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Gallup 3/83

"GENDER GAP"

Since he took office, President Reagan has been plagued by a "gender gap" — he receives markedly lower assessments of his policies and performance in office from women voters than from men. This sex differential cuts across all social and economic boundaries and is found in every region of the nation.

A special Gallup analysis of more than 4,500 interviews conducted in January permits a detailed examination of Reagan's gender gap for the first time.

In these January surveys, 37 percent of adult Americans said they approved of the way President Reagan is handling the duties of his office, while 54 percent disapproved and nine percent were uncommitted. During this period 40 percent of men but only 33 percent of women had a favorable opinion of Reagan's job performance — a significant 7-percentage-point difference.

This discrepancy by sex is found — to a greater or lesser degree — in each of the 41 national surveys Gallup has conducted since Reagan took office. A summary is shown below:

REAGAN PERFORMANCE RATINGS (Percent approving)

	Both sexes	Men	Women	Difference
1983 (3 surveys)	37%	40%	33%	7 points
1982 (19 surveys)	44	48	40	8
1981 (19 surveys)	58	62	53	9
Average to date	50	54	45	9

These differences by sex are not found in the public's assessments of Reagan's predecessors. As shown in the following table, the greatest previous disparity was during Richard Nixon's presidency, when 50 percent of men and 47 percent of women approved of his job performance.

PRESIDENTIAL PERFORMANCE RATINGS (Average percent approving)

	Both sexes	Men	Women	Difference
Reagan	50%	54%	45%	9 points
Carter	47	46	47	1
Ford	46	45	46	1
Nixon	49	50	47	3
Johnson	55	56	54	2
Kennedy	70	70	70	—
Eisenhower	64	63	65	2

In a single January survey, the gender gap extended to men's and women's assessment of President Reagan's handling of the economy (33 percent of men approved, but only 26 percent of women did), inflation (43 per-

cent approval from men, 30 percent from women), unemployment (21 percent and 18 percent), and, especially, to Reagan's defense program (53 percent of men and 36 percent of women approved).

UNDERLYING CAUSES

President Reagan's gender gap actually began *before* the 1980 presidential election, in which men voted for Reagan to a greater extent than did women. The reasons underlying this discrepancy are generally considered to center on the peace issue — with women more likely than men to feel Reagan might get the U. S. into war — and on women's consistently more liberal stance on many social issues. Women, for instance, have been more opposed than men to the death penalty and to relaxing environmental standards and more supportive of stricter gun-control legislation. Women have also tended more than men to perceive the Reagan Administration's economic programs as treating minorities, the elderly, and low-income groups unfairly.

These political differences between men and women take on special significance because of changes in the composition of the voting public. According to the U. S. Census, in each election a progressively larger percentage of the electorate is female. The Census studies show that for the first time in history equal proportions of men and women reported voting in the 1980 election. As a consequence, women now represent a majority of the voting public. If the trend persists, they will constitute an increasing majority.

SEX DIFFERENCES CROSS REGIONAL, SOCIAL LINES

Not only are women less supportive than men of the Reagan Administration on the national level, but the gender gap is found in every major population subgroup as well.

Among groups which have included the Administrations staunchest supporters: 42 percent of college-educated women compared to 49 percent of college-educated men approved of Reagan's conduct in office. Among Republicans, a 12-percentage-point gap between the sexes exists, with 74 percent of men but only 62 percent of women approving of the President. In households in which the chief wage-earner is employed in business or the professions, 52 percent of men and 45 percent of women approved.

The principle also embraces population groups which have been least supportive of President Reagan. Among blue-collar occupational groups, for example, 35 percent of men and 30 percent of women gave the President a favorable rating. Also 16 percent of black men but only six percent of black women approved of Reagan's job performance. The gender gap is found in each of the four major geographic regions, with the greatest disparity in the far western states.

REAGAN POPULARITY — MEN vs. WOMEN

(Percent approving — Three survey average)

Question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?"

	January 1983		
	Men	Women	Difference
NATIONAL	40%	33%	7 points
RACE			
White	44	37	7
Non-white	19	8	11
EDUCATION			
College	49	42	7
High school	39	33	6
Grade school	23	16	7
REGION			
East	36	32	4
Midwest	41	36	5
South	40	32	8
West	44	32	12
AGE			
18 - 29 years	46	36	10
30 - 49 years	40	31	9
50 & older	35	33	2
INCOME			
\$20,000 & over	45	43	2
Less than \$20,000	35	27	8
POLITICS			
Republican	74	62	12
Democrat	19	18	1
Independent	43	34	9
RELIGION			
Protestant	42	35	8
Catholic	41	33	8
OCCUPATION			
Professional & business	52	45	7
Clerical & sales	37	32	5
Manual workers	35	30	5
Non-labor force	35	28	7
CITY SIZE			
1,000,000 & over	33	26	7
500,000 - 999,999	40	36	4
50,000 - 499,999	36	33	3
2,500 - 49,999	50	36	14
Under 2,500, rural	44	36	8
LABOR UNION			
Labor union families	30	29	1
Non-labor union families	43	34	9

REAGAN POPULARITY — MEN vs. WOMEN*				
		Men	Women	Difference
1983	Jan. (average) . . . . .	.40%	33%	7 points
	Jan. 28-31 . . . . .	.39	32	2
	Jan. 21-24 . . . . .	.39	35	4
	Jan. 14-17 . . . . .	.42	32	10
1982	December . . . . .	.47	36	11
	November . . . . .	.48	39	9
	October . . . . .	.46	38	8
	September . . . . .	.47	37	10
	August . . . . .	.44	38	6
	July . . . . .	.48	38	10
	June . . . . .	.51	39	12
	May . . . . .	.47	43	4
	April . . . . .	.49	38	11
	March . . . . .	.52	41	11
	February . . . . .	.51	42	9
	January . . . . .	.53	45	8
1981	December . . . . .	.51	46	5
	November . . . . .	.53	46	7
	October . . . . .	.61	51	10
	September . . . . .	.60	44	16
	August . . . . .	.66	54	12
	July . . . . .	.63	55	8
	June . . . . .	.66	52	14
	May . . . . .	.70	65	5
	April . . . . .	.71	64	7
	March . . . . .	.65	55	10
	February . . . . .	.58	53	5
	January . . . . .	.54	48	6

* The data for 1982 and 1981 are based on single surveys. In months when the question was asked more than once, the figures from the survey conducted closest to the middle of the month are shown.

REAGAN POPULARITY

(Three-survey average)

Question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?"

January 1983

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
NATIONAL	37%	54%	9%
SEX			
Male	40	53	7
Female	33	36	11
RACE			
White	40	51	9
Non-white	13	76	11
EDUCATION			
College	46	49	5
High school	36	55	9
Grade school	20	64	16
REGION			
East	34	58	8
Midwest	38	52	10
South	36	53	11
West	38	53	9
AGE			
18 - 29 years	41	50	9
30 - 49 years	36	56	8
50 & older	34	56	10
INCOME			
\$20,000 & over	44	49	7
Less than \$20,000	31	58	11
POLITICS			
Republican	68	24	8
Democrat	19	74	7
Independent	39	50	11
RELIGION			
Protestant	38	52	10
Catholic	37	55	8
OCCUPATION			
Professional & business	48	46	6
Clerical & sales	34	58	8
Manual workers	33	57	10
Non-labor force	31	58	11
CITY SIZE			
1,000,000 & over	29	62	9
500,000 - 999,999	38	55	7
50,000 - 499,999	34	57	9
2,500 - 49,999	42	49	9
Under 2,500, rural	40	50	10
LABOR UNION			
Labor union families	30	62	8
Non-labor union families	38	52	10

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Overview of 1984 Reagan Budget - effects on Women

(Ms. OAKAR asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. OAKAR. Mr. Chairman, there is no more noble goal than the Humphrey-Hawkins philosophy of full employment for all Americans. Nothing is more demeaning than a person who does not have a job, who wants a job, and who cannot get a job because of various problems in the economy and because of discrimination.

People of all ages and all backgrounds and of both sexes are in great pain because of the lack of employment. One group that has been especially hard hit are the women in this country. More than 40 percent or 4.7 million women who are 16 years and older need a job or are unemployed, and for black women, of course, 50 percent of the black women who need a job cannot get a job. For Hispanic women the figures are very similar, and they have the additional problem of being faced with a language barrier in some cases.

Let us look at why women need a job. Women need a job for the same reasons that men need a job. They need it for their own survival. They need it very often to protect their families and provide income for their families—in some cases, additional income, and in other cases they are head of the household. Forty-five percent of all working women are single, 29 percent are married with husbands who earn less than \$15,000 a year, and 2.7 million females are the head of their households. Sixteen percent of all the American families are indeed headed by women. One out of three women live in poverty, and 48 percent of all children under 6 have mothers in the labor force, and this is estimated to go up to 50 percent in the next 10 years.

What are some of the problems that women face in trying to seek employment? Well, one problem obviously is that they are concentrated when they are lucky enough to get a job, in tradi-

tionally female occupations that are traditionally the lowest paid. For every dollar that a man earns a woman earns merely 66 cents.

This is not to say that men do not need a job or should not get paid a just salary. I do not like pitting men against women in this area because I think it gives the wrong impression. Women are for men getting paid fully, but they want to get paid fully also, and that is the real issue. The lack of pay equity, equal pay for work of a comparable nature, has been a negative factor for women in the job forces.

Why is it that the secretaries, the nurses, the social workers, the teachers, and the clerks are the lowest paid people when the value of what they do is so important to our Nation?

And, of course, when RIF'ing takes place, the first ones to go are the last ones to get a job, and that happens to be minorities and women. And, of course, being elderly and female produces the vicious cycle, the catch-22 that our older American population, particularly older women, are in. If you are poor during the course of your youth and your middle years, you are going to really be poor when you are older. And we know that older Americans, the women who are older Americans, are the poorest people in this country. They are the ones who have the least amount of money to live on.

We also know that the Social Security Act—and we have not corrected that yet—is discriminatory toward women, and we have to do something about this despicable situation in the near future. The social security reform package addresses only a small portion of the inequity toward women.

Today we are realizing the femininization of poverty. Seventy percent of households headed by women live in poverty, and the poorest person, as I mentioned, is the elderly woman. She lives on about \$230 a month if she is lucky, and one-third of the women who are the head of households receive, it is true, some form of public assistance. But despite the stereotype that was just presented—and I want to say that I think that is absolutely a misrepresentation, but it is a very common stereotype—62 percent of the women who are on some form of public assistance do work. And if it were not for the Reagan budget, we would still have a program that provided them the transition to get them into a job. But that was cut so now we do not allow women who have some form of public assistance to go out in the work force and have some transitional income.

But how does one gain full employment when one is ill prepared for the job market and in many cases subjected to the double discrimination of racism and sexism?

Another group of women who have tremendous difficulty in getting a job are the millions of middle aged and older women who are separated, di-

vorced, or widowed, and who have dedicated themselves to homemaking. They have invaluable skills, but their skills are rarely marketable, and so few receive alimony or proper pensions or other sources of earned or inherited income, and they are faced with few choices.

□ 1030

They suffer not only from not having marketable skills but, in many cases, sexism and, for black women, racism, and they also suffer from something more subtle: Age discrimination.

Women over 45 have tremendous difficulty in getting a job, even if they do have marketable skills. And another group of women who are having tremendous problems in getting a job are those women who are part of a household where the man is unemployed. They are less likely to get a job, in addition.

And what about our young women? Of the black youth who happen to be female in this country 45.5 percent cannot find a job, and more than 25 percent of the white youth who happen to be female cannot get a job. The vast majority of women who are under 22 are in the lowest paying jobs, earning less than \$80 week.

What can be done? We have to take a look at the budget priorities. Are battleships, tanks, and bombs really more important and more necessary than the most valuable tool that we have—the American people and, in this case, the American woman.

We cannot afford to have cuts in the training programs, cuts in the areas of the Civil Rights Act that provide educational equity for women. And this administration cut every nickel of that program. They cut every nickel, in terms of enforcement, relative to areas such as title IX, and they cut programs that relate to human resources that are so important.

PRIORITIES—PEOPLE VERSUS WEAPONS AND DEFENSE COST OVERRUNS

What can be done? Budget priorities support the philosophy of the Humphrey-Hawkins goal of full employment with action. What are actions that can achieve the goals of women:

Training: Education programs such as vocational training with emphasis on jobs of high demand and that are financially rewarding and emphasis on needs of nontraditional populations such as single female heads of households and displaced homemakers. Support education programs such as title I and title VII with emphasis on disadvantaged youth. This administration is proposing no money for the Women's Education Equity Act and the enforcement of title IV of the Civil Rights Act.

Continue and expand the educational equity program (WEEA) and title IV of the Civil Rights Act. Currently these programs are being phased out.

Enforce title IX which protects rights of women and girls in education.

Continue student financial assistance programs so that women have the opportunities for education and jobs.

An all-out job training program for women, old and young, black, Hispanic, white who are unemployed.

Support title V of Older Americans Act.

Support a comprehensive human resources program which will give women support services necessary: day care and other child care programs; nutrition and health services; comprehensive housing.

Ironically, these are programs which have been cut in this administration.

Enforce the law and give agencies such as Equal Employment Opportunity, women's bureau of Department of Labor, proper funding.

Increase affirmative action programs so that women are treated fairly in terms of job opportunities and have opportunities for upward mobility in the work force.

Pay women properly—equal pay for comparable worth is the key.

Women tend to be in service oriented jobs—nursing, teaching, social work, secretarial, clerical—the value of their work is not commensurate with their pay; we must pass a law in the near future to insure the wage discrimination is eliminated. I and two other Members have had extensive hearings on this issue.

Provide protection for those who are newest in labor force—first to be laid off—minorities and women.

In any national jobs programs an emphasis must be placed on jobs for women—certainly service oriented jobs and jobs demanding other skills.

Finally and ultimately we must put into action the philosophy of Humphrey-Hawkins that Americans have a right to full employment.

The following is an excerpt from a very important report:

INEQUALITY OF SACRIFICE—THE IMPACT OF THE REAGAN BUDGET ON WOMEN BY THE COALITION ON WOMEN AND THE BUDGET

The fiscal year 1984 budget presented by the Reagan Administration to Congress calls for inequality of sacrifice by the women of America. If enacted, the budget cuts proposed by the President will have a devastating impact on women and their families at every stage of their lives. The reason for the "gender gap"—differences in voting patterns of women and men—should no longer be a mystery to the Administration or to anyone else. Women understand that the cumulative effect of the budget cuts on women—women in families, girls and young women, women in the workforce, and older women—are unfair and place an unconscionable burden on them.

Last year an ad hoc Coalition on Women and the Budget, composed of nearly 40 women's, education, religious, labor and other organizations came together to analyze the fiscal year 1983 budget. We found a pattern in the budget proposals that alarmed us: women, especially the poorest women, were being asked to shoulder a dis-

proportionate share of this country's economic burden. That budget analysis was circulated to Congress, to the media, and to individuals and organizations concerned about women. Congress turned back some of the most egregious cuts, and the Coalition hoped that the Administration had learned from the experience. Apparently, it had not.

The Administration's 1984 budget makes no improvements for women. Instead, the cumulative effect of the Administration's budgets of the last three years is one of continued pain. These effects can no longer charitably be seen as unintended consequences of budgetary actions.

The cuts in Title XX of the Social Security Act provide an illustration. The original purpose of the legislation was to assist low-income individuals and families to obtain the supportive social services they need. In fiscal year 1982, the program became the Social Services Block Grant, and was cut from \$3.1 billion to \$2.45 billion. In fiscal year 1983, the Administration requested an additional 17% cut, which was not adopted by Congress. This year, the Administration has requested \$2.50 billion, but the apparent increase is an illusion. It is accomplished by creating a "super block" grant for Social Services and Community Services, which together have a budget of \$2.89 billion. A critical program for women and their families is cut, and cut, and cut again—under the guise of a proposal for "level funding."

This year when the Coalition on Women and the Budget came together, we found that the fiscal year 1984 program cuts affect women significantly. When combined with the cuts of the past two fiscal years, the cumulative impact is devastating. The result will be diminished opportunity for women and a threat to the stability and health of their families.

In human terms, what are the effects of this budget on women at various states of their lives?

WOMEN AND FAMILIES

About 70 percent of the households headed by women live in poverty. Recent studies show women to be the fastest growing poverty group in our nation. If the current rate of growth of female-headed families continues, women and their children will compose virtually all of the nation's poor by the year 2000. This feminization of poverty would be accelerated by the Reagan cuts. Examples:

AFDC. Cuts in Aid to Families with Dependent Children would reduce benefit payments by \$1.2 billion in fiscal year 1984 alone. As a result payments to recipients in the next year would be almost 10 percent less than the expected level of payments this fiscal year. In a program whose beneficiaries are 94 percent women and children, the devastating impact of these cuts is obvious.

