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POLICY STATEMENT  
BY  
THE DEMOCRATIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

Issued on December 6, 1959  
at the December 5, 6 and 7  
Council Meetings, Waldorf-  
Astoria, New York City

THE DECISION IN 1960:

THE NEED TO ELECT A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT

After 7 years of a Republican Administration, the nation is on the eve of a campaign to determine whether that Administration shall be continued, or whether the country shall return to Democratic leadership.

We believe the record shows that the Republican Party is unworthy to continue to exercise the power of national government. We believe that this will be clearly demonstrated during the debates of the coming year when the Republican record will be exposed to searching scrutiny.

The Administration has failed to provide the bold and creative leadership required of the United States in the nuclear age. The Republican Party's age-old affinity for the moneyed interests, its neglect of the common man, its deep-rooted hostility to new ideas, its distrust of government, its lingering bent toward isolationism -- these have all combined in a single Administration to produce a faltering, uncertain government, threatened by loss of position of leadership in the world, and paralyzed in the face of a host of unmet needs and unsolved problems which have accumulated dangerously at home.

All of this has been camouflaged by high powered and misleading propaganda techniques and by soothing assurances that all is well. We are reminded of the

complacency of the Coolidge era of the 1920's. We hope that the country will not insist upon making history repeat itself by continuing the Republican Party in power until we reap the ultimate consequences of another full cycle of Republican misrule.

Fortunately, we have had a Democratic majority in the Congress during most of this Administration. Otherwise, the deterioration in the State of the Union during these seven years would have been more rapid. But the Congress cannot provide the necessary leadership for the nation in the face of the opposition of a Republican Executive. The Congress does not administer the laws, and the record of the past seven years is replete with incompetent administration, wilful maladministration, and even deliberate refusal to attempt to administer laws passed by the Congress for the benefit of the people. Further, the influence of the Executive over members of his own Party in Congress, coupled with his use and threatened use of the veto power, can thwart -- and has thwarted -- the legislative process itself.

We confidently expect both Houses of the Congress to retain Democratic majorities. But let no man or woman suppose that a Democratic Congress alone can do the necessary job that faces the country.

The nation is bound, of course, to endure one more year of Republican incumbency of the Executive office. We hope that during this year the Democratic majority in the Congress will be able increasingly to make its will prevail in the form of legislation the country so badly needs -- despite Republican obstructionism. But we are not too sanguine about this. We know that so long as the Executive Branch is in Republican hands, the basic beliefs and attitudes of the Republican Party will dominate the vital decisions of our national life. Thus while we may hope for some accomplishments in the coming year, we do not expect any marked change in the basic pattern of mismanagement of Government affairs.

The lines for the 1960 Presidential campaign are already being drawn. The Republican record from which the issues will emerge is largely written. Being aware of the Republican Party's skill in adapting the techniques of hucksterism to the rigging of political campaigns, we deem it necessary to begin presenting to the American people now -- while there is time for careful thought and study -- our views as to why the country should elect a Democrat to the Presidential office.

Accordingly, we invite the attention of our fellow citizens to some of the evidence from the record.

The United States needs a Democratic President: --

1. To Restore Responsibility and Competence to the Financial Affairs of the Government.

The Republicans boast of their supposedly superior efficiency and ability in managing the financial affairs of the Government. The record shows that quite the reverse is true. The present Administration has failed miserably to keep the Government's financial house in order.

It has set an all-time record of budget deficits in peacetime -- \$12 $\frac{1}{2}$  billion in the 1959 fiscal year alone. Indeed, it has incurred deficits in 4 of its 6 full years, and another is in prospect this year. By contrast, President Truman achieved a net surplus of over \$4 billion in his four peacetime years. For the seven most recent fiscal years, including estimates for 1960, the Federal deficit has averaged annually 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  times as high as during the last seven fiscal years of the Truman Administration including the Korean War.

The United States Government -- previously regarded as the world's best credit risk -- is finding it harder to borrow money. At the end of the Truman Administration, the Government could borrow all the money it wanted at interest rates of 2 or 3 per cent. Now it has to pay 5 per cent or more. The annual cost of carrying the Federal debt has gone up \$2.6 billion under the Republicans and is still rising.

Many Americans who paid 100 cents on the dollar for Government bonds now find that they can get only 85 cents on the dollar for their investment.

Oddly, while the Administration has talked of the desirability of funding a larger portion of the public debt in long-term securities, it has in fact been financing a growing share of it with short-term paper -- and it has actually turned down one opportunity after another to market long-term securities at reasonable rates. Only now, when the rate on long-term money is so high, does the Administration seem really in earnest about selling long-term securities -- thus saddling the Government with the burden of high interest rates on fixed obligations over a long period of years to the benefit of the moneyed interests.

