a Presidential candidate. The Party organization and the grassroots volunteers raised the money, did the precinct work, and conducted the political campaigns in the belief that Richard Nixon was honor bound to support these Platforms and, if elected, would fulfill its pledges. Let's look at the record on the major issues.

1. Military Superiority

The Nixon Administration has continued the Robert McNamara policy of military inferiority -- even in the face of the tremendous Soviet missile and naval buildup -- thereby abandoning the traditional Republican policy of military superiority. The Nixon Administration has done nothing to change the disastrous course of nuclear disarmament carried out for seven years by McNamara. The Nixon Administration has made no move to build new weapons, more missiles, more nuclear-armed submarines, any surface-to-surface missile ships, or the advanced strategic bomber. The Nixon Safeguard calls for only two ABM sites which is ten less than the twelve ABM sites ordered by Lyndon Johnson.

Seven members of Nixon's own Blue Ribbon Defense Panel became so alarmed that they issued a Supplemental Statement pointing out the desperate need to restore U. S. military superiority if America is to survive. The Nixon Administration suppressed this Statement for six months, and has refused to act on its recommendations or even to ask the country to read it. The President's State of the World message of February 25, 1971 (written by Henry Kissinger) confirms that the Administration has chosen a course in direct violation of the Republican policy of military superiority, as expressed in the last five Platforms.

Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., Director of Defense Research, testified on June 1 that the Soviets are spending 40% more than the U. S. on military research and that this "will lead almost certainly to some very serious military surprises." He said that U. S. military research has leveled off since Nixon took office, while the Soviet effort has not only continued to increase but has shifted from space to military technology.

The 1968 Republican Platform said: "We pledge ... 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."

The 1964 Republican Platform said: "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. Republicans will never unilaterally disarm America. . . . We will end the false economies which place price ahead of the performance upon which American lives may depend."

The 1960 Republican Platform said: "As long as world tensions menace us with war, we are resolved to maintain an armed power exceeded by no other. . . . The future of freedom depends heavily upon America's military might. . . . Under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration, our military might has been forged into a power second to none. . . . The Republican Party is pledged to making certain that our arms, and our will to use them, remain superior to all threats. . . . The strategic imperatives of our national defense policy . . . [require] a nuclear retaliatory power that can survive surprise attack, strike back, and destroy any possible enemy. . . . There is no price ceiling on America's security. The United States can and must provide whatever is necessary to insure its own security."

The 1956 Republican Platform said: "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. . . . We have [emphasis in the original] the strongest striking force in the world -- in the air -- on the sea -- and a magnificent supporting land force in our Army and Marine Corps. Such visible and powerful deterrents must continue to include:

a) a jet-powered, long-range, strategic air force, and a tactical air force of the fastest and very latest type aircraft, with a striking capability superior to any other;

b) the most effective guided and ballistic missiles;

c) a modern navy, with a powerful naval aircraft arm prepared to keep the sea lanes open to meet any assignment;

d) an army whose mobility and unit firepower are without equal;

e) bases, strategically dispersed at home and around the world, essential to all these operations.

We will maintain and improve the effective strength and state of readiness of all these armed forces. . . . In this age of weapons of inconceivable destructiveness, we must not neglect the protection of the civilian population by all known means. . . . Our military defense must be backed by a strong civil defense, . . . an important deterrent against attack upon our country."

The 1952 Republican Platform said: "On the prudent assumption that Communist Russia may not accommodate 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 energy weapons in abundance."

2. Fiscal Integrity

The Nixon Administration has adopted the New

Deal-Fair Deal-New Frontier-Great Society policies of inflation, increased Federal spending, unbalanced budgets, high taxes, and price and wage controls. In three years, the Nixon Administration will have piled up a Federal deficit of \$47 billions, whereas Lyndon Johnson's deficit over five years was only \$36 billions, and John Kennedy's deficit over three years was only \$18 billions. Nixon candidly stated that he is now a "Keynesian," which means a personal commitment to inflation, Federal controls, and large deficit spending. A savings account of \$10,000 at the time Nixon took office is worth only \$8,200 today. The number of people on welfare has doubled since Nixon took office, and he has lobbied hard for his costly guaranteed-annual-income Family Assistance Plan which will add 12 million more to the rolls. The Nixon Administration's fiscal policy is a direct repudiation of Republican policy as expressed in the last five Platforms.