Women, Infant, and Children Program. WIC has been an extraordinary successful program providing nutrition supplements to pregnant women and their infants. Because low birth weight can result not only in infant deaths, but in physical and mental disorders, cutting a program that costs \$450 for a pregnant woman when caring for a sick infant in a neonatal unit can cost up to \$40,000 makes no sense at all.

At a time of unemployment and family stress, there is no relief for some mothers who are trying to make ends meet. There are cuts in programs for the education of her children, in programs providing medical care, in nutrition, family planning, and employment training programs.

GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN

As a nation, we should be investing in our young people. Most of today's girls will

spend 25 to 45 years in the workforce as adult women, and 40 percent of them will be heads of household. What does the budget have in store for them?

A youth sub-minimum wage. One million young women under the age of 22 head families, and the vast majority work in low-wage jobs. The President would reward their work with a gross wage of \$90 per week.

Educational programs. Large cuts in educational programs that benefit girls and women are also slated. The Women's Educational Equity Act, Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Title IV of the Indian Education Act of 1972 are all marked for extinction. The Vocational Education Act and the Adult Education Act would be folded into a block grant, with a cut in appropriations of nearly two-thirds. And further cuts are proposed in student financial assistance.

WOMEN AND THE WORK FORCE

The number of women who work outside the home and are poor or near poor is large and growing. Three out of five working women earn less than \$10,000 each year, and one in three earns less than \$7,000. Female-headed households are 15 percent of all families, but 50 percent of all poor families. Minority women face a double burden of race and sex discrimination. While all women earn about 59¢ for every dollar earned by white men, Black women workers earn only 54¢, and Hispanic women earn only 49¢.

Changes in the focus of job training programs. With unemployment rates 21.5 percent for teenaged girls, 13.2 percent for female family heads, and 45.4 percent among young minority women in January, 1983, program targeting has been shifted to provide more funds for displaced workers and less for disadvantaged women. The Administration continues to fight the funding of stipends and support services like child care, which are essential to make job training work for girls and women.

Elimination of the Work Incentive Program. WIN was designed to offer job counseling, training, placement and support services for recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. At a time of high unemployment, the low-skilled, low-wage worker—usually a woman—needs assistance in finding employment. Yet WIN is targeted for zero funding.

OLDER WOMEN

About 60 percent of Americans age 65 or older are women. On average, federal budget cuts hit them harder than men because women experience aging differently. Women have substantially lower incomes and higher poverty rates. Older minority women are particularly vulnerable. Black women, for example, are five times more likely to live in poverty than white men. How are older women affected?

Social Security cuts. Older women depend on Social Security as their primary, and often only, source of income. The postponement in the cost-of-living adjustment will leave them with fixed incomes for another six months, but rising bills for food, rent, utilities and medical care.

Medicare cuts. Administration proposals will force Medicare beneficiaries to pay higher deductibles, co-payments, and Medicare Part B premiums. The near poor elderly will pay a much higher proportion of their incomes for these out-of-pocket costs; older women are on average already spending one-third of their annual incomes for health care.

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE FEDERAL BUDGET PICTURE

Each year when the federal budget is published, much ado is made about where feder-

al revenues come from and where they are spent. To understand what percentage of an individual tax dollar goes toward social service programs—especially those that benefit women—and to understand the impact that cuts to these programs have on women, it is necessary to examine some of the facts about where federal income comes from and where it goes.

The fiscal year 1984 federal budget states that out of each tax dollar:

Where it comes from

- 35 percent comes from income taxes.
- 29 percent comes from social insurance receipts.
- 22 percent comes from borrowing.
- 6 percent comes from corporation income taxes.
- 5 percent comes from excise taxes.
- 3 percent comes from other sources.

Where it goes

- 43 percent goes to direct benefit payments for individuals (includes money to military veterans pensions).
- 29 percent goes to national defense.
- 12 percent goes to interest on the national debt.
- 11 percent goes to grants to states and localities.
- 6 percent goes to other federal operations.

This breakdown is deceiving. It conceals the fact that a significant portion of the tax money paid to the federal government goes directly into trust funds that are collected from potential beneficiaries for specific programs. Trust fund receipts may be used to fund only the program for which they were collected, whether it is Social Security, Medicare, unemployment insurance or highway trust funds. Approximately two-thirds of the amount the government spends on "direct benefit payments for individuals" comes directly from Social Security, Medicare, Railroad Retirement, other retirement contributions and Unemployment Insurance. If these sums are subtracted from the budget, we get a better picture of where policy makers have discretion over the way federal dollars are spent.

This new budget picture shows that in matters the Congress and President can control directly, i.e., appropriated dollars, the percentage spent on direct benefits to individuals is reduced by over 50 percent. The defense expenditures increase from 29 percent to over 40 percent when viewed this way.

The President and Congress have clearly chosen to spend a relatively small percentage of the federal government's general revenues on social service programs, such as those that affect women. In relative terms a much larger percentage of discretionary funds has been channeled into defense and payment of the national debt as deficits continue to rise. The budget cuts in human service programs over the last several years have not in fact, diminished the deficit and made the economy more stable. What the cuts have brought about, however, is dramatic shifts in growth to military spending, paralleled by cuts in human services.

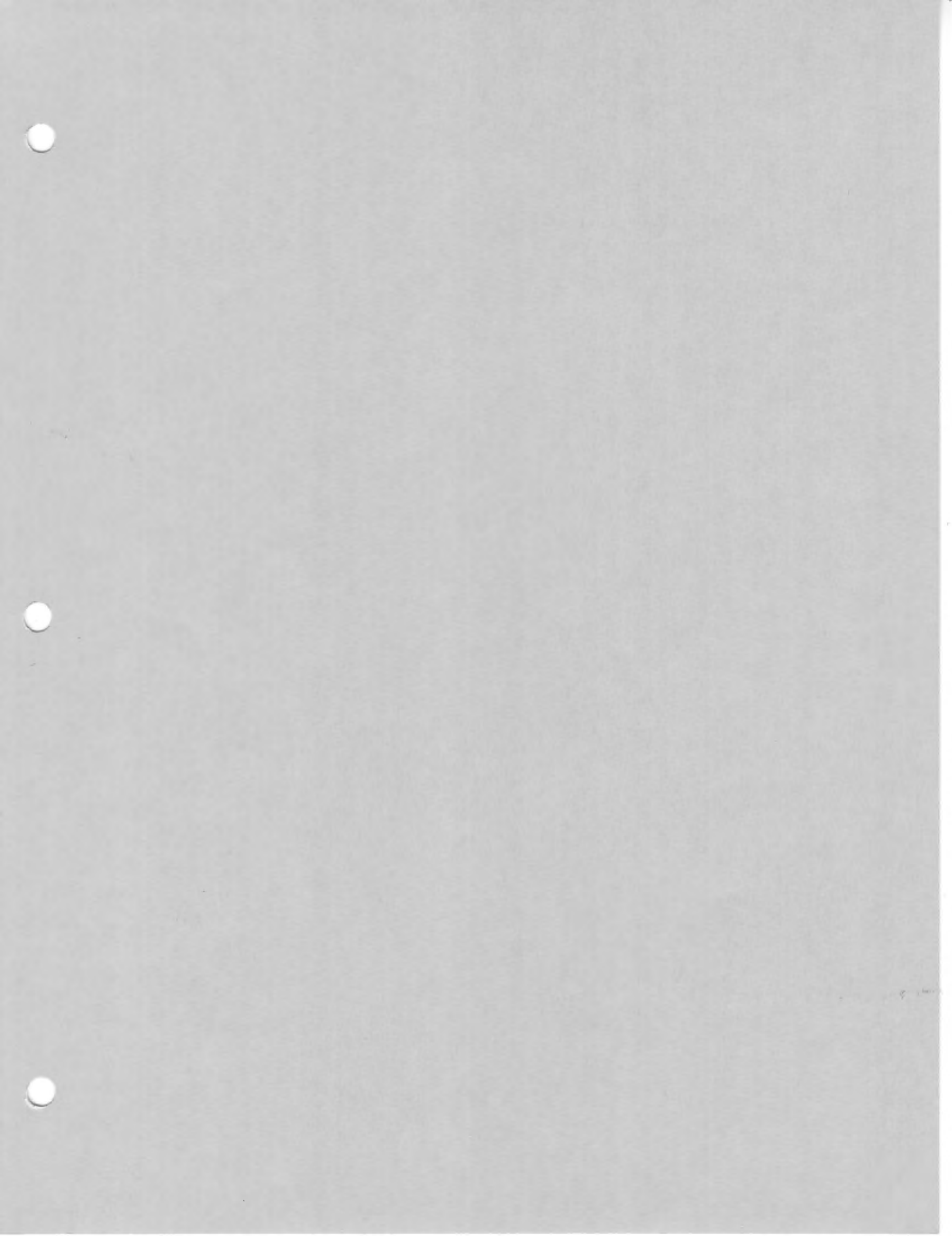
Women and children in need of education, food and housing are being told that the federal government's commitment to human services is already high enough. The spending referred to, however, is trust fund spending and increases in trust fund expenditures reflect demographic and economic conditions, not budget priorities set by the President and Congress. In fact, over the past several years non-trust fund spending for social services has been decreasing.

CONCLUSION

The message that emerges from an examination of the program details is clear. The fiscal 1984 budget is unfair to women. Mothers and their children, young girls, working women and those seeking employment, and women in their later years should not be expected to bear the burden of federal budget deficits.

The Congress of the United States can reverse the inequality of sacrifice placed on women by President Reagan's budget. What we seek is an alternative to the "supply side" model of economic recovery which increases the defense budget at the expense of women and families. We ask for a "nurture-side" solution, which nourishes all Americans as it decreases the deficit. We ask for an economic program which focuses resources on building the nation's entire infrastructure—not just its buildings, highways, and pipelines. We believe that the human infrastructure—the lives of our people and their families must be our first priority.

A workable budget must be developed for 1984 which does not ask so much of some and so little of others. Women are willing to sacrifice for their country, but the burden of that sacrifice must be equally shared.



REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

Issues of reproductive rights for women include the right to choose to terminate a pregnancy, the availability of family planning information and services, and the right to a workplace free from reproductive hazards.

American Association of University Women (AAUW)
Johanna Mendelson/Tricia Smith/Amy Berger 785-7760

Federally Employed Women (FEW)
Lynne Revo-Cohen 638-7144

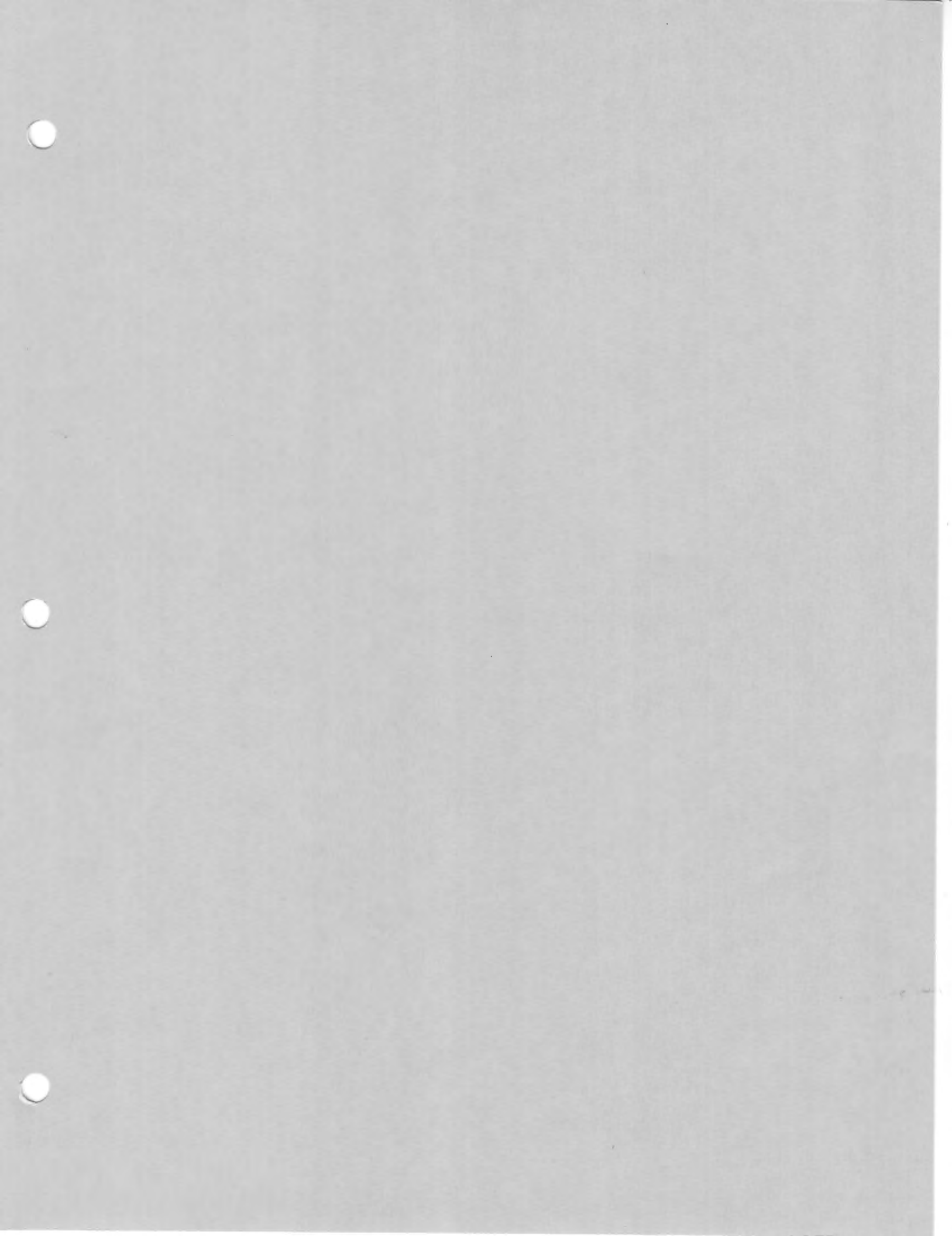
National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL)
Suellen Lowery 347-7774

National Council of Jewish Women
Mickey Salkind 296-2588

National Organization for Women (NOW)
Jane Wells-Schooley 347-2279

National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC)
Carol Bros 347-4456

Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR)
Brenda Bregman/Pam Barnett 543-7032



TRADITIONAL FAMILY VALUES- see following pages

IDEAL LIFESTYLE FOR WOMEN

Question: (Asked of women only:) "Let's talk about the ideal life for you personally. Which one of the alternatives on this card do you feel would provide the most interesting and satisfying life for you, personally?"

June 25 - 28, 1982

	Married with children, full-time job	Married, no children, full-time job	Married with children, no full-time job	Married, no children, no full-time job	Unmarried, with full-time job	No opinion
ALL WOMEN	40%	5%	39%	2%	6%	8%
RACE						
White	39	5	42	2	5	7
Non-white	42	5	22	2	11	18
EDUCATION						
College	46	6	32	2	9	5
High school	40	5	40	2	5	8
Grade school	28	3	48	2	3	16
REGION						
East	44	4	41	*	5	6
Midwest	35	7	39	3	3	13
South	38	4	37	3	8	10
West	43	5	40	1	7	4
AGE						
Total under 30	54	5	26	1	9	5
18 - 24 years	60	5	20	*	11	4
25 - 29 years	44	5	38	1	6	6
30 - 49 years	43	4	37	2	5	9
Total 50 & older	27	5	49	3	4	12
50 - 64 years	25	5	55	2	5	8
65 & older	29	6	42	3	4	16
INCOME						
\$25,000 & over	43	8	36	3	4	6
\$20,000 - \$24,999	46	4	38	*	6	6
\$15,000 - \$19,999	36	3	47	1	4	9
\$10,000 - \$14,999	39	1	47	1	7	5
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999	36	5	44	3	5	7
Under \$5,000	37	4	26	2	12	19
POLITICS						
Republican	38	2	44	4	6	6
Democrat	39	6	39	1	6	9
Independent	45	5	32	*	7	11
RELIGION						
Protestant	47	4	44	2	4	9
Catholic	46	3	35	2	8	6
OCCUPATION						
Prof. & business	46	3	36	2	6	7
Clerical & sales	46	5	38	*	8	3
Manual workers	45	6	38	1	5	5
Non-labor force	27	7	42	2	6	16
CITY SIZE						
1,000,000 & over	41	5	34	*	7	13
500,000 - 999,999	43	5	37	2	5	8
50,000 - 499,999	42	6	33	4	7	8
2,500 - 49,999	37	3	49	3	4	4
Under 2,500, rural	37	4	43	1	6	9
LABOR UNION						
Labor union fam.	38	3	49	*	2	8
Non-labor union fam.	51	9	21	*	8	10

* Less than one percent.