It is obvious from this record that the Republican managers do not have the fiscal talents with which they credit themselves or else they have not been exercising these talents for the benefit of the Government and the people.

2. To Achieve Growth and Full Prosperity in the American Economy.

The Republican Administration has reduced our long-term national economic growth to a very low rate relative to our own capabilities. This rate has been lower than almost every other Western industrial country and far lower than the dynamic growth rate of the Soviet Union.

The United States emerged from World War II with unparalleled resources of technology, manpower, and skills. During the years 1947-1953, these resources were used to achieve an annual rate of economic growth averaging about 4.7 per cent. This brought reasonably full employment and increasing prosperity to the American people. In the years 1953-1959, however, the rate has fallen to less than 2½ per cent, despite continued improvements in technology which would have permitted an accelerating rather than a declining rate of growth. This Republican deficiency has the most serious implications for our country, both in its domestic affairs and in its international relations.

It is not enough for the output of our economy to remain level or even to

grow slowly. First, a growing population and labor force and an advancing technology require a high rate of economic expansion to avoid rising unemployment of manpower and plant. Second, we are engaged in a vital struggle with the U.S.S.R. to determine whether freedom or communism shall prevail. Our free system is capable of demonstrating by peaceful means that it is the best way of life for all peoples. But whether it does depends fundamentally upon our economic strength and the use we make of it. Our output still is greater than that of the Russians, but they are rapidly catching up. The Russians' average annual rate of growth during the past few years has been about 7 per cent which is between two and three times the U. S. rate of growth during the same period. In the meantime, they are devoting a far larger proportion of their production to competing in the world struggle than we are. Thus, the danger of our being out-distanced in the economic competition for world leadership is immediate -- is growing -- and is of supreme importance.

We have the tools to win this economic competition and at the same time to provide the means for our people to lead increasingly happy and worthwhile lives -- if only we have the wisdom and the will to use these tools wisely. The record shows that this kind of wisdom and will has not been found in the Republican Party.

### 3. To Make Money and Credit Serve the People.

The first step in the restoration of a satisfactory rate of economic growth must be reversal of the Republican high-interest, tight-money policy which has been instrumental in producing economic stagnation and precipitating two recessions, with accompanying heavy unemployment.

The Republican Administration has defended its high-interest policy as essential to check inflation. Its theory is that if money is made scarcer and more costly, borrowing will be curtailed, economic activity will be slowed down, jobs will be fewer and profits smaller, purchasing power will be decreased, wages

will be stabilized or reduced, the demand for goods and services will be lessened, and sellers will consequently reduce their prices.

There are a number of things wrong with this theory, which may be called the Republican "recession" approach to inflation.

The first is that it hasn't worked. It has worked up to the point of slowing down economic activity -- witness the 1954 and 1958 recessions. But it has not worked to reduce prices. On the contrary, price increases continued -- even in the midst of recession.

The second thing wrong with this approach is that high interest rates, in addition to inflating the cost of financing the national debt, are extracting money from the pockets of every American --

Who finances the purchase of a home,

Who buys an automobile on credit,

Who makes installment payments on a refrigerator or a television set,

Who borrows on his life insurance or from a loan company, or

Who has to get a loan to operate his business or run his farm.

High interest rates are increasing the costs of local and state governments and forcing them either to pay excessive interest on their bonds, or postpone or abandon needed public improvements. And who gets the benefits of the high interest rates? In the long run, we doubt if they are much help to anyone, but the short-run answer is apparent in the high profits of big money lenders.

The third thing wrong with this "recession" approach to inflation is that it results in an indefensible waste of our human and material resources. Due to the lag in economic growth during seven years under this Administration, the nation has suffered some 11 million man-years of excessive unemployment and its total production of goods and services has been about \$175 - \$200 billion less than it should have been.

The fourth thing wrong about the "recession" approach to fighting inflation is that it requires neglect of our great national needs -- it starves programs essential to our national strength and welfare. Since public revenues are derived from general economic activity, the low rate of economic growth in the past 7 years has caused a loss of potential revenue to the Federal, State and local Governments approximating \$60 billion at present tax rates. How much better would it have been if the Republicans had followed policies that would have permitted this revenue to be earned and used. Instead they leaned upon an ineffective campaign against inflation as the excuse for blocking one necessary program after another.

We reject the "recession" theory of controlling inflation, and we consider that one of the first tasks of a Democratic President will be to reverse the high-interest-rate policy of the Republican Administration.

#### 4. To Attack the Real Causes of Inflation.

The Republicans have managed to generate a unique inflation for relative peacetime by completely misunderstanding the nature of the inflationary problem. The cost of living has risen almost 10 per cent in the last four years alone.