The 1968 Republican Platform said: "We must [emphasis in the original] re-establish fiscal responsibility and put an end to increases in the cost of living. . . . New Republican leadership can and will restore fiscal integrity and sound monetary policies, encourage sustained economic vitality, and avoid such economic distortions as wage and price controls."

The 1964 Republican Platform said: "We also pledge prudent, responsible management of the government's fiscal affairs to protect the individual against the evils of spendthrift government -- protecting most of all the needy and fixed-income families against the cruelest tax, inflation -- and protecting every citizen against the high taxes forced by excessive spending, in order that each individual may keep more of his earnings for his own and his family's use. . . . We pledge a reduction of not less than \$5 billion in the present level of Federal spending; an end to chronic deficit financing, proudly reaffirming our belief in a balanced budget; further reduction in individual and corporate tax rates as fiscal discipline is restored; repayments on the public debt."

The 1960 Republican Platform said: "We reject the concept of artificial growth forced by massive new Federal spending and loose money policies. . . . While leading Democrats charge us with a 'budget balancing' mentality, their taunts really reflect their frustration over the people's recognition that as a nation we must live within our means. . . . We must work persistently to reduce, not to increase, the national debt."

The 1956 Republican Platform said: "We have balanced the budget. We believe and will continue to prove that thrift, prudence, and a sensible respect for living within income applies as surely to the management of our Government's budget as it does to the family budget. . . . We hold that the protection of the freedom of men requires that budgets be balanced, waste in Government eliminated, and taxes reduced. . . . We pledge . . . continued balancing of the budget to assure the financial strength of the country. . . . The Republican Party believes that sound money, which retains its buying power, is an essential foundation for new jobs, a higher standard of living, protection of savings, a secure national defense, and the general economic growth of the country."

The 1952 Republican Platform said: "Our goal is a balanced budget, a reduced national debt, an

economical administration, and a cut in taxes. We believe in combating inflation by encouraging full production of goods and food, and not through a program of restrictions."

3. Aid to Communist Countries

On August 17 President Nixon signed into law the bill raising the lending power of the Export-Import Bank to \$20 billion and permitting these loans to be given to Communist countries including the Soviet Union, all its satellites, and Red China. The money for these loans comes from the U. S. taxpayers. This bill represented a reversal of the previous law which had barred loans to Communist bloc countries supplying materials or aid to North Vietnam. The House had originally voted 207 to 153 to ban lending U. S. dollars to countries aiding North Vietnam, but extensive lobbying by the Nixon Administration caused the House to reverse itself.

On August 9, the Nixon Administration granted licenses for the shipment of \$162 million in machinery for a new truck-manufacturing complex in the Soviet Union, a move generally considered as the prelude to approval of the giant deal to build a \$1.4 billion Mack Truck plant in the U.S.S.R. The Nixon Administration has approved the shipment of millions of dollars worth of machine tools and computers to the Soviet Union, and during 1970 removed more than 1,300 strategic items from the U. S. list of banned exports to the Communist bloc. The Nixon Administration has authorized the shipment of many important manufacturing materials to Red China. This trade with Communist countries aiding North Vietnam is a direct repudiation of Republican Platforms.

The 1968 Republican Platform said: "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. Only when Communist nations prove by actual deeds that they genuinely seek world peace and will live in harmony with the rest of the world, will we support expansion of East-West trade. We will strictly administer the Export Control Act, taking special care to deny export licenses for strategic goods."

The 1964 Republican Platform said: "America's tax revenues derived from free enterprise sources must never be employed in support of freedom's enemies."