IDEAL LIFESTYLE FOR WOMEN (Views of women)

	1975	1980	1982
Married with children . . .	76%	74%	79%
With full-time job . . .	32	33	40
With no full-time job . . .	44	41	39
Married with no children . .	9	10	7
With full-time job	6	6	5
With no full-time job . . .	3	4	2
Unmarried with full-time job	9	8	6
No opinion	6	8	8

Survey 197 Q. 8a

Gallop 8/82 27

CHAPTER III

WOMEN IN POLITICS

Varied Legislative Styles, Philosophies . . .

Found Among Congress' 23 Women

The spectrum of women in Congress provides as rich a variety of legislative styles and political philosophies as any congressional group.

The 12 Democrats and 11 Republicans run from hard-core liberals to staunch conservatives. Because they number only 23, women are the single most under-represented group in Congress. They make up just 4 percent of the lawmakers but more than half the population.

Some of the women are lackluster backbenchers, while others are among Congress' most effective legislators. Some prefer to work quietly behind the scenes, while others are blatant self-promoters.

Some are for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution; others oppose it. Some support efforts to outlaw abortion; others are in opposition.

A handful are in Congress because they are widows of men who were members or candidates. They generally have less legislative experience than their male colleagues, although some served in state legislatures or on city or county councils. (*Women in Congress, 1982 Weekly Report p. 2805*)

They range in age from 36 to 71; the average is 49. Generally they have less seniority than their male counterparts. The most senior women have just over 10 years in Congress; the average is about four and a half.

Handy Labels Difficult

The variations in their style and philosophy are perhaps as much a question of generation and circumstance as anything else. The younger women, particularly those who were in the work place before coming to Congress, tend to be more aggressive in addressing inequities involving women than their older colleagues who never worked.

Other than a general, but not universal, sensitivity they share on women's issues, there is no handy label that can be slapped on the female members. That, however, does not prevent them from being stereotyped, particu-

larly when they first come to Congress.

Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., said there is still a perception that women in Congress are like Bella Abzug, D-N.Y., a flamboyant, vocal and militant feminist who served in the House from 1971-77. "We will continue to be stereotyped until we are judged on our abilities, both politically and legislatively," Kassebaum said.

And Rep. Geraldine A. Ferraro, D-N.Y., observed that men come to Congress with a "presumption of competence," but women come with a "burden of proof."

Ferraro, 47, a former county prosecutor and one of the few women members to move into a position of power, said it took her six months just to gain credibility with her colleagues. As secretary of the Democratic Caucus, the organization of all House Democrats, she has a coveted seat on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, which makes committee assignments. She also won a seat on the Budget Committee this year.

When Ferraro ran for Congress in 1978, she did not run as a feminist. "I didn't consider myself one," she said.

But after four years in Congress, Ferraro said she has turned into a feminist, noting that she now believes that feminism goes beyond the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion to include such things as pensions and insurance.

Like Ferraro, Rep. Claudine Schneider, R-R.I., said she did not initially come to Congress in 1981 as "a champion of women." But after two years of seeing what she views as inequities facing women, Schneider, 36, said, "I now feel I do have a greater responsibility beyond my district concerning women."

Rep. Barbara A. Mikulski, D-Md., who already was a strong feminist when she came to Congress in 1977, said, "Because there are so few women in Congress, we have a responsibility for representing American women as congressmen at large."

Rep. Olympia J. Snowe, R-Maine, is co-chairman of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues. "I think it's important for women in Congress to ensure equity for women," said Snowe, 36, who spent six years in the Maine Legislature. "If we don't, who will?"

Differing Styles

In the eyes of some who know her well, Rep. Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs, D-La., has become more of a feminist with each passing year, an observation with which Boggs does not quarrel. "The longer you stay here, the more aware [of inequities] you become," said Boggs, 67, who came to Congress in 1973 to fill the seat vacated by her husband, House Majority Leader Hale Boggs, who died in an airplane crash in 1972.

With her courtly, gentle manner, Lindy Boggs is able to use her contacts to accomplish things in the House that some younger women could not. For example, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., will see her whenever she asks, which is not often. It was Boggs who got O'Neill to number the ERA as H J Res 1 this year. "The leadership can't say no to her," said another female Democrat.

In contrast, another woman who followed her husband to Congress, Rep. Beverly B. Byron, D-Md., has



"I haven't run into inequity in my life. It's hard for me to understand people who have had doors closed on them," said Rep. Beverly B. Byron, D-Md.



"The longer you stay here, the more aware [of inequities] you become," said Rep. Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs, D-La.

shown little interest in women's issues. She was elected after her husband, Goodloe Byron, died in 1978. "I haven't run into inequity in my life," Byron said. "It's hard for me to understand people who have had doors closed on them."

While Byron had no legislative experience before coming to Congress, her Maryland colleague, Mikulski, is one of the handful of women who did. Mikulski, 46, spent six years on the Baltimore City Council and works easily on the competitive, combative Energy and Commerce Committee. She is often a part of winning coalitions on the panel and is currently working with key committee members on insurance discrimination legislation.

A former social worker in Baltimore's ethnic neighborhoods, Mikulski readily trades barbs with her male colleagues. Men in Congress use a "locker-room style of small talk" and razz each other to break the ice, she said.

"You just have to give the one-liners right back," she added, but noted that some of her female colleagues are not comfortable doing that. "It's tough to get along with the guys and never be one of the boys," she said.

While Mikulski has gotten along on Energy and Commerce, Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., seldom has been with the majority of the Armed Services Committee. Schroeder, 43, a Harvard-trained attorney who came to Congress with no legislative experience, is co-chairman of the women's caucus.

A member of Congress since 1973, Schroeder has never subscribed to the go-along-to-get-along approach to the House. She has fought with senior members of Armed Services, first over the Vietnam War and later over military spending.

Although the Speaker appointed her to a seat on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, she has angered the leadership at times. Last year, she helped to block temporarily a pay increase for members of Congress, leading to criticism from some members that she did not need the raise as much as they did because she did not have to support a family on her income alone. (1982 *Weekly Report* p. 2959)

Schroeder and another member of Armed Services, Marjorie S. Holt, R-Md., are the senior women in Congress, elected in 1972. Less aggressive than Schroeder, Holt typically has voted with the majority on the committee, which often does not break along partisan lines.

Resentment in Congress toward women is quieter now than in 1973, Schroeder said. But "this is still a difficult place to be a woman," she added. She noted that women are not allowed in the men's gym where daily basketball and racquetball games help cement friendships that can cross committee and party lines.

But Rep. Bobbi Fiedler, R-Calif., called the gym problem insignificant. She spends a lot of time on the House floor, which, she said, is where the action is. "I've made it my business to be there."

Partisanship

Like other members, the women in Congress are partisans, although most try to work together in a bipartisan



"It's tough to get along with the guys and never be one of the boys," observed Rep. Barbara A. Mikulski, D-Md.

"I think it's important for women in Congress to ensure equity for women. If we don't, who will?" asked Rep. Olympia J. Snowe, R-Maine.

manner on women's issues.

However, Fiedler, 46, looks at the question in partisan terms. She criticized the women's caucus as being primarily concerned with Democratic issues. She said Democrats view women "as a dependent group who need a handout while Republicans see them as able citizens who need a hand up."

Fiedler credits Republicans with helping women by reducing inflation and interest rates.

Sen. Paula Hawkins, R-Fla., 56, similarly says that "most women's issues are everybody's issues," and credits Reagan fiscal policy with helping. Hawkins is not part of the women's caucus, but adds: "I've done more for women than any of the other women in office."

In contrast, Kassebaum, 50, is often described as diminutive and soft-spoken. "Someday I'm going to hit someone over the head for calling me diminutive and soft-spoken," she said, adding quickly, "but I am."

For two years beginning in late 1978, Kassebaum was the only woman in the Senate. She said she is taken seriously now by her colleagues, although that was not always the case. Both she and Hawkins are always "under a microscope," Kassebaum said.

Hawkins agreed that women senators are still a novelty. "People look at you with a magnifying glass," she said. "It's a high-profile, high-risk job. Journalists have a dual set of adjectives. Aggressive women are called a 'nag' while a similar man is called 'persistent.'"

But the high-profile aspects of being a woman in Congress can also be a blessing.

"It's a great advantage to be one of only 21 women in a body of 435 members," said Marcy Kaptur, D-Ohio, 36, a freshman. "People recognize you right way."

Fiedler agreed there can be an advantage. She said the women provide the male members with a contrast, "a soft point in an unfriendly, competitive world. I don't want to be treated like one of their male colleagues."

—By Andy Plattner

Caucus the Hub for Women's Issues

The six-year-old Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues is at the hub of most congressional activity involving women, serving as the clearing-house for information and strategy on legislation.

Although the caucus has only two paid staffers — Executive Director Ann Charnley Smith and administrative assistant Anne Radigan — the organization has a flock of interns who handle a constant stream of phone calls and requests for information.

The caucus is led by an executive committee of 14 women members whose bipartisan co-chairmen for the 98th Congress are Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., and Olympia J. Snowe, R-Maine.

In addition to regular staff memos on women's issues, the organization in 1981 began publishing a monthly newsletter, *Update*, which goes to members, interest groups and the press. Many men in Congress find *Update* useful to keep women constituents informed, Smith said, citing as an example House Majority Whip Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., who sends out about 100 each month to his district.

The caucus was formed in 1977 by several women members who decided they needed a special group to help keep them abreast of women's issues and to serve as a focus for informal gatherings such as those enjoyed by their male colleagues in the congressional gyms.

Caucus expenses are paid by contributions the members make from their own congressional office budgets.

Since 1981, when the caucus opened its doors to men, membership has grown to 125, making it one of the largest caucuses on Capitol Hill. Only women serve on the executive committee, however. Currently, they each contribute \$1,500 to the caucus, while the male members pay \$600. Smith said the amount varies from year to year, depending on the number of members and caucus expenses.

Of the 23 women in Congress — 21 House members and two senators — nine do not belong to the caucus: Democratic Reps. Beverly B. Byron, Md., and Marilyn Lloyd, Tenn.; Republican Reps. Bobbi Fiedler, Calif., Marjorie S. Holt, Md., Lynn Martin, Ill., Marge Roukema, N.J., Virginia Smith, Neb., Barbara Vucanovich, Nev.; and Sen. Paula Hawkins, Fla.



Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues

CAUCUS FACT SHEET

History and Purpose

The Caucus was founded in 1977 as a bipartisan organization united in the goal of improving the status of women and eliminating discrimination that has been built into many federal programs and policies. Acting as a Member-at-Large for the women of America, the Caucus has become the champion of women's issues in the United States Congress. In November 1981, the Caucus expanded its Membership to include Congressmen.

The primary purpose of the organization is to promote legislation which will remedy inequities in public policy, eliminate economic disparities which handicap many women, and update existing programs to reflect the changes in women's lifestyles and needs. The Caucus maintains a steady commitment to educating fellow Members of Congress to the needs and concerns of contemporary women and to increase their colleagues' sensitivity to women's issues.

Perspective

Because it is a bipartisan organization with Members representing diverse districts, the Caucus pursues only that legislation which has the wide support of its Members. In particular, the Caucus has recently been focusing on economically-based issues such as credit discrimination, pension reform, military service, housing, health care, and economic equity.

Activities

Of paramount interest to Caucus Members is the passage of legislation. The activities and achievements of the Caucus include:

- passage of bills which permit federal employees to pursue part-time careers and establish flexible work schedules so that more women are able to enter the work force;
- introduction of the Economic Equity Act, an omnibus bill that addresses the needs of women in the areas of pension reform, child care, insurance discrimination and child support enforcement;

- introduction of the Equal Rights Amendment;
- passage of a bill to promote innovative science and mathematics education for women, and to aid the advancement of women in technological fields; and
- enactment of legislation guaranteeing former spouses of Foreign Service and Armed Forces personnel a prorated portion of retirement and survivors benefits.

As the primary advocate on women's rights in Congress, the Caucus also focuses its energies on oversight of existing federal programs to ensure that agency heads review policies affecting women in programs under their jurisdiction. Members have:

- met with Cabinet-level officials to discuss the impact of agency programs on women; and
- periodically reviewed agency policies on hiring and placement of women in the federal sector.

The Caucus also acts as a clearinghouse on information and activities of concern to women in the U.S. Congress. The Caucus:

- publishes UPDATE, a monthly newsletter which reports on legislation affecting women; and
- provides liaison between women's organizations and Members of Congress.

Congress

Slowly, a New Awareness of Women

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 2 — Sally Laird is a lobbyist for the League of Women Voters, and in the past when she asked Congressmen to consider the special problems of women she usually received a polite brushoff. But since Congress reconvened in January she has noticed a new attitude among many lawmakers.

"They really want to look very closely at how legislation affects women," she said. "They start the conversation. We don't have to. And we love it."

"We find some folks are still somewhat patronizing," added Miss Laird, the league's legislative director. "They say, 'We'll take care of you.' But we say that we want to be active players. We don't want to leave our fate to someone else."

Consciousness raising has come to Capitol Hill. Women and their supporters, inside and outside Congress, are trying to change the mentality of an institution that has long been dominated by white males holding stereotypical views of women and their role in society.

"A lot of people up here don't understand women, particularly working women," said Senator David Durenberger, a Minnesota Republican. "They relate to women like they do to their wives."

'It's a New Ball Game'

But as Miss Laird observed, the insularity of Congressional males is starting to break down a bit. "It's a new ball game," said Representative Bill Gradison, Republican of Ohio. "Anyone who fails to consider the impact of legislation on women does so at his or her peril."

Some of the plays in this new game include the following:

¶ On Thursday the House is scheduled to take up a \$4.6 billion emergency job bill that contains about \$700 million for the sort of public service jobs usually held by women such as home health care or drug abuse clinics. Most of the money was included only after women in Congress complained that the bill concentrated too much on heavy construction. The legislation also lifts a strict limit on the use of community development funds for similar public service jobs.

¶ A House subcommittee has started hearing testimony on a bill that would ban sex-based discrimination in insurance policies.

¶ That bill is also included in a package of legislation called the Economic Equity Act that is to be introduced in both chambers later this month. Its



The New York Times. Teresa Zabala

Sally Laird, left, and Julia Holmes of the League of Women Voters.

aim is to improve the economic situation of women by revising pension and Civil Service laws, providing tax breaks for displaced homemakers and single parents and encouraging the establishment of more day-care centers.

¶ Representative Barbara B. Kennelly, Democrat of Connecticut, became only the third woman to win a seat on the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee and the first in five years. Democrats placed their first woman, Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro of Queens, on the Budget Committee. Representative Olympia J. Snowe of Maine became the first woman in the Republican leadership when she was appointed deputy whip. All three are now in key positions to help block further cuts in social programs that largely serve women.

¶ Outside groups, such as the League of Women Voters, have increased their lobbying efforts on issues affecting women, and they played an important role in the drafting of the emergency jobs bill. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has made the proposed Economic Equity Act a top priority for Congress and organized a coalition of more than 50 groups to work for its passage.

'Feminization of Poverty'

The first factor in creating this new attitude in Congress is the changing nature of the economy and its impact on women. In recent testimony before a Senate committee, Nancy Neuman, first vice president of the League of Women Voters pointed out that women make up 43 percent of the work force, double that of 1960. And most of them work for the same reason men do, "to earn a living" in Senator Durenberger's words.

Moreover, more lawmakers are becoming aware of what has been called "the feminization of poverty" in America. One in every three households headed by a woman is below the poverty line, said Miss Neuman, and the vast majority of food stamp and welfare benefits go to women and their dependent children.

"Economic and equality issues are basic survival issues for women," said Representative Patricia Schroeder, Democrat of Colorado. "These are not boutique, upper-middle class causes."

The urgent nature of practical economic matters has overshadowed two other issues of great concern to women, the proposed equal rights amendment and abortion rights. And while these emotionally charged battles will almost certainly resurface later this year, many activists in the women's movement say that the economic issues give them a better chance for building broad coalitions.

Abortion and the proposed equal rights amendment to the Constitution have a "for 'em or agin' 'em" quality, said Patricia B. Reuss, legislative director of the Women's Equity Action League. "We've gone from black and white issues to a whole bunch of different shades."