The causes of inflation in recent years have been entirely different from its wartime causes. The rate of economic growth, instead of being extra-ordinarily high, as it is in wartime, has been on the average extra-ordinarily low. Productive resources, instead of being overstrained, have been excessively idle. And these conditions have been present even during the inflationary price spurts.

Our overall economic performance, during these seven long Republican years, has been like a roller coaster at Coney Island. Every time the coaster is rushing downward, the Republican Administration assures us that it won't last, but does nothing. And whenever the coaster is climbing, the Republican Administration tries to slow it down but cannot see over the hump to the next and bigger dip.

Again, as in early 1957, this mistake is being made. The Republicans contrived to benefit by an upgrade in 1956, and hope to do so again in 1960. But by now, the American people are wise to the performance. Some of them get thrown off the coaster with every dip. And most of them, when the whole ride is over, find themselves no better off than when they started.

Factors contributing to the present inflation include the inefficiencies and high per-unit production costs resulting from excessively slack operations; speculative pricing policies, resulting from the Republicans' "roller coaster" brand of prosperity; the practice in administered price areas, of compensating for insufficient volume by excessive prices; the shortages of some goods and services resulting from inadequate public programs for such things as medical care, housing and resource development. The Republican policies have encouraged these factors and thereby contributed to the inflation.

In addition, as we have seen, the Republican tight-money policy has been inflationary in and of itself, while the Republican crusade against inflation has been a selective inflation of the strong accompanied by a selective deflation of the weak.

The most important inflationary force appears to be "administered prices." Strong and concentrated industries with monopoly or semi-monopoly power have raised their prices year after year -- in good times and bad, in years of shortages and in years of surplus, in times of tight money and of easy money. Obviously, fiscal and monetary policies have not restrained these industries, and it is in these segments of the economy that a large share of our price increases have taken place.

A stable and optimum rate of economic growth, accompanied by attention to our great national priorities and economic justice, will net in the long run more price stability and less price inflation than the Republican "roller coaster" economics. Progress toward the achievement of these objectives, however, will not

automatically solve the whole problem of maintaining price stability and avoiding inflation. The Federal Budget and the national monetary and credit policy will continue to be prime public instruments for this purpose. A Federal Budget fitted into national objectives of balanced production and purchasing power would be a powerful weapon for price stability. The expenditure side of such a Federal Budget would reflect the great priorities of our national needs. The tax side could be varied so as to produce a surplus in times of inflationary pressures and a deficit in times of severe unemployment, with a balanced budget in the long run.

Monetary and credit policy could be used more effectively by the Federal Reserve System to re-enforce fiscal policy in the containment of inflation without raising interest rates across the board. Credit restraints could be applied in a more equitable manner to curtail the activities we need less of without preventing the activities we need more of.

5. To Deal with Prolonged Work Stoppages which Endanger the National Interest.

The prolonged steel strike, which has not only caused severe hardship to millions but has set back the whole economy, reflects fundamentally a failure of executive leadership. The President delayed too long in acting at all. When he finally did act, his action came too late, and with the crudest weapon at his command -- a Taft-Hartley injunction. This delay prevented an even-handed approach by the Government. The Government did nothing when only the employees were pinched by loss of wages. It acted only when the industry was pinched by a shortage of steel.

Collective bargaining is an essential attribute of our economic system. The objective of collective bargaining should be to maintain or resume employment and production on terms which are fair to employees and management and conducive to economic progress and price stability.

The present laws are not adequate to deal with the cases where collective bargaining fails to reach these results in industries affected with a great public interest. Obviously, the Taft-Hartley Act has proved inadequate as we have long said. The law should provide the President a variety of approaches suited to particular situations, including the appointment of fact-finding boards with power to recommend for the guidance of the parties and the public terms of settlement of disputes which threaten the national interest.

The machinery to be created should be designed to encourage the settlement of industrial disputes and to encourage settlements that will be fair to the parties and that will contribute to economic progress and price stability.

6. To Provide Money for Essential Needs Without Our Increasing Tax Rates.

The ultimate test of the Government's fiscal policy is whether it enables our country to meet its manifold needs -- the needs of national security, of social and economic progress at home, and of our responsibilities in the world.

By that test, the Eisenhower Administration has admitted that its fiscal policy is a failure. It has made it clear that because of the weakness of our fiscal structure we will hand over to the Soviet Union supremacy in intercontinental missiles. The President has abandoned his 1957 aid-for-school-construction bill not because the need for aid has disappeared but because his fiscal policies do not permit it. Some of his vetoes, such as the two vetoes of public works appropriations bills, were based on the contention that the country's fiscal structure could not support these expenditures, even though their need and desirability were acknowledged.