The 1956 Republican Platform said: "We are against any trade with the Communist world that would threaten the security of the United States and our allies."

4. Red China in the UN

The Nixon Administration policies of supporting Red China's admission into the United Nations, extending trade credits to Red China, and visiting Red China are in direct repudiation of unequivocal pledges in the Republican Platforms. Here is the record.

The 1968 Republican Platform said: "Under existing conditions, we cannot favor recognition of Communist China or its admission to the United Nations. . . . Improved relations with Communist nations can come only when they cease to endanger other states by force or threat."

The 1964 Republican Platform said: "We are opposed to the recognition of Red China. We oppose its admission into the United Nations. We steadfastly

support free China."

The 1960 Republican Platform said: "Recognition of Communist China and its admission to the United Nations have been firmly opposed by the Republican Administration. We will continue in this opposition because of compelling evidence that to do otherwise would weaken the cause of freedom and endanger the future of the free peoples of Asia and the world. The brutal suppression of the human rights and the religious traditions of the Tibetan people is an unhappy evidence of the need to persist in our policy."

The 1956 Republican Platform said: "We continue to oppose the seating of Communist China in the United Nations, thus upholding international morality. To seat a Communist China which defies, by word and deed, the principles of the United Nations Charter, would be to betray the letter, violate the spirit, and subvert the purposes of that Charter. It would betray our friend and ally, the Republic of China."

5. Foreign Policy

The traditional Republican foreign policy was best summed up by President Theodore Roosevelt in his famous phrase, "Speak softly and carry a big stick." Republican Platforms make it clear that Republican policy is to rely on U. S. strength rather than enemy promises. The Republican foreign policy since 1952 has been based on recognition of the fact that the principal enemy which threatens the independence of America is Soviet Communism, and the best way to deal with it is through U. S. strength rather than by relying on Communist promises as Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman did at Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam.

The Nixon Administration has adopted a foreign policy of "speak loudly and carry a little stick." Instead of rebuilding U. S. nuclear power to protect us from the Soviet missile threat, the Nixon Administration is relying on the SALT talks in Helsinki and Vienna to persuade the Soviets to give up their aggressive aims. To represent the United States in the SALT talks, President Nixon appointed the two Democrats who were most responsible for carrying out the disastrous McNamara disarmament policies from 1963 through 1968 which threw away our great U. S. missile and naval superiority. These two men are Paul Nitze, who was LBJ's Secretary of the Navy for four years and then Deputy Secretary of Defense (second only to McNamara), and Harold Brown, LBJ's Director of Defense Research and Engineering and then Secretary of the Air Force. Nitze even made a speech at Asilomar, California advocating a policy of U. S. weakness instead of strength. Having reduced the U. S. to second best, these same men are now negotiating a freeze to keep us permanently inferior to the Russians.

All the factual evidence up to the present time proves that the Republican Platforms are right when they recognize Communism as our principal enemy, and that the Nixon Administration is wrong in relying on promises and negotiations instead of U. S. strength. The problems in Southeast Asia, the Philippines, Korea, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, Berlin, Eastern Europe, the Caribbean, and the fishing areas off our Atlantic coast, are all caused by direct Communist aggression, intrigue or subversion. The massive Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia by 650,000 troops in August 1968 proves that the men running the Kremlin today are more belligerent and aggressive than

Khrushchev. They are far more dangerous to the Free World than Stalin or Khrushchev because the Kremlin today has infinitely more nuclear power.

The 1968 Republican Platform said: "We will not condone aggression, or so-called 'wars of national liberation,' or naively discount the continuing threats of Moscow and Peking. Nor can we fail to condemn the Soviet Union for its continuing anti-Semitic actions, its efforts to eradicate all religions, and its oppression of minorities generally. Improved relations with Communist nations can come only when they cease to endanger other states by force or threat."