Economic conditions were also the primary cause of the "gender gap," the emergence in the 1982 elections of an independent-minded female vote that went heavily against the Republicans and their economic program. And nothing will focus a politician's attention more vividly than election results.

"Legislators are perceiving that there is a new political force out there," said Ann Charnley Smith, director of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues. "They are getting the message." The caucus, which has become the focal point of lobbying activity in behalf of women, recently decided to admit men and now has 117 members, making it one of the largest caucuses on Capitol Hill.

Republicans concede that the Reagan Administration "appears to be insensitive" to the impact of its economic program, said Senator Durenberger. As a result, they are particularly eager to identify with women's concerns and eradicate the "gender gap".

"It's extremely important for Republicans," said Senator Durenberger, the prime sponsor of the Economic Equity Act in the Senate. "I wouldn't want to be running in 1984, and have voters think that I was opposed to these issues or not interested in them."

Changes Could Cost Money

Yet activists in the women's movement know that such expressions of sympathy and concern will be difficult to translate into legislative achievements. For instance, many changes in insurance and pension laws could cost companies a great deal of money, and the lobbying on the other side is expected to be fierce.

Moreover, it is still an open question whether male politicians, who control Congress, will feel strongly enough about concerns affecting women to muscle them through the legislative maze.

"A lot of male politicians don't feel this deeply yet," said Representative Bob Edgar, Democrat of Pennsylvania. "They'll try to co-opt the movement if they can. They'll co-sponsor a bill and forget it. It hasn't gotten into their fabric yet."

"We have to keep on them all the time," agreed Mrs. Schroeder. "It's easy to fall back into the old ways. This is still a man's town."

women: Have They Become a New Voting Bloc?

By KARLYN KEENE

Pollster Louis Harris has called the women's vote "a new political force" in America. "There is now every indication that one of the major developments of the 1980s will be the full-blown emergence" of this force, he continued. A flurry of activity at the White House—personnel shifts, the appointment of a coordinating council on women, stepped up recruitment of women—suggests that the administration is worried about shoring up President Reagan's faltering image with females. Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization of Women, sensing a new political moment, announced a drive to raise \$3 million for a political action committee. "The Republicans by and large have deserted women's rights," she said.

That there are new currents in the political and social inclinations of women cannot be denied. Nor can the fact that Mr. Reagan gets lower marks from women than from men in the polls. But just as in 1960, when the existence of a powerful (and, as was often hinted by the media, threatening) new evangelical vote was overstated, the reality of the women's vote may be less momentous than the rhetoric. The data and their likely political implications need to be put into perspective.

For some time, the president has had a problem with women. In an Aug. 5-10 Louis Harris and Associates survey, 42% of men but only 34% of women gave Mr. Reagan an "excellent good" rating on his handling of his job. The gap has persisted at least since the 1980 campaign, when Carter strategist Pat Caddell found "an enormous male-female difference from the outset."

Examining the Polls

Part of the explanation for Mr. Reagan's poorer showing with women may lie in changing currents in men's and women's attitudes across a broad spectrum of social and political issues. The editors of Public Opinion magazine, published by the American Enterprise Institute, examined hundreds of public opinion polls taken since 1945 and found new patterns in attitudes at the end of the 1970s. Four periods were examined closely: 1948-52, 1960-64, the early '70s, and the late '70s.

In the first three periods, men's and women's attitudes differed very little on a wide range of issues. The sexes did part company on the use of force—broadly defined to include issues such as war, gun control, the death penalty and nuclear

involved politically. More gave the "don't know" or "not sure" response to questions on political participation or awareness.

Data from the late '70s showed something new. Poll questions on "risk" and "compassion" split the sexes with women less willing to take risks and more likely to take the "compassionate" positions. For example, 58% of men, but only 48% of women favored "relaxing environmental protection laws if it will help improve the economy" in a May 1981 Time/Yankelovich, Skelly and White sounding. Sixty-one percent of men and 73% of women agreed that "the government should work to substantially reduce the income gap between

Just as in 1980, when the existence of a powerful evangelical vote was overstated, the reality of the women's vote may be less momentous than the rhetoric.

rich and poor" in a February 1981 ABC News Washington Post question. The gap on the using force dimension also enlarged.

There were smaller differences in men's and women's political participation. A striking new split involved confidence in our system: Again and again, women said they were less confident than men about the country's future. Recent data confirm this trend. Time magazine/Yankelovich, Skelly and White surveyors found a 12-point difference between men and women on the question of whether the country was in "deep and serious trouble" or "our problems are no worse than other times." Women were more pessimistic.

One area stood out in our analysis. On questions concerning abortion, a woman for president, the Equal Rights Amendment and unjust discrimination—the so-called "women's issues"—attitudes of the sexes were virtually identical in each time period. Current data support this symmetry. Precisely 52% of men and women told NBC News/Associated Press surveyors they disagreed with the statement, "It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family." Forty-two percent of men and 40% of women said Americans would be willing to elect a woman president within the next 10 years.

The tendencies in men's and women's attitudes may harden, but this should not

This ignores much contradictory evidence in the polls, and it ignores common sense. The 8- to 15-point differences between men and women in the polls are differences within the center of the political spectrum. They mask differences among women themselves. The polls show substantial differences in the attitudes of working women and housewives, of women over 65 and those under 30, of business and professional women and those in blue collar jobs. Mr. Reagan's private polls show sharp differences in attitudes of married and non-married women. There is no such thing as a "women's" point of view. On some issues women differ from each other and from

men. On many other issues, men and women have similar viewpoints.

To claim that women are going to emerge as a powerful new voting bloc ignores their past voting behavior. The Census Bureau began collecting voting statistics in 1964. In 1980, the percentage of men and women telling census takers they voted was, for the first time, virtually the same: 59.1% for women and 59.4% for men. But differences in past voting behavior have been only slightly larger. In 1976 the figures were 59.1% for men, 58.8% for women; in 1972, 64% and 62%. In 1968 the gap was less than four points; in 1964, it was less than five. Women are gaining ground, but these are hardly the kinds of differences which herald women as a new political force.

The view that women are going to move dramatically into the Democratic camp on Nov. 2 may also be overstated. The latest Harris figures on voting intention show that 52% of women and 45% of men say they would vote Democratic. But these numbers don't tell us much about voting decisions. The anchor of party identification has weakened in recent years. Other considerations such as policy preferences, ideological predispositions and attachment to individuals affect voting decisions.

In the 1980 election, despite the "enormous male-female" difference Mr. Caddell spoke of, men and women told CBS Election Day surveyors they voted for Mr. Reagan over President Carter. The margin

women, Mr. Carter led narrowly in the East and Mr. Reagan led in the Midwest. Mr. Reagan trounced his opponent among women in the West, and Mr. Carter edged out Mr. Reagan in the South. Fifty-one percent of professional and managerial women voted for Mr. Reagan compared with 39% for Mr. Carter. Forty-one percent of blue collar women voted for Mr. Reagan while 50% of them voted for Mr. Carter. As the election results show, women are unlikely to be solidly Democratic on Nov. 2.

No political strategist can afford to ignore the new inclinations of women; they are pieces of a complicated mosaic. Whether these new inclinations will show up in the voting booth or whether they'll be subsumed by other issues isn't known.

Some Stunning Statistics

For men and for women, economic concerns will be paramount in the 1982 elections. Whether by choice or by necessity, 50% of women aged 16 and older are in the labor force. This is up from 41% at the time of the 1970 census. More striking is the number of mothers in the workforce. Of women with children under the age of six, 46% are in the labor force. In 1970, only 31% were. Of women whose children are aged six to 17, 63% are in the labor force.

Another stunning statistic from the new census is the increase in the number of families headed by women. While the number of married couples increased by 10% in the last decade, families headed by women grew 51%. Given this demographic picture, it should come as no surprise that women are less confident than men about the country's future. Many are new entrants in the work force and are hard hit by a stagnating economy. They are often the first to be laid off in hard times and the burden of cuts in government programs is likely to fall heavily on them.

The Reagan administration can opt for a simple interpretation of women as a political force and try to attract them with simple measures. Increasing the number of women appointees may persuade elites to knock on doors for Republicans this fall, but it isn't likely to have much impact on the general public. At this stage, the polls suggest that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats seem to be doing very well with women—or men.

For Women Only: Campaign Primer

By LYNN ROSELLINI
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19 — When Barbara Boxer arrived in town three days ago, she didn't have a clue about how to tap the city's fat political action committees for money.

But by the time Mrs. Boxer returned to California Wednesday to resume her campaign for Congress, she had met nearly 40 directors of political action committees, known as PAC's, and raised more than \$35,000 in donations.

Like Mrs. Boxer, some of the most sophisticated candidates making the rounds of these committees these days are women whose fund-raising forays are arranged by an organization called the Women's Campaign Fund.

From now until November, the fund will educate some two dozen women running for Congress in the tricky business of Washington fund-raising, offering tips on a range of tactics, including answering questions from directors of political action committees.

"I don't have access to these people," said Mrs. Boxer, a Democrat from California's Sixth Congressional District, referring to the directors. "If it hadn't been for the Women's Campaign Fund, I wouldn't have come to Washington."

'Men Run America'

The fund, an eight-year-old organization that raises most of its money by mail, will spend \$200,000 in cash and another \$200,000 in campaign services to elect both Democratic and Republican women to Federal, state and local offices this year. The theory behind the fund, whose slogan is "Men Run America," is that women running for office have more difficulty raising money than do men.

"Men can call up their college friends, who are bankers or successful attorneys or businessmen," said Jonell Davis, director of candidate services for the fund. "But when women call their college roommates and ask



The New York Times George James
Barbara Boxer

for money, they may be unemployed. And if they're working, 98 percent of all working women earn \$25,000 a year or less."

"And sometimes they say, 'My husband won't let me contribute,'" said

Gina Pennestri, a campaign aide to Mrs. Boxer.

'Dry Run' on Questions

Planning for the Washington trips begins weeks in advance, with Miss Davis working by telephone with the local campaign staff to target committees that might be inclined to support the candidate. Miss Davis recommends that each candidate prepare a package of materials to present to the committee directors, including information on poll results and campaign budgets.

When the candidate arrives in Washington, Miss Davis takes her on a "dry run" of questions she might expect. "What I'm trying to get in their minds is that they're selling themselves to a PAC director," said Miss Davis.

Mrs. Boxer, who is seeking the House seat of Representative John L. Burton, a Democrat who is retiring, appeared to have taken Miss Davis's instructions to heart.

At the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, she told Bill Otwell, "I've been pretty much up on the retail clerk issues." Mr. Otwell promised her \$1,000.

Lunch With Union Aides

At the American Federation of Teachers, Mrs. Boxer told Rachele Horowitz, "It isn't as easy for women to raise money as it is for men — that's a problem." Mrs. Boxer was told to expect about \$1,000.

At the Communications Workers of America, Mrs. Boxer told Loretta Bowen, "I know my opponent is going to raise \$500,000. We need half of that." Mrs. Bowen was promised a contribution of undetermined amount.

Mrs. Boxer's three-day fund schedule also included a luncheon with representatives of more than a dozen unions, an evening briefing for 18 committee directors sponsored by Democrats for the '80's, and a \$50-a-ticket fund-raising reception.

"It's really women helping women," she said.

factsheet ON WOMEN

Community and Consumer Relations • American Council of Life Insurance

in collaboration with the
National Women's Political Caucus

January, 1983

Editors: Mia Homan—NWPC
Debbie Krafchek—ACLI

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PROGRESS

*The Factsheet on Women is issued periodically on a variety of topics concerning women. This Factsheet on Women's Political Progress is a joint effort between the National Women's Political Caucus and the American Council of Life Insurance. The information presented here was compiled shortly after the November, 1982 elections, and every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of the numbers and percentages presented.**

"I believe we will have better government when men and women discuss public issues together and make their decisions on the basis of their differing areas of concern for the welfare of their families and their world — too often the great decisions are originated and given form in bodies made up wholly of men, or so completely dominated by them that whatever special value women have to offer is shunted aside without expression."

Eleanor Roosevelt, 1952

Introduction

Since America's first Congresswoman, Jeannette Rankin, was sent to Washington in 1917, women have become increasingly visible participants in politics.

This is due, in large part, to the emergence of the women's movement which has dramatically altered public and private attitudes toward women's roles in society. These altered perceptions have given women access to worlds previously closed to them. The number of working women has nearly doubled in the last 20 years. More than half of all mothers with children under 18 are in the labor force. Women head 15 percent of all family households. In addition, more women than ever before are employed in areas that were once reserved for men — lawyers, doctors, judges, bus drivers, bartenders.

As the legislative decisions that are being made increasingly affect women, women are taking a more active role in making those decisions. Over the past several years women have run for public office in record numbers and a new breed of woman candidate has emerged. She is savvy, well-versed on a broad spectrum of issues, and perhaps most importantly, taken seriously by voters. Since 1973, the number of women in public office has tripled.

Women are becoming a political force. Great strides have been made in the past decade. This fact sheet will cite the numbers of women holding Federal, state, local and judicial offices, and identify programming suggestions for community leaders.

Women in Congress

1. There have been 10,957 members of Congress since 1789; 109 have been women.¹
2. There are 100 members of the U.S. Senate. In 1973, women held no seats and in 1983, 2 seats. This represents an increase from zero to 2 percent of the total.
3. In 1982, none of the 4 women candidates for the U.S. Senate were elected.
4. The women holding U.S. Senate seats in the 98th Congress, neither of whom had elections in 1982, are:
 - Paula Hawkins (R-FL)
 - Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS)
5. There are 435 members of the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1973, women held 16 seats and in 1983, 21 seats. This represents an increase from 4 to 5 percent of the total.
6. In 1982, 21 of the 55 women major party candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives were elected. Of the 21, 16 are incumbents and 5 are newly elected.
7. Women holding seats in the U.S. House of Representatives in the 98th Congress are:
 - **Barbara Boxer (D-CA)
 - Bobbi Fiedler (R-CA)
 - Patricia Schroeder (D-CO)
 - Barbara B. Kennelly (D-CT)
 - **Nancy L. Johnson (R-CT)
 - Cardiss Collins (D-IL)
 - Lynn Martin (R-IL)

*Numbers and percentages may change without notice.

¹Source: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

- **Katie Hall (D-IN)
- Lindy Boggs (D-LA)
- Olympia J. Snowe (R-ME)
- Barbara A. Mikulski (D-MD)
- Marjorie S. Holt (R-MD)
- Beverly B. Byron (D-MD)
- Virginia Smith (R-NE)
- **Barbara Vucanovich (R-NV)
- Marge Roukema (R-NJ)
- Geraldine A. Ferraro (D-NY)
- **Marcy Kaptur (D-OH)
- Mary Rose Oaker (D-OH)

Claudine Schneider (R-RI)
Marilyn Lloyd Bouquard (D-TN)

**Indicates newly elected Representatives.

8. There is now a total of 23 women in the 98th Congress, a net gain of one woman over the 97th Congress.² This is a result of two women retiring, Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) and Jean Ashbrook (R-OH), one incumbent who was defeated, Margaret M. Heckler (R-MA), one House member, Millicent Fenwick (R-NJ), who lost her bid for a Senate seat and the election of 5 new women.

²This does not include Gladys Noon Spellman who was elected to the 97th Congress but never served. In a special election, her seat was

filled by Steny H. Hoyer.

Women in Statewide Offices and State Legislatures

1. Over half (918) of the approximately 1666 women making legislative bids were elected in 1982 and will take office in 1983.
2. In 1983, there are 173 women in State Senates (122

elected in 1982 and 51 holdovers) and 816 women in State Houses of Representatives (796 elected in 1982 and 20 holdovers).