The illustrations could be multiplied. They add up to a confession by the Eisenhower Administration of the inadequacy of the fiscal structure which it has created.

Moreover, the Republicans have made the maintenance of this inadequate fiscal

structure their overriding concern. Their starting point, in developing the budget, has been whatever amount of revenue the fiscal system happens to be taking in currently. This amount is then allocated among competing demands.

Since the amount is insufficient, the Republican Administration assumes three attitudes:

First, it tries, when it can, to cover up the deficiencies and then deny them altogether.

Second, when it cannot cover up the deficiencies, the Administration denies, whenever possible, the Federal responsibility for doing anything about them.

Third, where Federal responsibility cannot be denied, then the Administration throws up its hands and pleads poverty.

We reject all of these attitudes. We believe that the deficiencies in our national security and in our society generally should be brought into the light of day and analyzed, and the costs assessed. Then the necessary money should be provided.

We believe the money can be provided. With a sound long-range program for full economic expansion, it can be provided without deficit spending, even under existing tax rates. It can be provided through a combination of four approaches.

First, end the waste in the expenditure side of the budget. The most conspicuous unnecessary item in the budget is, of course, the excessive cost of interest on the national debt. Most of this excessive cost can be avoided by reversing the unsound and unnecessary high-interest-rate policies of the Republican Administration. Courageous action to end duplication and competition among the Armed services will achieve additional huge savings which can be redirected to more urgent military needs. The soaring costs of the agricultural program can be sharply reduced while at the same time restoring prosperity to the nation's farmers.

Second, collect the taxes which are owed to the Government. The Internal

Revenue Commissioner himself has testified that more than \$26 billion of income every year is unreported, and that "several billion dollars" of revenues are lost annually because the Internal Revenue Service does not even have the staff to verify mathematically all returns or audit more than a small and decreasing fraction of them. The Internal Revenue Service is still suffering from the meat-axe cut of 3000 enforcement personnel leveled at it by the Eisenhower Administration in its first year in office. Experience shows that each person added to the enforcement staff pays his salary more than 10 times over within a few months after the date he is employed. Enforcement personnel should be added until the Treasury obtains the "several billion dollars" a year that tax evaders are now permitted to get away with.

Third, close the loopholes in the tax laws. We are gratified that the House Ways and Means Committee is now undertaking an intensive study of loopholes and inequities in the tax laws. Among the more conspicuous loopholes are high depletion allowances on oil and gas wells, special consideration for recipients of dividend income, and deductions for extravagant business expenditures which have reached scandalous proportions. Some of these loopholes can be closed easily, others less easily, but the objective of equity should not be denied simply because the necessary legislation and rules may be difficult to write.

Fourth, expand the economy. If the United States can be put back on the road of steady and constant economic growth, as discussed earlier in this document, then revenues will rise proportionately. Over the next five years, an average annual 5 per cent economic growth rate would yield at least \$15 billion more public revenues per year than the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent growth rate averaged since 1953.

There are two ways to set about trying to balance the Federal budget. One is the way of repression and depression -- to make everything smaller -- and try to balance both the Federal budget and the American economy at low levels of activity. The Republican Party is committed to this method -- and the record shows it won't

work. The other way is the way of expansion and prosperity -- to make things grow -- and to balance both the Federal budget and the American economy at high levels of activity. The Democratic Party is committed to this approach -- and the record shows it will work.

The four-point program above calls for sacrifice from no American citizens, except the tax evaders and the favored groups who are now carrying less than their fair share. We believe it would produce enough Government revenues to meet essential needs and some to spare. We have been so grossly underutilizing our productive resources that meeting these essential needs will merely substitute jobs for unemployment and substitute fully active plants for substantially idle plants. A fully employed and fully growing economy would have room for needed public programs, needed private economic programs and rising consumer living standards.

7. To Provide Adequately for the Education of Our Children.

The states and local communities of America have exerted themselves to expand their support of education in recent years. They must now do even more. But many of them cannot do all that must be done and financial assistance from the Federal Government has become imperative.

Since World War II American education has been propelled by a combination of massive forces into a new era of growth, change and challenge. The explosions of population and of knowledge -- the almost unbelievable breakthroughs of science and technology -- the world-wide revolution of human expectations -- the menacing contest between democracy and communism -- these forces have compounded the educational needs of this nation and every nation. They have required the American people to revise their educational sights sharply upward.

Several Administration-sponsored studies have proposed various measures for Federal enactment. Yet the Administration's response has been to move in the

opposite direction. It has withdrawn even the proposal for aid to school construction it presented some years ago, and the President in vetoing the housing bill singled out for particular castigation the provision which would have expanded the college housing loan program to provide modest aid for construction of academic facilities.