The 1964 Republican Platform said: "Republican foreign policy starts with the assumption that Communism is the enemy of this Nation in every sense until it can prove that its enmity has been abandoned. . . . Our Nation's leadership must be judged by -- indeed, American independence and even survival are dependent upon -- the stand it takes toward Communism. That stand must be: victory for freedom. There can be no peace, there can be no security, until this goal is won. As long as Communist leaders remain ideologically fixed upon ruling the world, there can be no lesser goal. This is the supreme test of America's foreign policy. It must not be defaulted. In the balance is human liberty every place on earth. . . . It is a nation's vacillation, not firmness, that tempts an aggressor into war. It is accommodation, not opposition, that encourages a hostile nation to remain hostile and to remain aggressive."

The 1960 Republican Platform said: "To nullify the Soviet conspiracy is our greatest task. . . . We advocate an immovable resistance against every Communist aggression. . . . We confront today the global offensive of Communism, increasingly aggressive and violent in its enterprises. The agency of that offensive is Soviet policy, aimed at the subversion of the world. . . . We now reaffirm our determination to defend the security and the freedom of our country, to honor our commitments to our allies at whatever cost or sacrifice."

The 1956 Republican Platform said: "The advance of Communism and its enslavement of people has been checked, and, at key points, thrown back. Austria, Iran and Guatemala have been liberated from Kremlin control."

The 1952 Republican Platform said: "There are no Communists in the Republican Party. We have always recognized Communism to be a world conspiracy against freedom and religion. We never compromised with Communism and we have fought to expose it and to eliminate it in government and American life."

6. Cuba

The Soviets have built a nuclear submarine base at Cienfuegos in Cuba in complete violation not only of the Monroe Doctrine, but also of the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement of 1962. Yet the Nixon Administration has done absolutely nothing about it. Under the Nixon Administration, the U. S. Coast Guard continues to intercept and arrest Cuban patriots who are trying to do what we permitted Castro to do, namely, overthrow the government of Cuba by guerrilla warfare. The Cuban policy of the

Nixon Administration contradicts the Republican Platforms.

The 1968 Republican Platform said: "We hold that they [the principles of the Monroe Doctrine] should be reaffirmed and should guide the collective policy of the Americas. Nor have we forgotten in this context, the Cuban people who still cruelly suffer under Communist tyranny."

The 1964 Republican Platform said: "We will assist Cuban freedom fighters in carrying on guerrilla warfare against the Communist regime; we will work for an economic boycott by all nations of the free world in trade with Cuba."

The 1960 Republican Platform said: "We shall . . . refus [e] to tolerate the establishment in this hemisphere of any government dominated by the foreign rule of Communism."

Pledges Kept or Promises Broken?

The 1968 Republican Platform concluded with these words: "We emphasize trust and credibility. We have pledged only what we honestly believe we can perform. In a world where broken promises become a way of life, we submit that a nation progresses not on promises broken but on pledges kept."

The last five Republican Platforms constitute a consistent and harmonious fabric of the pledges made to the American people by the Republican Party. What happened to these promises after the Nixon Administration took office in January 1969?

In 1940 the Republican Party made a colossal mistake in nominating for the Presidency a man who was a registered Democrat, windy Wendell Willkie. He was put over on the Republican National Convention by the New York kingmakers in a 90-day publicity blitz. Willkie talked like a Republican only long enough to secure the nomination. After he was defeated by Franklin Roosevelt, he revealed himself as the phony he was by admitting under oath to a Senate Committee that pledges he had made before the election were just "campaign oratory."

Willkie's "campaign oratory" expression has gone down in history as one of the most cynical statements ever made in American politics. What will historians say about the Richard Nixon who ran four times for President or Vice President on four Republican Platforms that unequivocally promised American military superiority, fiscal integrity, refusal of strategic trade with Communist countries, opposition to admission of Red China to the UN, and a foreign policy based on opposition to international Communism -- and then, after he was elected President, adopted policies which were the exact opposite of his Platform pledges?

This is the question to be pondered by those who raised the funds, walked their precincts, organized meetings, and lined up Delegates and voters for Nixon in 1968 -- and will be asked to do so again in 1972.

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