WOMEN IN STATE LEGISLATURES, 1983

STATE	TOTAL SEATS	SENATE (Elected 1982)	HOUSE (Elected 1982)	WOMEN HOLD-OVERS ‡	TOTAL WOMEN	PERCENT OF WOMEN
Alabama	140	1	5	0	6	4.2
Alaska	60	3	5	0	8	13.3
Arizona	90	5	14	0	19	21.1
Arkansas	135	1	6	0	7	5.1
California	120	1	12	1	14	11.6
Colorado	100	2	20	3	25	25.0
Connecticut	187	8	36	0	44	23.5
Delaware	62	3	7	0	10	16.1
Florida	160	9	19	0	28	17.5
Georgia	236	2	17	0	19	8.0
Hawaii	76	2	12	3	17	22.3
Idaho	105	4	12	0	16	15.2
Illinois	177	8	19	0	27	15.2
Indiana**	150	0	14	3	17	11.3
Iowa	150	1	16	0	17	11.3
Kansas	165	0	21	3	24	14.5
Kentucky*	138	0	0	10	10	7.2
Louisiana*	144	0	0	2	2	1.4
Maine	183	6	34	0	40	21.8
Maryland	188	3	33	0	36	19.1
Massachusetts	200	7	20	0	27	13.5
Michigan	148	2	14	0	16	10.8
Minnesota	201	9	19	0	28	13.9
Mississippi*	172	0	0	2	2	1.1
Missouri	197	1	23	2	26	13.1

STATE	TOTAL SEATS	SENATE (Elected 1982)	HOUSE (Elected 1982)	WOMEN HOLD-OVERS ‡	TOTAL WOMEN	PERCENT OF WOMEN
Montana	150	1	17	2	20	13.3
Nebraska	49	3-unicameral		4	7	14.2
Nevada	63	1	4	1	6	9.5
New Hampshire	425	6	115	0	121	28.4
New Jersey †	120	0	1	8	9	7.5
New Mexico	92	0	6	3	9	9.7
New York	211	5	17	0	22	10.4
North Carolina	170	5	19	0	24	14.1
North Dakota	159	3	14	2	19	11.9
Ohio	132	1	11	0	12	9.0
Oklahoma	149	0	11	1	12	8.0
Oregon	90	5	14	1	20	22.2
Pennsylvania	253	1	9	0	10	3.9
Rhode Island ††	150	0	14	5	19	12.6
South Carolina	170	0	10	2	12	7.0
South Dakota	105	3	11	0	14	13.3
Tennessee	132	0	8	1	9	6.8
Texas	181	0	13	0	13	7.1
Utah	104	0	9	0	9	8.6
Vermont	180	4	30	0	34	18.8
Virginia	140	0	11	2	13	9.2
Washington	149	3	20	5	28	18.7
West Virginia**	134	1	12	2	15	11.1
Wisconsin	132	2	23	0	25	18.9
Wyoming	94	0	19	3	22	23.4

* Held no state legislative elections in 1982.

** Based on initial returns.

† New Jersey held one special election.

†† As of January, 1983, Rhode Island held no State Senate elections

as redistricting is in litigation.

‡ Holdovers are legislators who did not have elections in November, 1982.

Source: National Women's Political Caucus.

3. In 1983, 28 women are among those holding the top statewide offices (governors, lieutenant governors, secretaries of state, treasurers) as compared to 16 in 1973. This represents an increase of 75 percent.
4. The number of women in state legislatures has more

than doubled since 1973. In 1983, there are 989 women legislators as compared to 425 in 1973. This represents an increase of 133 percent.

5. The percentage increase in the number of women in state legislatures from 1981 to 1983 is 9 percent.

WOMEN IN STATEWIDE OFFICES AND STATE LEGISLATURES, 1973-1983

YEAR	GOVERNOR	LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR†	SECRETARY OF STATE	TREASURER	HOUSE	SENATE††	TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN IN HOUSE & SENATE; THEIR PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP†††
1973*	0	0	9	7	363	62	425 representing 5.6 percent of the total 7563 seats
1975*	1	1	10	9	521	89	610 representing 8 percent of the total 7561 seats
1977*	2	3	8	5	593	103	696 representing 9.1 percent of the total 7562 seats
1979*	2	6	8	8	662	108	770 representing 10.3 percent of the total 7482 seats
1981*	0	5	12	7	770	138	908 representing 12.1 percent of the total 7482 seats
1983**	0	4	15	9	816	173	989 representing 13.2 percent of the total 7438 seats

† Only 39 states have lieutenant governors.

†† Nebraska is unicameral so all members of the state legislature were added here.

††† Number of legislative seats may change due to redistricting.

* Source: Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

** Source: National Women's Political Caucus.

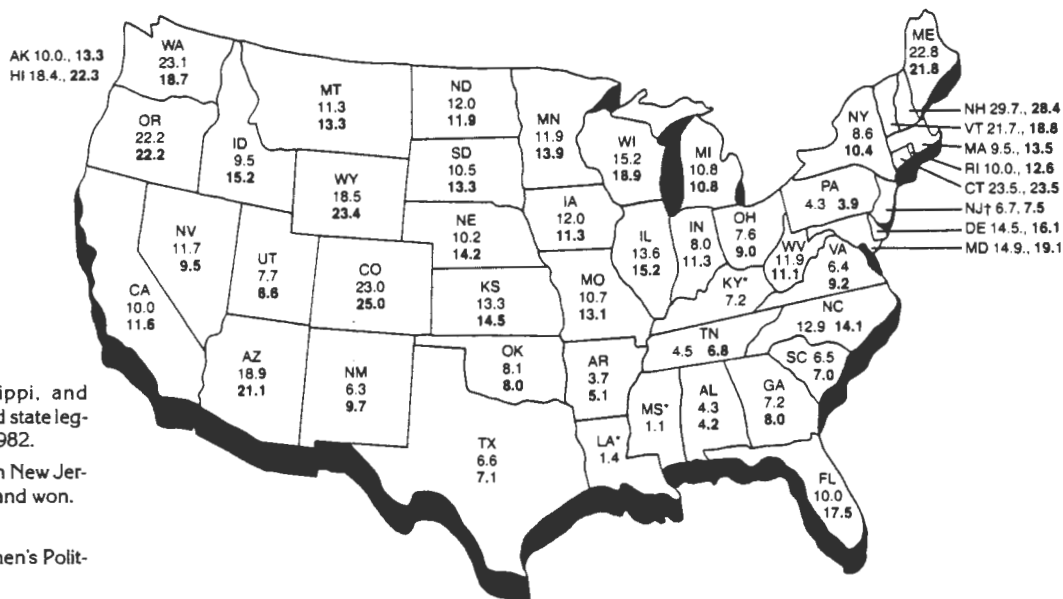
6. In the 46 states that held legislative elections in November, 1982, the percentage of women holding office in those legislatures increased in 32 states, re-

mained the same in 3 states and decreased in 11 states.

WOMEN IN STATE LEGISLATURES: PERCENTAGE CHANGES FROM 1980 TO 1982

Numbers in regular case signify the percentage of women in state legislatures prior to the November, 1982 elections.

Numbers in bold signify the percentage of women in state legislatures after the November, 1982 elections.



* Louisiana, Mississippi, and Kentucky did not hold state legislative elections in 1982.

† In a special election in New Jersey, one woman ran and won.

Source: National Women's Political Caucus.

Women Mayors

Of cities with populations of 30,000 and more, there were 72 women mayors as of November, 1982 com-

pared to 12 in 1973. This represents an increase of 500 percent.

WOMEN MAYORS, 1983*

STATE	MAYORS	STATE	MAYORS	STATE	MAYORS	STATE	MAYORS	STATE	MAYORS
Alabama	0	Hawaii	1	Massachusetts	2	New Mexico	1	South Dakota	0
Alaska	0	Idaho	0	Michigan	5	New York	3	Tennessee	0
Arizona	1	Illinois	7	Minnesota	2	North Carolina	0	Texas	3
Arkansas	0	Indiana	1	Mississippi	0	North Dakota	0	Utah	0
California	18	Iowa	1	Missouri	1	Ohio	1	Vermont	0
Colorado	2	Kansas	1	Montana	1	Oklahoma	2	Virginia	0
Connecticut	3	Kentucky	0	Nebraska	1	Oregon	0	Washington	1
Delaware	0	Louisiana	0	Nevada	1	Pennsylvania	1	West Virginia	1
Florida	4	Maine	1	New Hampshire	0	Rhode Island	0	Wisconsin	2
Georgia	0	Maryland	0	New Jersey	4	South Carolina	0	Wyoming	0

* Cities with populations of 30,000 and more.

Source: U.S. Council of Mayors.

factsheet ON WOMEN

Women Appointments: Principal Positions in the Federal Government

All appointments to principal positions in the Federal government require Presidential nomination and Senate confirmation. The five levels listed below differentiate salary and rank:

- Level I: Secretary of an Executive Department
- Level II: Deputy Secretary
- Level III: Under Secretary
- Level IV: Assistant Secretary; General Counsel
- Level V: Inspector General; Commissioner
(Level definition can vary from agency to agency)

WOMEN'S APPOINTMENTS, 1969-1982

Level	I	II	III	IV	V	Ambassadors	Total Appointments
ADMINISTRATION							
President Nixon (1969-1974)	0	0	3	15	4	4	26
President Ford (1974-1977)	1	0	2	13	0	7	23
President Carter (1977-1981)	3	1	8	56	12	18	98
President Reagan ³ (1981-July, 1982)	0	1	7	26	5	6	45

Numerous appointees, especially from the Nixon Administration, were carried over into the succeeding Administration. These appointees are not included in the figures of the succeeding Administration.

Women in the Federal Judiciary

Federal judges are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. They are appointed for life.

1. Since February, 1790, there have been 102 U.S. Supreme Court Justices.
2. Sandra Day O'Connor, appointed in 1981, is the first and only female justice to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court.
3. There are 675 Federal judges; 48 (7.1 percent), including Justice O'Connor, are women:
 - a. The U.S. Circuit Courts are comprised of 132 judges; 11 (8.3 percent) are women.
 - b. The U.S. District Courts are comprised of 515 judges; 35 (6.8 percent) are women.
 - c. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit (formerly the Court of Customs and Pat-

ent Appeals and the U.S. Court of Claims) is comprised of 12 judges; 1 (8 percent) is a woman.

4. Of the 48 women who are Federal judges, 4 were appointed by President Reagan, 40 by President Carter (plus 1 elevation of President Nixon's appointee to a higher court), 1 by President Ford, 1 by President Nixon and 2 by President Johnson.

Programming Suggestions

1. Encourage the members of your organization to become involved in the electoral process by voting, contacting elected officials to make their opinions known, volunteering time to work on campaigns and participating in other political activities.
2. Encourage the members of your organization to participate in local government by working with such decision-making authorities as school boards, city or county commissions and their subsidiary boards and agencies.
3. Encourage your members to run for office on the local, state and national level.
4. Encourage your organization to invite state or Federal legislators to address the members of your organization on topics of mutual concern.
5. Encourage the major political parties to recruit, nominate and financially support women as candidates for offices on the local, state and Federal level.
6. Encourage the members of your organization to communicate to elected officials at all levels the advantages of appointing women to positions within the government, including the judiciary.

Other Factsheets on Women include:

- A341 *Women and Work*
- B341 *Women and Social Security*
- C341 *Women and Health Risks*
- D341 *Women and Aging*

This *Factsheet on Women's Political Progress* and the *Factsheets* listed above may be obtained by writing to:

Community Services
American Council of Life Insurance
1850 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

³The appointments made by President Reagan represent the first eighteen months of his term in office.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TAKES THE INITIATIVE

Sandra O'Connor's nomination to the Supreme Court by President Reagan was hailed by men and women alike as a hallmark measure for women. Yet, in reality, it was not a pacifying move as much as it was a continuation of the Republican Party's commitment to women's rights and advancement in society.

Over the past four election cycles, the Republican Party has elected more female candidates, attracted more female voters, provided greater opportunities for organizational involvement to women than the Democratic Party and stressed topics and themes which zero in on the problems facing the American woman, according to the Republican National Committee Co-chairman Betty Heitman.

Although neither party can claim to have given women an "equal" role in their organizational and elective processes, the case can be made that it is the Republican Party which should be recognized as the party with more to offer to America's 53-percent minority.

THE REPUBLICANS FIELD AND ELECT MORE CANDIDATES:

- In 1980, Republicans ran three female challengers in United States Senate races; Democrats ran only one. Republican ran 20 female challengers for the House; Democrats ran only 16. The GOP won five of those races; the Democrats did not win a single one.
- The only two women in the United State Senate are Republicans: Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas and Paula Hawkins of Florida.
- In 1980, although there was a 9-9 deadlock in the number of female Congressmen in the House, all four of the new female freshmen were Republicans.
- At the state level, the trends are even more encouraging. The GOP lost more than 600 state legislative seats in the "Watergate" election of 1974; since then we have regained 592 through 1980 and female legislators account for more than half of those gains.
- Women account for only 12 percent of the nation's 7,500 state legislators. The parties are almost evenly split, with the Democrats holding a 389-371 lead. But, Republicans have elected more than 100 more female state legislators over the past three years. Of the 63 female state legislators elected in 1979, 62 were Republicans.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ATTRACTS MORE WOMEN'S VOTES:

- Republican Presidential candidates have received more women's votes than their opponents in three of the last four elections.
- In elections at lower levels, local conditions dictate different results. It is impossible to say that women vote as a bloc for either ticket. In most races, the margin between Republicans and Democrats is rather slim.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY PROVIDES OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZATIONAL POLITICS:

- While the Democrats have ratios and quotas mandating the number of positions which must be filled at their conventions, conferences and meetings, Republicans offer greater chances for real participation by women. When a privilege is extended by fiat, when someone gives a right which has not been earned, that right can be denigrated or taken away. Women in Republican Party have earned those advantages which they enjoy.
- Women have always been the backbone of the GOP's organizational campaign efforts. In the past, they have been the envelope-stuffers, the leaflet-distributors, and the pollwatchers. As much as militant feminists may decry those roles, they are important positions which must be filled if a national campaign is to be successful.
- But the Republican Party is working to move women out of the staff room and onto the planning room. The Republican National Committee and the National Federation of Republican Women held a series of Campaign Management schools across the country during the last decade. In 1980, more than 3,000 female graduates of those schools served as campaign managers, finance chairmen, press spokesmen, research directors, phone-bank managers, volunteer co-ordinators, and other key personnel on major campaigns in every state.
- A woman served as the Chairman of the Reagan/Bush Committee or the chairman of the Reagan/Bush volunteer campaign in every state last fall.
- Senator Kassebaum became the first woman to serve as a presiding officer at a national political convention when she acted as the Temporary Chairman at the Republican National Convention in Detroit last summer. No woman has ever served as the Chairman or Temporary Chairman at a Democratic National Convention.
- Republicans provide women with equality of opportunity, giving them the training necessary to rise to the top. Democrats give women a "technical equality of position;" very often their women are "tokens at the top," given either position without responsibility or responsibility without commensurate experience or talent.
- Republicans are not only training a cadre of talented women who will continue to make contributions for decades. They also provide many more opportunities for rank-and-file female activists who only have a few hours a month to give to the Party.
- One out of every 600 women you meet in America is an active, dues-paying member of the National Federation of Republican Women. Many GOP leaders will admit that without the NFRW's 160,000 active members and 2,500 local clubs, many campaigns would not get off the ground.
- In 1978, NFRW members put in more than 3.5 million hours of volunteer work for GOP congressional campaigns. If you multiply that figure by the then prevailing minimum wage, NFRW volunteers gave over \$10 million of support to congressional candidates, more than either national party.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ESPOUSES POSITIONS AND VALUES WHICH ARE SHARED BY MOST AMERICAN WOMEN:

- In spite of the media-fueled controversy over the GOP's platform plank on the Equal Rights Amendment, the 1980 Republican Platform stands as an articulate statement of principles and values shared by the vast majority of women in America.
- The Republican Platform re-affirmed the GOP's commitments to equality of opportunity, to equal pay for equal work, and to unswerving opposition to any form of discrimination based solely on gender. Those three points are the most important features of the Platform's plank on women's rights. If women are given a fair chance to prove themselves and are rewarded equitably for their efforts, most sexual discrimination would vanish.
- But the 1980 Platform goes far beyond those three basic principles. All the issues addressed in that eloquent document are "women's issues." More than most men realize, the current economic calamity facing America has totally changed the role of women in the United States. It was the need for added income, not the rhetoric of frumpish militants, that pushed most women into the work place. Men have always had to worry about the vagaries of the work place, but there are now nearly 50 million women in the work force. By the end of the decade, there will be more than 60 million working women, more than half the work force.
- The Republican Platform and the Reagan Program for Economic Recovery are very important to all working women. Since they are among the most vulnerable of the labor pool, they will be among the hardest hit if the recession lasts.
- The Republican Party's call for a more consistent foreign policy and stronger national defense commitments should also appeal to many women. Strong national security capabilities deter foreign aggression. And dependable foreign policies stabilize the international arena.
- In conclusion, there are several reasons to say that the Republican Party has and will continue to offer greater opportunities for women. We get a majority of the women's vote in a majority of the national elections. We have had a far better record in fielding and supporting female candidates. We have provided women with opportunities to learn about and practice applied political techniques. We have several organizations which give part-time activists a chance to participate in the political process. And we have consistently espoused positions on every issue which appeal to a large majority of the women of America. As they gain greater experience and expertise, greater numbers of women will be playing influential roles in the Republican Party. I don't think that the Democrats are really able to say the same.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL PROMISES

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 96th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

1980 Republican National Convention Platform

SPEECH OF

HON. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, July 31, 1980

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, as our Democratic colleagues prepare to travel to New York City in a few days for their party's national convention, we on this side of the aisle wish them well and hope they are as cordially received by the people of that great city as we were by the great people of the great city of Detroit.