Even in a world at peace it would be priority business for our free society to help every young person develop his full potentialities through education. In a world threatened by the aggressive challenge of the Soviet Union, education becomes a means for national survival as well. The world struggle between freedom and communism has become a battle of brainpower. All citizens, not only scientists and engineers, are in the front lines.

The main financial responsibility -- and certainly the control of curriculum -- must remain with state and local school authorities. But the Federal government must now share the burden. Mindful that federal aid cannot and must not relieve the states from their primary responsibility, we recommend a minimum program to fulfill the federal role to include, initially, the following specific actions:

1. A program of basic Federal financial support to assist in meeting local school needs. High priority should be accorded Federal grants for construction of public elementary and secondary schools to meet the alarming classroom shortage;

2. A federally supported scholarship program, as well as an adequate loan program, to help able but needy students to acquire a college education. Our goal is that no qualified boy or girl be denied an education for purely financial reasons;

3. A program to help colleges and universities prepare their physical facilities to handle tremendously high enrollment increases.

4. An expanded program of federal scholarships for teacher education;

5. A program to encourage and advance research for the development of new educational resources, techniques, and methods;

6. Adult education and retraining are basic needs of our readjustment to the great changes of our day. Federal aid and planning are sorely needed in this area;

7. A vitalized and expanded Department of Health, Education and Welfare is needed to plan and assert America's educational renaissance.

We urge the withdrawal of the oath of disclaimer now required under the scholarship program of the National Defense Education Act.

8. To Bring Improved Health Services to More People.

The United States still leads the world in scientific advance in the field of medical care, but we are lagging behind other countries in distributing the benefits of advanced medical knowledge among our people.

A consultant group to the Surgeon General has called for construction of 20 to 24 new medical schools and expansion of existing schools in order to step up medical training by 50 per cent and has stated that Federal aid to this end is essential. The Surgeon General himself said that the only question is whether the estimate is too low. We agree with the consultants' comment that "This expansion must be undertaken at once. Delay will only magnify the problem." Furthermore, we must encourage medical research.

The construction of hospitals and related facilities has likewise fallen far behind our needs. Yet the Republican Administration has repeatedly sought to reduce appropriations under the Hill-Burton Act for hospital construction. These appropriations should be raised, not lowered, to a level that will keep pace with the readiness of communities to raise their share of hospital construction funds.

The total cost of caring for 750,000 mental patients is over \$3 billion a year, yet the Federal Government is spending only about \$18 million for all of its psychiatric training programs. This program should be expanded.

Even if the United States had enough doctors and hospitals, the dollar barrier to adequate medical care would still remain. Private health insurance is out of reach for much of the population, particularly those whose medical needs are greatest -- the aged. Millions of American families are in debt for medical care, and millions more defer treatment because of the fear of debt. Provision must be made to bring adequate medical care within the reach of all our people.

As a start in distributing medical care more widely, hospital and surgical care should be added to the benefits provided social security beneficiaries, financed by an increase in payroll tax collections. Loans to local comprehensive health insurance cooperatives should also be authorized.

9. To Achieve the Goal of a Decent Home for Every American Family.

As the Nation faces the expected growth in family formation in the 1960's, it is faced with the necessity of either doubling the annual rate of house production -- to a level of about 2 million units a year -- or "doubling up." It is also faced with the necessity to proceed rapidly with slum clearance and urban renewal.

Three Democratic housing bills in 1959 were further proof that the Democratic Party is committed to the national policy of a decent home for every American family, in communities free from slums and blight. And two Republican housing vetoes were further proof that Republican policy is to keep housing in short supply and to offer little more than token assistance to slum clearance and urban renewal.

The Administration's negative approach has led to declining production, inflated prices for houses in short supply, mortgage interest rates at usurious levels, and short-sighted efforts to abdicate Federal responsibility for urban renewal assistance to hard-pressed communities.

The Housing Act of 1959, which the Democratic Congress salvaged from Republican vetoes, should be supplemented to include:

Action to restore a high and rising level of private building.

A stepped-up program of slum clearance and urban renewal, with a long-term commitment by the Federal Government.

An expansion of programs designed to assist in the relocation of families and businesses displaced by urban renewal, highway construction and other governmental activities.

Authorization of as many new public housing units as local communities are prepared to utilize.

A program of housing for moderate-income families whose incomes are too high for admission to public housing, but too low to enable them to obtain decent shelter in the private market.