And we also extend to them our best wishes for a successful convention. For they shall surely need as successful a Democratic Convention as has ever occurred if they hope to even be competitive with our Republican candidates on November 4.

In that regard, Mr. President, we would now like to submit for our Democratic colleagues' edification the text of the platform adopted by the Republican Convention some 2 weeks ago.

This document, so resoundingly approved by the Republican delegates, establishes a broad frame of reference—a groundwork, if you will—of Republican philosophy that will lead our party and our Nation into the 1980's.

From the foundation of this platform, our splendid nominee for President Ronald Reagan, and his most worthy running mate, George Bush, will most assuredly advance to victory.

From this broad spectrum of our basic beliefs, distinguished Republican men and women across this country will most assuredly gain control of the Congress.

And from this bedrock of Republican

philosophy, the new President and the new Congress will forge a government that works once again—that will indeed make America great again.

In a few moments, several of my colleagues from this side of the aisle will note for the Senate many of the highlights of the Republican platform. In anticipation of their presentations, I will make mention of only one specific item contained in the document—that being the restatement of Republican support for the concept of revenue sharing. By that statement, we have let the American people know which party is serious about improving Government services and checking the spread of Federal intervention into their lives.

Before concluding my remarks, Mr. President, I would be most remiss if I did not take note of the enormous contributions several of my Republican colleagues made in formulating the Republican platform and in insuring the success of our convention.

First and foremost, I must applaud the distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. Tower) for his absolutely magnificent performance as chairman of the platform committee. His patience and direction molded weeks of testimony, thousands of words, and considerably divergent viewpoints and positions into the platform document. Its overwhelming adoption is testimony to the skill and leadership of JOHN TOWER.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I express my thanks to my distinguished leader, Senator BAKER, for his very kind words about my work in connection with the platform committee. I must say, however, that credit goes to a number of people who were determined to work in a spirit of harmony to reach not only for

Republican consensus but also for national consensus on a number of vital issues that confront the American people in the election campaign this year.

I believe that we were successful in trying to achieve that objective, and our platform does address itself to a number of vital concerns of the American people.

We recognize that, on some matters of moral or philosophic conviction or constitutional concept, there may be some differences and some disagreements among Republicans; but the gratifying thing is that we were able to achieve consensus on vital economic, governmental, foreign policy and national defense issues.

I believe that the platform that has been included in the RECORD is a very progressive platform. It is in no way strident or partisan in terms of its treatment of vital issues. I commend it not only to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle but also to the American people.

It sometimes has been said that platforms have little value, that nobody reads them. I fervently hope that will not be the case this year. I hope that the platforms of both major political parties will be published and widely distributed throughout the country. I believe that this should be an issue-oriented election and that it is incumbent upon the voters to inform themselves, to the extent possible, on vital issues. I know that the Republican platform was formulated with the hope that it would be read and that people would concentrate and focus on issues and make the right decision at the polling places this fall.

Mr. Baker. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention in Detroit be printed in the RECORD.

Text of the platform is as follows:

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION PLATFORM
Adopted by the Republican National Convention, July 15, 1980, Detroit, Mich.

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Improving the Welfare System.
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 The Role of Arms Control in Defense Policy.
 Foreign Policy.
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 NATO and Western Europe.
 Middle East, Persian Gulf.
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 International Trade and Economic Policy.
 The Security of Energy and Raw Materials Access.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

A PREAMBLE

The Republican Party convenes, presents this platform, and selects its nominees at a time of crisis. America is adrift. Our country moves agonizingly, aimlessly, almost helplessly into one of the most dangerous and disorderly periods in history.

At home, our economy careens, whiplashed from one extreme to another. Earlier this year, inflation skyrocketed to its highest levels in more than a century; weeks later, the economy plummeted, suffering its steepest slide on record. Prices escalate at more than 10 percent a year. More than eight million people seek employment. Manufacturing plants lie idle across the country. The hopes and aspirations of our people are being smothered.

Overseas, conditions already perilous, deteriorate. The Soviet Union for the first time is acquiring the means to obliterate or cripple our land-based missile system and blackmail us into submission. Marxist tyrannies spread more rapidly through the Third World and Latin America. Our alliances are frayed in Europe and elsewhere. Our energy supplies become even more dependent on uncertain foreign suppliers. In the ultimate humiliation, militant terrorists in Iran continue to toy with the lives of Americans.

These events are not isolated, or unrelated. They are signposts. They mark a continuing downward spiral in economic vitality and international influence. Should the trend continue, the 1980s promise to be our most dangerous years since World War II. History could record, if we let the drift go on, that the American experiment, so marvelously successful for 200 years, came strangely, needlessly, tragically to a dismal end early in our third century.

By far the most galling aspect of it all is that the chief architects of our decline—Democratic politicians—are without program or ideas to reverse it. Divided, leaderless, unseeing, uncomprehending, they plod on with listless offerings of pale imitations of the same policies they have pursued so long, knowing full well their futility. The Carter Administration is the unhappy and inevitable consequence of decades of increasingly

outmoded Democratic domination of our national life. Over the past four years it has repeatedly demonstrated that it has no basic goals other than the perpetuation of its own rule and no guiding principle other than the fleeting insights provided by the latest opinion poll. Policies announced one day are disavowed or ignored the next, sowing confusion among Americans at home and havoc among our friends abroad.

Republicans, Democrats, and Independents have been watching and reading these signs. They have been watching incredulously as disaster after disaster unfolds. They now have had enough. They are rising up in 1980 to say that this confusion must end; this drift must end; we must pull ourselves together as a people before we slide irretrievably into the abyss.

It doesn't have to be this way; it doesn't have to stay this way. We, the Republican Party, hold ourselves forth as the Party best able to arrest and reverse the decline. We offer new ideas and candidates, from the top of our ticket to the bottom, who can bring to local and national leadership firm, steady hands and confidence and eagerness. We have unparalleled unity within our own ranks, especially between our presidential nominee and our Congressional membership. Most important, we go forth to the people with ideas and programs for the future that are as powerful and compelling as they are fresh. Together, we offer a new beginning for America.

Our foremost goal here at home is simple: economic growth and full employment without inflation. Sweeping change in economic policy in America is needed so that Mr. Carter's promise of hard times and austerity—his one promise well kept—can be replaced with Republican policies that promise economic growth and job creation. It is our belief that the stagflation of recent years not only has consigned millions of citizens to hardship but also has bottled up the enormous ingenuity and creative powers of our people. Those energies will not be released by the sterile policies of the past: we specifically reject the Carter doctrine that inflation can be reduced only by throwing people out of work. Prosperity will not be regained simply by government fiat. Rather, we must offer broad new incentives to labor and capital to stimulate a great outpouring of private goods and services and to create an abundance of jobs. 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.

Overseas, our goal is equally simple and direct: to preserve a world at peace by keeping America strong. This philosophy once occupied a hallowed place in American diplomacy, but it was casually, even cavalierly dismissed at the outset by the Carter Administration—and the results have been shattering. Never before in modern history has the United States endured as many hu-

millations, insults, and defeats as it has during the past four years: our ambassadors murdered, our embassies burned, our warnings ignored, our diplomacy scorned, our diplomats kidnapped. The Carter Administration has shown that it neither understands totalitarianism nor appreciates the way tyrants take advantage of weakness. The brutal invasion of Afghanistan promises to be only the forerunner of much more serious threats to the West—and to world peace—should the Carter Administration somehow cling to power.

Republicans are united in a belief that America's international humiliation and decline can be reversed only by strong presidential leadership and a consistent, farsighted foreign policy, supported by a major upgrading of our military forces, a strengthening of our commitments to our allies, and a resolve that our national interests be vigorously protected. Ultimately, those who practice strength and firmness truly guard the peace.

This platform addresses many concerns of our Party. We seek to restore the family, the neighborhood, the community, and the workplace as vital alternatives in our national life to ever-expanding federal power.

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.

For too many years, the political debate in America has been conducted in terms set by the Democrats. They believe that every time new problems arise beyond the power of men and women as individuals to solve, it becomes the duty of government to solve them, as if there were never any alternative. Republicans disagree and have always taken the side of the individual, whose freedoms are threatened by the big government that Democratic idea has spawned. Our case for the individual is stronger than ever. A defense of the individual against government was never more needed. And we will continue to mount it.

But we will redefine and broaden the debate by transcending the narrow terms of government and the individual; those are not the only two realities in America. Our society consists of more than that; so should the political debate. We will reemphasize those vital communities like the family, the neighborhood, the workplace, and others which are found at the center of society, between government and the individual. We will restore and strengthen their ability to solve problems in the places where people spend their daily lives and can turn to each other for support and help.

We seek energy independence through economic policies that free up our energy production and encourage conservation. 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. All of these goals—and many others—we confidently ex-

pect to achieve through a rebirth of liberty and resurgence of private initiatives, for we believe that at the root of most of our troubles today is the misguided and discredited philosophy of an all-powerful government, ceaselessly striving to subsidize, manipulate, and control individuals. But it is the individual, not the government, who reigns at the center of our Republican philosophy.

To those Democrats who say Americans must be content to passively accept the gradual but inexorable decline of America, we answer: The American people have hardly begun to marshal their talents and resources or realize the accomplishments and dreams that only freedom can inspire.

To those Democrats who say we face an "age of limits," we ask: Who knows the limit to what Americans can do when their capacity for work, creativity, optimism, and faith is enhanced and supported by strong and responsive political leadership and ideals.

To those who, with Mr. Carter, say the American people suffer from a national "malaise," we respond: The only malaise in this country is found in the leadership of the Democratic Party, in the White House and in Congress. Its symptoms are an incompetence to lead, a refusal to change, and a reluctance to act. This malaise has become epidemic in Washington. Its cure is government led by Republicans who share the values of the majority of Americans.

Republicans pledge a restoration of balance in American society. But society cannot be balanced by the actions of government or of individuals alone. Balance is found at society's vital center, where we find the family and the neighborhood and the workplace.

America will not, however, achieve any of these goals on its present course nor under its present leadership. The uncharted course of Mr. Carter will lead surely to catastrophe. By reversing our economic decline, by reversing our international decline, we can and will resurrect our dreams.

And so, in this 1980 Republican Platform, we call out to the American people: With God's help, let us now, together, make America great again; let us now, together, make a new beginning.

FREE INDIVIDUALS IN A FREE SOCIETY

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. Properly informed, our people as individuals or acting through instruments of popular consultation can make the right decisions affecting personal or general welfare, free of pervasive and heavy-handed intrusion by the central government into the decisionmaking process. This tenet is the genius of representative democracy.

Republicans also treasure the ethnic, cultural, and regional diversity of our people. This diversity fosters a dynamism in American society that is the envy of the world.

Taxes

Elsewhere in this platform we discuss the benefits, for society as a whole, of reduced taxation, particularly in terms of economic growth. But we believe it is essential to cut personal tax rates out of fairness to the individual.

Presently, the aggregate burden of taxation is so great that the average American spends a substantial part of every year, in effect, working for government.

Substantial tax rate reductions are needed to offset the massive tax increases facing the working men and women of this country. Over the next four years, federal taxes are projected to increase by over \$500 billion due to the Carter Administration's policies. American families are already paying taxes at higher rates than ever in our history; as a result of these Carter policies, the rates will go even higher. The direct and indirect burden of federal taxes alone, imposed on the average family earning \$20,000, has risen to \$5,451—over 27 percent of the family's gross income. During the Carter term, the federal tax alone on this family will have risen \$2,000.

The Republican Party believes balancing the budget is essential but opposes the Democrats' attempt to do so through higher taxes. 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.

Policies of the Democratic Party are taxing work, saving, investment, productivity, and the rewards for human ingenuity. These same tax policies subsidize debt, unemployment, and consumption. The present structure of the personal income tax system is designed to broaden the gap between effort and reward.

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.

For most Americans, these reduced tax rates will slow the rate at which taxes rise. This will assure workers and savers greater rewards for greater effort by lowering the rate at which added earnings would be taxed.

These reductions have been before the Congress for three years in the Roth-Kemp legislation. The proposal will not only provide relief for all American taxpayers, but also promote non-inflationary economic growth by restoring the incentive to save, invest, and produce. These restored incentives will in turn increase investment and help reinvigorate American business and industry, leading to the creation of more jobs. In fact, Governor Reagan and Congressional Republicans have already taken the first step. Working together, they have boldly offered the American people a 10 percent tax

rate cut for 1981, which will stimulate growth in our economy, and a simplification and liberalization of depreciation schedules to create more jobs.

Once tax rates are reduced, Republicans will move to end tax bracket creep caused by inflation. We support tax indexing to protect taxpayers from the automatic tax increases caused when cost-of-living wage increases move them into higher tax brackets.

Tax rate reductions will generate increases in economic growth, output, and income which will ultimately generate increased revenues. The greater justification for these cuts, however, lies in the right of individuals to keep and use the money they earn.

Improving the welfare system

The measure of a country's compassion is how it treats the least fortunate. In every society there will be some who cannot work, often through no fault of their own.

Yet current federal government efforts to help them have become counterproductive, perpetuating and aggravating the very conditions of dependence they seek to relieve. The Democratic Congress has produced a jumble of degrading, dehumanizing, wasteful, overlapping, and inefficient programs that invite waste and fraud but inadequately assist the needy poor.

Poverty is defined not by income statistics alone, but by an individual's true situation and prospects. For two generations, especially since the mid-1960s, the Democrats have deliberately perpetuated a status of federally subsidized poverty and manipulated dependency for millions of Americans. This is especially so for blacks and Hispanics, many of whom remain pawns of the bureaucracy, trapped outside the social and economic mainstream of American life.

For those on welfare, our nation's tax policies provide a penalty for getting a job. This is especially so for those whose new income from a job is either equal to, or marginally greater than, the amount received on welfare. In these cases, due to taxes, the individual's earned income is actually less than welfare benefits. This is the "poverty trap" which will continue to hold millions of Americans as long as they continue to be punished for working.

The Carter Administration and the Democratic Party continue to foster that 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. By fostering dependency and discouraging self-reliance, the Democratic Party has created a welfare constituency dependent on its continual subsidies.

The Carter Administration has proposed, and its allies in the House of Representatives actually voted for, legislation to nationalize welfare, which would have cost additional billions and made millions more dependent

upon public assistance. The Democrats have presided over—and must take the blame for—the most monstrous expansion and abuse of the food stamp program to date. They have been either unable or unwilling to attack the welfare fraud that diverts resources away from the truly poor. They have sacrificed the needy to the greedy, and sent the welfare bills to the taxpayers.

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.

As a party we commit ourselves to a welfare policy that is truly reflective of our people's true sense of compassion and charity as well as an appreciation of every individual's need for dignity and self-respect. We pledge a system that will:

Provide adequate living standards for the truly needy;

End welfare fraud by removing ineligible from the welfare rolls, tightening food stamp eligibility requirements, and ending aid to illegal aliens and the voluntarily unemployed;

Strengthen work incentives, particularly directed at the productive involvement of able-bodied persons in useful community work projects;

Provide educational and vocational incentives to allow recipients to become self-supporting; and

Better coordinate federal efforts with local and state social welfare agencies and strengthen local and state administrative functions.

We oppose federalizing the welfare system; local levels of government are most aware of the needs in their communities. We support a block grant program 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.

Those features of the present law, particularly the food stamp program, that draw into assistance programs people who are capable of paying for their own needs should be corrected. The humanitarian purpose of such programs must not be corrupted by eligibility loopholes. Food stamp program reforms proposed by Republicans in Congress would accomplish the twin goals of directing resources to those most in need and streamlining administration.

Through long association with government programs, the word "welfare" has come to be perceived almost exclusively as tax-supported aid to the needy. But in its most inclusive sense—and as Americans understood it from the beginning of the Republic—such aid also encompasses those charitable works performed by private citizens, families, and social, ethnic, and religious organizations. 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.

Veterans

Republicans recognize the very special sacrifice of those who have served in our nation's armed forces. Individual rights and societal values are only as strong as a nation's commitment to defend them. Because of this our country must never forget its appreciation of and obligation to our veterans.

Today the veteran population numbers 30 million. This is the largest veteran population in our nation's history. We recognize the major sacrifices they have made for their fellow Americans.

We will maintain the integrity of the Veterans Administration. We will seek to keep it separate and distinct from other federal agencies as the single agency for the administration of all veterans' programs. In particular we feel it is of vital importance to continue and expand the health-programs provided to veterans through the Veterans Administration hospitals. Here we see the need for increased access to care, especially for older veterans.

We further advocate continued and expanded health care for our Vietnam veterans and consider it vital for the Veterans Administration to continue its programs for the rehabilitation of the disabled as well as its job training efforts.

We are committed to providing timely and adequate adjustments in compensation for service-disabled veterans and the survivors of those who died as a result of their service. We are also committed to maintaining the pension program for those who have served during a period of war, for those who were disabled and impoverished, and for their widows and orphans.

We will support measures to provide for every veteran at death a final resting place for his remains in a national cemetery, and for costs of transportation thereto.

Veterans preference in federal employment in all departments and agencies will be continued and strictly enforced.

Retired military benefits deserve more than the cursory attention given them by a Department of Defense otherwise interested in on-going programs. We believe that such benefits should be administered by the Veterans Administration.

Private property

The widespread distribution of private property ownership is the cornerstone of American liberty. Without it neither our free enterprise system nor our republican form of government could long endure.

Under Democratic rule, the federal government has become an aggressive enemy of the human right to private property ownership.

It has dissipated savings through depreciation of the dollar, enforced price controls on private exchange of goods, attempted to enforce severe land use controls, and mistreated hundreds of thousands of national park and forest inholders.

The next Republican Administration will reverse this baneful trend. It 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.

Transportation—Personal mobility

Americans enjoy greater personal mobility than any other people on earth, largely as a result of the availability of automobiles and our modern highway system. Republicans reject the elitist notion that Americans must be forced out of their cars. Instead, we vigorously support the right of personal mobility and freedom as exemplified by the automobile and our modern highway system. While recognizing the importance of fuel efficiency and alternate modes of transportation, we quickly acknowledge that for millions of Americans there is no substitute on the horizon for the automobile. We reaffirm our support for a healthy domestic automobile industry, complete with continued support for the highway trust fund, which is the fairest method yet devised for financing America's highway system.

Republicans recognize the need for further improvement in highway safety. Projections indicate that highway fatalities may exceed 60,000 per year in the coming decades. Republicans support accelerated cost-effective efforts to improve highway, automobile, and individual driver safety.

Privacy

The essence of freedom is the right of law-abiding individuals to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness without undue governmental intervention. Yet government in recent years, particularly at the federal level, has overwhelmed citizens with demands for personal information and has accumulated vast amounts of such data through the IRS, the Social Security Administration, the Bureau of the Census, and other agencies. Under certain limited circumstances, such information can serve legitimate societal interests, but there must be protection against abuse.

Republicans share the concerns of our citizens as to the nature, use, and final disposition of the volume of personal information being collected. We are alarmed by Washington's growing collection and dissemination of such data. There must be protection against its misuse or disclosure.

The Republican Party commits itself to guaranteeing an individual's right of privacy. We support efforts of state governments to ensure individual privacy.

Black Americans

For millions of black Americans, the past four years have been a long trail of broken

promises and broken dreams. The Carter Administration entered office with a pledge to all minorities of a brighter economic future. Today there are more black Americans unemployed than on the day Mr. Carter became President. The unemployment rate of black teenagers is once again rising sharply. And the median income of black families has declined to less than 60 percent of white family income.

Republicans will not make idle promises to blacks and other minorities; we are beyond the day when any American can live off rhetoric or political platitudes.

Our Party specifically rejects the philosophy of the Carter Administration that unemployment is the answer to inflation. We abhor the notion that our cities should become battlegrounds in the fight against inflation and that the jobs of black Americans should be sacrificed in an attempt to counterbalance the inflationary excesses of government. Nor are we prepared to accept the practice of turning the poor into permanent wards of the state, trading their political support for continued financial assistance.

Our fundamental answer to the economic problems of black Americans is the same answer we make to all Americans—full employment without inflation through economic growth. First and foremost, we are committed to a policy of economic expansion through tax-rate reductions, spending restraint, regulatory reform, and other incentives.

As the Party of Lincoln, we remain equally and steadfastly committed to the equality of rights for all citizens, regardless of race. Although this nation has not yet eliminated all vestiges of racism over the years we are heartened by the progress that has been made, we are proud of the role that our Party has played, and we are dedicated to standing shoulder to shoulder with black Americans in that cause.

Elsewhere in this platform, we set forth a number of specific proposals that will also serve to improve the quality of life for blacks. During the next four years we are committed to policies that will:

Encourage local governments to designate specific enterprise zones within depressed areas that will promote new jobs, new and expanded businesses, and new economic vitality;

Open new opportunities for black men and women to begin small businesses of their own by, among other steps, removing excessive regulations, disincentives for venture capital, and other barriers erected by the government;

Bring strong, effective enforcement of federal civil rights statutes, especially those dealing with threats to physical safety and security which have recently been increasing; and

Ensure that the federal government follows a non-discriminatory system of ap-

pointments up and down the line, with a careful eye for qualified minority aspirants.

Hispanic Americans

Hispanics are rapidly becoming the largest minority in the country and are one of the major pillars in our cultural, social, and economic life. Diverse in character, proud in heritage, they are greatly enriching the American melting pot.

Hispanics seek only the full rights of citizenship—in education, in law enforcement, in housing—and an equal opportunity to achieve economic security. Unfortunately, those desires have not always been fulfilled; as in so many other areas, the Carter Administration has been long on rhetoric and short on action in its approach to the Hispanic community.

We pledge to pursue policies that will help to make the opportunities of American life a reality for Hispanics. The economic policies enunciated in this platform will, we believe, create new jobs for Hispanic teenagers and adults and will also open up new business opportunities for them. We also believe there should be local educational programs which enable those who grew up learning another language such as Spanish to become proficient in English while also maintaining their own language and cultural heritage. Neither Hispanics nor any other American citizens should be barred from education or employment opportunities because English is not their first language.

The handicapped

The Republican Party strongly believes that handicapped persons must be admitted into the mainstream of American society. It endorses efforts to enable our handicapped population to enjoy a useful and productive life.

Too often in the past, barriers have been raised to their education, employment, transportation, health care, housing, recreation, and insurance. We support a concerted national effort to eliminate discrimination in all these areas. Specifically we support tax incentives for the removal of architectural and transportation barriers. We pledge continued efforts to improve communications for the handicapped and to promote a healthy, constructive attitude toward them in our society.

Women's rights

We acknowledge the legitimate efforts of those who support or oppose 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.

Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is now in the hands of state legislatures, and the issues of the time extension and rescission are in the courts. The states have a constitutional right to accept or reject a constitutional amendment without federal interference or pressure. At the direction of the White House, federal departments launched pressure against states which refused to ratify ERA. Regardless of one's position on ERA, we demand that this practice cease.

At this time, women of America comprise 53 percent of the population and over 42 percent of the work force. By 1990, we anticipate that 51 percent of the population will be women, and there will be approximately 57 million in the work force. Therefore, the following urgent problems must be resolved.

Total integration of the work force (not separate but equal) is necessary to bring women equality in pay;

Girls and young women must be given improved early career counseling and job training to widen the opportunities for them in the world of work;

Women's worth in the society and in the jobs they hold, at home or in the workplace, must be reevaluated to improve the conditions of women workers concentrated in low-status, low-paying jobs;

Equal opportunity for credit and other assistance must be assured to women in small businesses; and

One of the most critical problems in our nation today is that of inadequate child care for the working mother. As champions of the free enterprise system, of the individual, and of the idea that the best solutions to most problems rest at the community level, Republicans must find ways to meet this, the working woman's need. The scope of this problem is fully realized only when it is understood that many female heads of households are at the poverty level and that they have a very large percentage of the nation's children.

The important secret about old age in America today is that it is primarily a woman's issue, and those over 65 are the fastest growing segment of the population. With current population trends, by the year 2020, 15.5 percent of our population will be over 65; by 2035, women in this age group will outnumber men by 13 million.

In 1980, 42 percent of women between 55 and 64 are in the work force. Half of the six million elderly women who live alone have incomes of \$3,700 or less, and black women in that category have a median income of \$2,600. How do they survive with the present rate of inflation? The lower salaries they earned as working women are now reflected in lower retirement benefits, if they have any at all. The Social Security system is still biased against women, and non-existent pension plans combine with that to produce a

bereft elderly woman. The Republican Party must not and will not let this continue.

We reaffirm our belief in the traditional role and values of the family in our society. The damage being done today to the family takes its greatest toll on the woman. Whether it be through divorce, widowhood, economic problems, or the suffering of children, the impact is greatest on women. The importance of support for the mother and homemaker in maintaining the values of this country cannot be over-emphasized.

In other sections of this platform, we call for greater equity in the tax treatment of working spouses. We deplore this marriage tax which penalizes married two-worker families. We call for a reduction in the estate tax burden, which creates hardships for widows and minor children. We also pledge to address any remaining inequities in the treatment of women under the Social Security system.

Women know better than anyone the decline in the quality of life that is occurring in America today. The peril to the United States and especially to women must be stressed. Women understand domestic, consumer, and economic issues more deeply because they usually manage the households and have the responsibility for them. With this responsibility must also come greater opportunity for the achievement and total equality toward solution of problems.

Equal rights

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.

Millions of Americans who trace their heritage to the nations of Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe have for too long seen their values neglected. The time has come to go beyond the ritual election year praise given to Ethnic Americans. We must make them an integral part of government. We must make recognition of their values an integral part of government policy. The Republican Party will take positive steps to see to it that these Americans, along with others too long neglected, have the opportunity to share the power, as well as the burdens of our society. The same holds true of our Asian-American citizens from the cultures of the Orient.

As a party we also recognize our commitment to Native Americans. We pledge to continue to honor our trusted relationship with them and we reaffirm our federal policy of

self-determination. We support the assumption by Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos themselves of the decisions and planning which will affect their lives and the end of undue federal influence on those plans and decisions.

Puerto Rico has been a territory of the United States since 1898. The Republican Party vigorously supports the right of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico to be admitted into the Union as a fully sovereign state after they freely so determine. We believe that the statehood alternative is the only logical solution to the problem of inequality of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico within the framework of the federal Constitution, with full recognition within the concept of a multicultural society of the citizens' right to retain their Spanish language and traditions. Therefore we pledge to support the enactment of the necessary legislation to allow the people of Puerto Rico to exercise their right to apply for admission into the Union at the earliest possible date after the presidential election of 1980.

We also pledge that such decision of the people of Puerto Rico will be implemented through the approval of an admission bill. This bill will provide for the Island's smooth transition from its territorial fiscal system to that of a member of the Union. This enactment will enable the new state of Puerto Rico to stand economically on an equal footing with the rest of the states and to assume gradually its fiscal responsibilities as a state.

We continue to favor whatever action may be necessary to permit American citizens resident in the United States territories of the Virgin Islands and Guam to vote for President and Vice President in national elections.

Abortion

There can be no doubt that the question of abortion, despite the complex nature of its various issues, is ultimately concerned with equality of rights under the law. While we recognize differing views on this question among Americans in general—and in our own Party—we affirm our support of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children. We also support the Congressional efforts to restrict the use of taxpayers' dollars for abortion.

We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parent's obligation and right to guide their minor children.

STRONG FAMILIES

The family is the foundation of our social order. It is the school of democracy. Its daily lessons—cooperation, tolerance, mutual concern, responsibility, industry—are fundamental to the order and progress of our Republic. But the Democrats have shunted the family aside. They have given its power to the bureaucracy, its jurisdiction to the

courts, and its resources to government grantors. For the first time in our history, there is real concern that the family may not survive.

Government may be strong enough to destroy families, but it can never replace them.

Unlike the Democrats, we do not advocate new federal bureaucracies with ominous power to shape a national family order. Rather, we insist that all domestic policies, from child care and schooling to Social Security and the tax code, must be formulated with the family in mind.

Education

Next to religious training and the home, education is the most important means by which families hand down to each new generation their ideals and beliefs. It is a pillar of a free society. But today, parents are losing control of their children's schooling. The Democratic Congress and its counterparts in many states have launched one fad after another, building huge new bureaucracies to mispend our taxes. The result has been a shocking drop in student performance, lack of basics in the classroom, forced busing, teacher strikes, manipulative and sometimes amoral indoctrination.

The Republican Party is determined to restore common sense and quality to education for the sake of all students, especially those for whom learning is the highway to equal opportunity. Because federal assistance should help local school districts, not tie them up in red tape, we will strive to replace the crazyquilt of wasteful programs with a system of block grants that will restore decisionmaking to local officials responsible to voters and parents. We recognize the need to preserve, within the structure of block grants, special educational opportunities for the handicapped, the disadvantaged, and other needy students attending public and private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools.

We hail the teachers of America. Their dedication to our children is often taken for granted, and they are frequently underpaid for long hours and selfless service, especially in comparison with other public employees.

We understand and sympathize with the plight of America's public school teachers, who so frequently find their time and attention diverted from their teaching responsibilities to the task of complying with federal reporting requirements. America has a great stake in maintaining standards of high quality in public education. The Republican Party recognizes that the achievement of those standards is possible only to the extent that teachers are allowed the time and freedom to teach. To that end, the Republican Party supports deregulation by the federal government of public education, and encourages the elimination of the federal Department of Education.

We further sympathize with the right of qualified teachers to be employed by any school district wishing to hire them, without

the necessity of their becoming enrolled with any bargaining agency or group. We oppose any federal action, including any action on the part of the Department of Education, to establish "agency shops" in public schools.

We support Republican initiatives in the Congress to restore the right of individuals to participate in voluntary, non-denominational prayer in schools and other public facilities.

Our goal is quality education for all of America's children, with a special commitment to those who must overcome handicap, deprivation, or discrimination. That is why we condemn the forced busing of school children to achieve arbitrary racial quotas. Busing has been a prescription for disaster, blighting whole communities across the land with its divisive impact. It has failed to improve the quality of education, while diverting funds from programs that could make the difference between success and failure for the poor, the disabled, and minority children.

We must halt forced busing and get on with the education of all our children, focusing on the real causes of their problems, especially lack of economic opportunity.

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.

We are dismayed that the Carter Administration cruelly reneged on promises made during the 1976 campaign. Wielding the threat of his veto, Mr. Carter led the fight against Republican attempts to make tuition tax credits a reality.

Next year, a Republican White House will assist, not sabotage, Congressional efforts to enact tuition tax relief into law.

We will halt the unconstitutional regulatory vendetta launched by Mr. Carter's IRS Commissioner against independent schools.

We will hold the federal bureaucracy accountable for its harassment of colleges and universities and will clear away the tangle of regulation that has unconscionably driven up their expenses and tuitions. We will respect the rights of state and local authorities in the management of their school systems.

The commitment of the American people to provide educational opportunities for all has resulted in a tremendous expansion of schools at all levels. And the more we reduce the federal proportion of taxation, the more resources will be left to sustain and develop state and local institutions.

Health

Our country's unequalled system of medical care, bringing greater benefits to more people than anywhere else on earth, is a splendid example of how Americans have taken care of their own needs with private institutions.

Significant as these achievements are, we must not be complacent. Health care costs continue to rise, farther and faster than they should, and threaten to spiral beyond the reach of many families. The causes are the Democratic Congress' inflationary spending and excessive and expensive regulations.

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.

Our country has made spectacular gains in health care in recent decades. Most families are now covered by private insurance, Medicare, or in the case of the poor, the entirely free services under Medicaid.

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.

What ails American medicine is government meddling and the strait-jacket of federal programs. The prescription for good health care is deregulation and an emphasis upon consumer rights and patient choice.

As consumers of health care, individual Americans and their families should be able to make their own choices about health care protection. We propose to assist them in so doing through tax and financial incentives. These could enable them to choose their own health coverage, including protection from the catastrophic costs of major long-term illness, without compulsory regimentation.

Americans should be protected against financial disaster brought on by medical expenses. We recognize both the need to provide assistance in many cases and the responsibility of citizens to provide for their own needs. By using tax incentives and reforming federal medical assistance programs, government and the private sector can jointly develop compassionate and innovative means to provide financial relief when it is most needed.

We endorse alternatives to institutional care. Not only is it costly but it also separates individuals from the supportive environment of family and friends. This is especially important for the elderly and those requiring long-term care. We advocate the reform of Medicare to encourage home-based care whenever feasible. In addition, we encourage the development of innovative al-

ternate 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. We believe that the needs of those who depend upon these programs, particularly the elderly, can be better served, especially when a Republican Administration cracks down on fraud and abuse so that program monies can be directed toward those truly in need. In the case of Medicaid, we will aid the states in restoring its financial integrity and its local direction.