A comprehensive program of research and credit assistance to meet the housing needs of American farm families. The Democratic Party has long been committed to the objective of raising the housing standards of rural America, which contains residential blight as severe as that which exists in urban areas. The Republican Administration, in keeping with its general policy of running family-sized farmers off the land, has ignored and crippled the farm housing programs enacted under Democratic leadership. It is our firm and unequivocal position to reverse this trend completely.

10. To Develop and Conserve Our Nation's Resources.

The Republican policy of "no new starts" in resource development has created a critical situation in the orderly utilization and development of our national wealth. It has placed us at a disadvantage both in providing for our own needs, and in the important economic competition with the Soviets.

The Federal Power Commission estimates that we must increase electric energy output over threefold by 1980. Demand for minerals, timber and other resources

will increase in similar fashion as will the demands on our national parks and national forests for recreational and sporting purposes.

Our greatest danger of long-term economic inflation lies in shortages of goods, and ability to produce goods, resulting from current unwise and uncoordinated false economy in needed resource development and conservation activities.

To reverse this trend and to provide logical and needed resource development, we should establish continuing agencies in the executive and legislative branches of the Government which will provide the nation with annual appraisals of each of our necessary resources, including recreational facilities.

Water conservation and storage programs must be speeded up, since the best available estimates of our water needs by 1980 show an increase in demand by industry, agriculture and homes in our Eastern states of more than three times, and in our Western states of more than fifty percent.

We must reinvigorate our soil conservation programs which the Republicans have allowed to languish.

We must have a water pollution control program commensurate with our needs.

We must have a minerals program which will assure the nation necessary raw materials for an expanding economy and any emergency through (a) adequate stockpiles (b) maintenance in operable condition of inactive mines which may become essential to our defense or economic well-being, (c) maintenance of a healthy domestic mining industry, (d) intensive research on new methods of locating mineral deposits as proposed by a committee of the National Science Foundation, and (e) reestablishing research programs aimed at developing substitutes necessary to meet our material needs, and new uses for minerals, such as the work on production of petroleum products from coal and shale discontinued by the Eisenhower Administration.

A national wilderness system, not exclusive of sound long-range resource development, and a system of lake and seashore recreation areas should be established.

National forest road improvement and management programs should be intensified to make increased timber available now and in the future.

A Youth Conservation Corps should be established.

The United States must develop giant electric energy systems to assure an abundance of energy at low cost. To this end, the Federal Government should:

a. Build transmission facilities needed to interconnect regional power systems permitting them to take advantage of diversity in peak loads and operate at most economical levels.

b. Immediately start hydro-electric power projects needed to meet sky-rocketing energy requirements in all areas of the nation.

c. Accelerate delayed Federal experimentation on development of practicable atomic generating stations.

Scientists predict that by 1980 problem number one of the United States is likely to be fresh water, not only in the West but also in the East. It is already a problem in many of the arid, underdeveloped countries of the world whose progress we seek to promote. Within the foreseeable future, demands for fresh water are likely to exceed recoverable supplies from rainfall and we will be obliged to look to the oceans. A Democratic President would develop a national water policy. His administration would give a high priority not only to the conservation and development of fresh water resources in the United States, but also to adequate research and development of low-cost means for converting sea water and brackish water into fresh water and reestablish research and investigation of interbasin exchanges of water.

These are the kinds of measures needed to make America strong -- measures required for survival as a great nation in the years ahead. They will never be taken on an adequate scale by small-visioned Republicans. Bold and imaginative -- as well as practical -- leadership is required to make full use of our God-given resources. For this kind of leadership the nation now -- as always in the past -- must look to the Democratic Party.

11. To Help the Cities of America Meet Problems Beyond Their Means.

The United States, like much of the rest of the world, is experiencing unprecedented growth of population and the expansion is taking place almost wholly on the edges of our cities. A nation once predominantly rural is now 85 per cent urban, with an evergrowing need for urban services.

Yet our cities and their suburbs, overwhelmed by problems of growth, are finding the elemental needs of urban life -- like pure water, easy transportation, opportunities for wholesome recreation, even law and order -- increasingly difficult to provide with the financial resources and administrative structures which are available to them.

While local governments are frustrated in the solution of these problems, the national government has no plan, no program, not even a philosophy as to what, if anything should be done about it. Yet these problems are a meaningful area for Federal action.

As an initial step, we recommend the establishment of a comprehensive national Commission to survey the needs of the country's metropolitan areas and determine whether the Federal Government should take a more active role, especially in coping with such inter-state and regional problems as water supply, commuter transportation, air purification, and recreational facilities.

In the meantime, the Federal Government should strengthen rather than weaken programs of Federal aid now in operation, including urban renewal, hospital construction and stream pollution control. Also, programs should be initiated in the fields of education and juvenile delinquency control.

12. To Furnish Leadership in the Advance Toward the Full Enjoyment of Civil Rights.

The responsibility for translating constitutional rights from theory into reality does not rest exclusively with the Judiciary or with the Congress. Leader-

ship and a desire to faithfully execute existing laws must come from the President and his Attorney General. And the Congress must reevaluate and build upon past accomplishments.

We support Federal action along the following lines:

Vigorous exercise by the Attorney General of his existing powers to guarantee all persons their civil rights, including especially the right to vote.

Extension of the Attorney General's powers to initiate civil injunction suits to provide equal protection under the law to all persons.

Legislation to ensure that Federal officials have available effective means to protect the right to vote in Federal elections.

Federal financial and technical assistance to local communities which are proceeding to integrate their public school systems in compliance with the law.

13. To Create a Climate in Which Small and Independent Business Can Prosper.

The American ideal of free enterprise by small and independent business men has almost been forgotten during the last seven years. The Republican Administration has made it so hard for small business that only one enterprise out of every two started today has a chance of lasting more than two years.

In reversing the high-interest policy of the Republican Administration, a Democratic President will ease the tight-money squeeze that is now forcing so many small businesses into bankruptcy.

The new sources of long-term credit and equity capital opened up for small businesses by the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 have been restricted, diminished and rendered ineffective by unsympathetic regulations and rulings of the Small Business Administration. This negative approach must be reversed.

Continuing work is urgently needed to ensure that a larger and more equitable share of the Nation's defense contracts is allotted to the small and medium sized business firms in all parts of the nation.

14. To Bring Prosperity Back to the American Farmer.

To the American farmer, Republican control of the National Government has meant economic depression. Farm income is down 25 per cent since 1952. Farm purchasing power is at its lowest point since the 1930's. The rural depression of the 1950's has spread to many small businessmen, professional people, and workers in service trades and industries, whose economic base is agricultural income. The social institutions of many of our rural communities -- their churches, schools, local governments, the very lives and spirit of the people -- are withering under the deepening pall of agricultural depression.

Six Republican vetoes of Democratic farm bills have thrown the American farmer and his family into deeper economic distress. They are:

1. The 1956 Democratic farm bill, which would have maintained pre-Eisenhower levels of farm price supports accompanied by supply control;
2. The 1958 "freeze" resolution to prevent further cuts in price supports, which would have averted the severe 15 per cent slash in this year's total net farm income;
3. The 1959 wheat bill, which would have prevented further surplus accumulations, reduced government costs, and raised wheat prices;
4. The 1959 tobacco bill, which would have strengthened the successful tobacco supply management program and maintained a more competitive position for American tobacco in world markets;
5. The Area Redevelopment bill, which would have made a determined attack against the major areas of rural poverty by helping to create new jobs in rural areas;

6. The bill to free the Rural Electrification Administration from political domination by the Secretary of Agriculture.

Similarly, the Republican Administration has vetoed by administrative edict the mandates of Democratic Congresses to utilize our abundant food supplies, both at home and abroad, and to help the farmers. Authorizations to distribute food for school lunches and to welfare institutions and needy families have been inadequately fulfilled, despite growing surpluses. The Administration has already announced it will refuse to put into effect the food stamp program authorized by Congress this year.

Republican policies have been very costly to American taxpayers. In just six years, the Secretary of Agriculture has spent more than \$31 billion -- more in just six years than all his predecessors in that office had spent since it was created 97 years ago! The size of the commodity surplus in Government hands has multiplied by over seven times to almost \$8 billion. His payroll has swelled from 65,000 employees in 1952 to 85,000 in 1959.

The ultimate effect of the Republican farm policies is to make farm programs unpopular and to drive the small, independent farmer out of business -- substituting for him large corporate farms and either turning him into a farm wage hand or forcing him into the cities to look for work.

The Republican Administration has persistently pictured our agricultural surpluses as a liability and misfortune. This is short-sighted propaganda directed against the American farmer. It is just as important for a nation to have ready stocks of food as to have stockpiles of metals or machine tools. For preventing hunger abroad and for coping with possible emergencies at home, our food surpluses are a resource and a major source of strength.

Our present agricultural abundance, far from being a curse, offers splendid opportunities to this nation such as no country in all the world's history has ever enjoyed. Most immediate is the opportunity to assure every one of our own

people enough to eat and to use. America's enormous capacity to produce food is a major asset in our effort to construct a peaceful and free world.

Working with the United Nations, study should be given to additional means of coordinating the production and utilization of agricultural commodities in this and other countries with a view to making the most effective use of the resources of each country.

Even with the broadest food utilization programs that can be devised, however, the probability will remain that supplies will over-balance total demand for some years to come. Justice to farmers demands that they be enabled to protect themselves and their livelihood.