We welcome the long-overdue emphasis on preventive health care and physical fitness that is making Americans more aware than ever of their personal responsibility for good health. Today's enthusiasm and emphasis on staying well holds the promise of dramatically improved health and well-being in the decades ahead. Additionally, health professionals, as well as individuals, have long recognized that preventing illness or injury is much less expensive than treating it. Therefore, preventive medicine combined with good personal health habits and health education, can make a major impact on the cost of health care. Employers and employees, unions and business associations, families, schools, and neighborhood groups all have important parts in what is becoming a national crusade for better living.

Youth

The Republican Party recognizes that young people want the opportunity to exercise the rights and responsibilities of adults.

The Republican agenda for making educational and employment opportunities available to our youth has been addressed in detail in other sections of this platform.

Republicans are committed to the enactment of a youth differential in the minimum wage and other vitally needed incentives for the creation of jobs for our young.

In addition, we reaffirm our commitment to broaden the involvement of young people in all phases of the political process—as voters, party workers and leaders, candidates and elected officials, and participants in government at all levels.

We pledge, as we have elsewhere in this platform, efforts to create an environment which will enable our nation's youth:

- To live in a society which is safe and free;
- To pursue personal, educational, and vocational goals to the utmost of their abilities;
- To experience the support, encouragement, and strength that come from maintenance of the family and its values; and

To know the stimulus of challenge, renewal through encouragement, provision of opportunities, and the growth that comes from responsible participation in numerous aspects of our society.

Older Americans

Inflation is called "the cruellest tax." It strikes most cruelly at the elderly, especially those on fixed incomes. It strikes viciously at the sick and the infirm, and those who are alone in the world.

Inflation has robbed our elderly of dignity and security. An entire generation of responsible and productive citizens who toiled and saved a full working life to build up a retirement nest egg now finds that it cannot survive on its savings. Today's inflation rates dwarf yesterday's interest rates, and the pensions and annuities of our elderly citizens cannot keep up with the rising cost of living. Millions of once-proud and independent elderly Americans face a future of welfare dependency and despair.

We propose to assist families, and individuals of all ages, to meet the needs of the elderly, primarily through vigorous private initiative. Only a comprehensive reduction in tax rates will enable families to save for retirement income, and to protect that income from ravaging inflation. Only new tax exemptions and incentives can make it possible for many families to afford to care for their older members at home.

Present laws can create obstacles to older Americans' remaining in the family home. Federal programs for the elderly, such as Medicare and Supplemental Security Income, must address, humanely and generously, the special circumstances of those who choose to stay with their families rather than enter a nursing home or other institution.

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.

Republicans consider older Americans a community asset, not a national problem. We are committed to using the sadly wasted talents of the aged throughout our society, which sorely needs their experience and wisdom. To that end, and as a matter of basic fairness, we proudly reaffirm our opposition to mandatory retirement and our long-standing Republican commitment to end the Democrats' limitation on earnings for elderly Social Security recipients. In addition, the Republican Party is strongly opposed to the taxation of Social Security benefits and we pledge to oppose any attempts to tax these benefits.

Republicans have resisted Democratic electioneering schemes to spend away the Social Security trust funds for political purposes. Now the bill has come due, and the workers of America are staggering under their new tax burdens. This must stop.

Precisely because Social Security is a precious lifeline for millions of the elderly, orphaned, and disabled, we insist that its financing be sound and stable. We will preserve Social Security for its original purpose.

The problems of Social Security financing

are only an aspect of the overriding problems of the economy which Democratic mismanagement has produced. There is but one answer, the comprehensive tax rate reduction to which Republicans are committed. To save Social Security, we have no choice but to redirect our economy toward growth. To meet this country's commitments to Social Security recipients, present and future, we need more people at work, earning more money, thereby paying more into the trust funds. That same growth can balance the federal budget with lower taxes, over time reducing inflation, which falls so cruelly on senior citizens whose income is fixed by the size of their public or private pension.

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.

The Welfare System

The Republican agenda for welfare reform has been discussed in a previous section, but we think it important to stress that central to it is the preservation of the families the system is designed to serve. The current system does not do this. Neither would guaranteed annual income schemes. By supplanting parental responsibility and by denying children parental guidance and economic support, they encourage and reward the fragmentation of families. This is unconscionable. The values and strengths of the family provide a vital element in breaking the bonds of poverty.

Ultimately, the Republican Party supports the orderly, wholesale transfer of all welfare functions to the states along with the tax sources to finance them.

The Family Economy

It is increasingly common for both husbands and wives to work outside the home. Often, it occurs out of economic necessity, and it creates major difficulties for families with children, especially those of pre-school age. On one hand, they are striving to improve the economic well-being of their family; on the other, they are concerned about the physical and emotional well-being of their children. This dilemma is further aggravated in instances of single parenthood due to death or divorce.

Recognizing these problems, we pledge to increase the availability of non-institutional child care. We see a special role for local, private organizations in meeting this need.

We disapprove of the bias in the federal tax system against working spouses, whose combined incomes are taxed at a proportionately higher rate than if they were single. We deplore this "marriage tax" and call for equity in the tax treatment of families.

We applaud our society's increasing awareness of the role of homemakers in the economy, not apart from the work force but as a very special part of it: the part that combines the labor of a full-time job, the skills of a

profession, and the commitment of the most dedicated volunteer. Recognizing that homemaking is as important as any other profession, we endorse expanded eligibility for Individual Retirement Accounts for homemakers and will explore other ways to advance their standing and security.

Family protection

In view of the continuing efforts of the present Administration to define and influence the family through such federally funded conferences as the White House Conference on Families, we express our support for legislation protecting and defending the traditional American family against the ongoing erosion of its base in our society.

Handicapped people

Republicans will seek every effective means to enable families more easily to assist their handicapped members and to provide for their education and special medical and therapeutic needs. In the case of handicapped children particularly, flexibility must be maintained in programs of public assistance so that, whenever possible, these youngsters may remain at home rather than in institutions.

Targeted tax relief can make it possible for parents to keep such a child at home without foregoing essential professional assistance. Similarly, tax incentives can assist those outside the home, in the neighborhood and the workplace, who undertake to train, hire, or house the handicapped.

SECURE AND PROSPEROUS NEIGHBORHOODS

The quality of American neighborhoods is the ultimate test of the success or failure of government policies for the cities, for housing, and for law enforcement.

Obsessed with the demands of special interest groups and preoccupied with the design of expensive "comprehensive" programs, the Democrats in Congress and the Administration have lost sight of that simple but important criterion. They have proposed more social and fiscal tinkering with our cities and towns.

Republicans will address the real problems that face Americans in their neighborhoods day by day—deterioration and urban blight, dangerous streets and violent crime that make millions of Americans, especially senior citizens, fearful in their own neighborhoods and prisoners in their own homes.

In the summer of 1980, Americans suffer a rising national unemployment rate, now at nearly eight percent, and double-digit inflation and interest rates. As Republicans meet in Detroit, the policies of the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress have pushed the economy into recession and have resulted in unemployment approaching 20 percent in our host city.

The people of Detroit have worked long and hard to revitalize their city, and the evidence of its rebirth is impressive. Their efforts have been severely set back by Carter Administration policies outside or this or any city's control. The grim evidence is mani-

festated in jobs lost as a direct consequence of bankrupt economic policies which have fostered this recession. Republicans will address and resolve the real problems of today's economy, problems that destroy jobs and deny even the hope of homeownership to millions of American families. We are, moreover, committed to nurturing the spirit of self-help and cooperation through which so many neighborhoods have revitalized themselves and served their residents.

Neighborhood self-help

The American ethic of neighbor helping neighbor has been an essential factor in the building of our nation. Republicans are committed to the preservation of this great tradition.

To help non-governmental community programs aid in serving the needs of poor, disabled, or other disadvantaged, we support permitting taxpayers to deduct charitable contributions from their federal income tax whether they itemize or not.

In contrast, the Democrats' assault against Meals-on-Wheels highlights their insensitivity to the neighborly spirit that motivates so many Americans. For over 25 years, voluntary Meals-on-Wheels organizations have been feeding needy homebound citizens—usually the elderly—with funding from local private charitable sources. Promising for the first time to "help" these neighborhood volunteer efforts in 1978, the Democratic Congress and Administration instead used the carrot of federal funding and the stick of federal regulation to crowd out private ventures.

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.

Neighborhood revitalization

The city is the focus for the lives of millions of Americans. Its neighborhoods are places of familiarity, of belonging, of tradition and continuity. They are arenas for civic action and creative self-help. The human scale of the neighborhood encourages citizens to exercise leadership, to invest their talents, energies, and resources, and to work together to create a better life for their families.

Republican economic programs will create conditions for rebirth of citizen activity in neighborhoods and cities across the land. In a Republican economic climate, America's cities can once again produce, build, and grow.

A Republican Administration will focus its efforts to revitalize neighborhoods in five areas. We will:

Cut taxes, increase incentives to save, restore sound money, and stimulate capital investment to create jobs;

Create and apply new tax incentives for employees and employers alike to stimulate economic growth and reduce red-tape for business ventures. Local government will be

invited to designate specific depressed areas as jobs and enterprise zones;

Encourage our cities to undertake neighborhood revitalization and preservation programs in cooperation with the three essential local interests: local government, neighborhood property owners and residents, and local financial institutions;

Replace the categorical aid programs with block grant or revenue sharing programs and, where appropriate, transfer the programs, along with the tax sources to pay for them, back to the state and local governments; and

Remain fully committed to the fair enforcement of all federal civil rights statutes and continue minority business enterprise and similar programs begun by Republican Administrations but bungled by overregulation and duplication during the Carter Administration.

Republican programs will revitalize the inner cities. New jobs will be created. The federal government's role will be substantially reduced. The individual citizen will reclaim his or her independence.

The revitalization of American cities will proceed from the revitalization of the neighborhoods. Cities and neighborhoods are no more nor less than the people who inhabit them. Their strengths and weaknesses provide their character. If they are to grow, it is the people who must seize the initiative and lead.

Housing and homeownership

Our citizens must have a real opportunity to live in decent, affordable housing. Due to the disastrous policies of the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress, however, the goal of homeownership and all that aspiration entails is now in jeopardy. These irrational policies have been catastrophic to the housing industry. The highest home mortgage interest rates in the history of the United States have depressed housing starts to the lowest level since World War II. Democratic policies guarantee shortages in owner-occupied and rental housing.

As many as 1.4 million people who depend upon homebuilding for work may lose their jobs in this recession. Many already have. In addition to the toll taken on millions of American families, intolerable pressures will build on state, local, and federal budgets as tax revenues decline and expenditures increase to aid the unemployed.

We support financing and tax incentives to encourage the construction of rental housing as an essential addition to our housing inventory.

Prospective first-time home buyers simply cannot afford to buy. The affordability of housing has become a crisis. The high rates of inflation have driven mortgage payments, house prices, and down-payment requirements beyond the means of close to 80 percent of young American families. In order to assist the record number of young families who wish to become home buyers, we propose to implement a young family housing initiative, which would include several ele-

ments such as: urban homesteading, savings and tax reforms, and innovative alternate mortgage instruments to help meet monthly payment requirements without federal subsidies. To assist older homeowners, again without federal subsidy, we urge more extensive availability of the reverse annuity mortgage which allows older homeowners to withdraw the substantial equity they have built up in their homes and thus supplement their retirement income. In order to slow increases in housing costs, regulations which artificially limit housing production and raise housing costs must be eliminated.

We favor expansion of the Republican-sponsored urban homesteading program as a means of restoring abandoned housing. This innovative program is locally administered, returns property to the tax rolls, and develops new ownership and stability within our neighborhoods.

The collapse of new home production and the distress of the housing finance system are closely related. The stop and go economic policies of the past year have created extreme volatility in financial markets which have made it impossible for thrift institutions to supply housing credit at a reasonable cost.

A set of policies aimed at higher and more stable levels of housing production will simultaneously reduce housing costs and unemployment in the economy. To assure a stable and continuous flow of funds for home mortgage financing, we pledge to allow responsible use of mortgage revenue bonds. We will work to change the tax laws to encourage savings so that young families will be able to afford their dreams.

Specifically, we will support legislation to lower tax rates on savings in order to increase funds available for housing. This will help particularly to make homeownership an accessible dream for younger families, encouraging them not to despair of ever having a home of their own, but to begin working and saving for it now. We oppose any attempts to end the income tax deductability of mortgage interest and property taxes.

Republicans will also end the mismanagement and waste that has characterized the Department of Housing and Urban Development during the Carter Administration. As presently structured, HUD programs present local governments and developers with a maze of bureaucracy, complicated applications, and inflexible requirements, often unsuited to local needs. Such programs often infringe upon the right of local governments to retain jurisdiction over their own zoning laws and building codes. As a result, their cost is so high that relatively few of the needy are ultimately housed or helped. Republicans will replace many of HUD's categorical programs with decentralized block grants to provide more efficient and responsive housing assistance to the elderly, the handicapped, and the poor. In remaining programs, particular emphasis should be

given to rehabilitation and preservation of existing housing stock as a priority in federal housing policy.

Crime

Safety and security are vital to the health and well-being of people in their neighborhoods and communities. Republicans are committed to ensuring that neighborhoods will be safe places in which families and individuals can live, and we support and encourage community crime fighting efforts such as neighborhood crime watch and court monitoring programs.

First, we believe that Republican economic proposals, more particularly those proposals which strengthen society and smaller communities discussed elsewhere in this document, will go a long way toward stabilizing American society.

Second, we support a vigorous and effective effort on the part of law enforcement agencies. Although we recognize the vital role of federal law enforcement agencies, we realize that the most effective weapons against crime are state and local agencies.

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.

We believe the right of citizens to keep and bear arms must be preserved. Accordingly, we oppose federal registration of firearms. Mandatory sentences for commission of armed felonies are the most effective means to deter abuse of this right. We therefore support Congressional initiatives to remove those provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968 that do not significantly impact on crime but serve rather to restrain the law-abiding citizen in his legitimate use of firearms.

In recent years, a murderous epidemic of drug abuse has swept our country. Mr. Carter, through his policies and his personnel, has demonstrated little interest in stopping its ravages. Republicans consider drug abuse an intolerable threat to our society, especially to the young. We pledge a government that will take seriously its responsibility to curb illegal drug traffic. We will first and most urgently restore the ability of the FBI to act effectively in this area. Republican government will work with local law enforcement agencies to apprehend and firmly punish drug pushers and drug smugglers with mandatory sentences where appropriate. We support efforts to crack down on the sale and advertising of drug paraphernalia. Private, nonprofit drug abuse rehabilitation agencies have taken the lead in fighting drug abuse, and they deserve greater cooperation and flexibility from federal, state, and local agencies and grant programs. We pledge the enactment of legisla-

tion to ban the utilization of federal funds by grantees of the Legal Services Corporation to render their services in cases involving the pushing or smuggling of drugs as well as in cases of repeat offenders. We commend the religious leaders, community activists, parents, and local officials who are working with fervor and dedication to protect young Americans from the drug plague.

Urban transportation

The complex problems of mobility, congestion, and energy resources demand creative solutions if we are to improve the living conditions of our urban areas. Many urban centers of our nation need dependable and affordable mass transit systems. The first line of responsibility must lie with the local governments. They must be given the latitude to design and implement the transportation system best suited to their singular circumstances. Republicans believe we should encourage effective competition among diverse modes of transportation. The role of the federal government should be one of giving financial and technical support to local authorities, through surface transportation block grants. Because of the long planning and construction times inherent in bus, rail, and other mass transit systems, a consistent and dependable source of revenue should be established.

Mass transportation offers the prospect for significant energy conservation. In addition, both management and labor agree that ease of access to the workplace is an important factor in employment decisions and industrial plant location. Lack of adequate access is a major reason why businesses have moved out of crowded urban areas, resulting in lower tax bases for cities. To encourage existing businesses to remain in urban centers and to attract new businesses to urban areas, it is vital that adequate public and private transportation facilities be provided.

Rural transportation

Republicans recognize the importance of transportation in the rural areas of America.

Public transit is becoming more significant to rural areas as the costs of energy rise. While public transit will not replace the importance of private vehicles in rural America, it can serve as a vital adjunct to transportation in neighborhoods throughout rural America.

JOBS AND THE WORKPLACE

We propose to put Americans back to work again by restoring real growth without inflation to the United States economy. Republican programs and initiatives detailed in this platform will create millions of additional new jobs in the American workplace. As a result of Mr. Carter's recession, more than eight million Americans are now out of work.

Sweeping change in America's economic policy is needed. We must replace the Carter Administration's promise of hard times and austerity—one promise which has been