Farmers deserve to be provided with programs, which can be put into effect by the choice of a substantial majority of the producers of the commodity directly affected, for adjusting supplies to conform to the nation's real needs. Such mechanisms for controlling supplies at the instance of farmers themselves can greatly reduce and at times actually eliminate the unreasonable and senseless burden upon taxpayers of the present Republican farm program.

These farmer-controlled programs should be accompanied by income supplements, and by other programs needed to guarantee adequate reserves. We must have sufficient supplies to meet the needs in excess of effective market demand during periods of recession and depression.

Programs conforming to these principles should be available to all family-scale farmers and ranchers. Our objective for farm people is reasonable equality of income-earning opportunity with other Americans.

15. To Promote Security and Dignity for the Aged.

Americans can no longer ignore the fact that while increasing millions of men and women in the United States live longer after retirement, they are denied the conditions that make the added years worth living. The aged -- 65 and over -- now

number 16 million; will reach 21 million by 1970, and over 26 million -- one out of every 8 persons in our population -- by 1980. And this is the age group that bears a disproportionately large burden of poverty, illness, poor living conditions, loneliness, and neglect.

Accordingly, the following lines of action should have top priority in the immediate years ahead:

a. A substantial increase in Society Security benefits, with at least a 30% increase over the current minimum payment of \$33 a month.

b. Provision, through the Social Security System, of benefits to cover the increasing costs of adequate health care for retired beneficiaries and eligible dependents.

c. Revision of the OASI "retirement test" to allow part-time work to supplement regular OASI benefits up to an amount necessary to maintain a decent standard of living.

d. The blanketing-in to the Social Security System of all persons in covered occupations who are already retired.

e. The outlawing of age-discrimination in employment in all Federal contracts.

f. Expansion of public preventive health programs to all persons over 60.

g. Appropriation and use of the full amount authorized by the Housing Act of 1959 for housing for the elderly.

h. Creation of an Older Persons Bureau in the Executive Branch.

16. To Wipe Out Excessive and Chronic Unemployment.

The nation must face the fact that in recent years, even in times of relative prosperity, the volume of unemployment is intolerably high. And with the advance of automation, more and more workers are being displaced on a labor market that has already far too many persons looking for work.

As Democrats, we renew our pledge to give meaning to the Employment Act of 1946, whose promise of "maximum employment, production and purchasing power" has been so casually disregarded by the Republican Administration.

The area redevelopment bill, vetoed by the President in 1958 at a heavy cost of suffering to the unemployed and economic loss to the whole nation, is again on its way through the Congress, and should be enacted into law. We are unwilling to see our fellow citizens forced to endure idleness in communities hard hit by economic misfortune not of their own making. This legislation which would provide low-interest loans to private industry to create jobs in these areas, build needed public facilities, and retrain workers is urgently needed.

The provisions in the bill which make areas of rural underemployment equally eligible for benefits should be retained.

For communities not in the "depressed area" category, a dynamic expanding economy is the basic solution to excess unemployment. Yet even with a high rate of economic growth, employment problems remain among the poorly-educated, the unskilled, the older workers, and workers displaced through automation and other industrial dislocations. Programs of vocational training and retraining need to be stepped up in order that available workers can be matched with available jobs.

17. To Assist All Americans in Distress to Achieve a Decent Minimum

Standard of Living.

It has become commonplace to say that in our rich land no family goes hungry, but unhappily that is not the case. At the bottom of the income scale are millions of families whose incomes are insufficient to provide even basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. It is a special shame upon the Republican Administration that it has turned its back upon these families who most need the help of their Government.

Millions of persons work for poverty wages. For them, the minimum wage law

should be extended in coverage, and the floor raised from \$1 to \$1.25 an hour.

Perhaps the most underprivileged group in our whole society is migrant labor. A comprehensive program should be enacted to assure these families not only of decent wages but of minimum standards of health, housing, Social Security protection, education, and welfare services.

Even with maximum employment, there will still be a minimum of unemployed. The unemployment compensation system, which collapsed last year under the impact of recession, should be shored up through the enactment of national standards. And those whose unemployment compensation has expired should be made eligible for federally-aided public assistance. It makes no sense that public aid be limited to those persons who are unemployable.

Persons who are permanently and totally disabled cannot at present receive social security until they reach age 50. This limitation should be removed.

These measures will not erase entirely the curse of poverty from our land. But they will eradicate much of it. The Democratic Party must not rest until the job is completed.

18. To Develop the Cultural and Artistic Life of the Nation.

The growth and flourishing of the arts depend upon freedom, imagination and individual initiative. We believe that the encouragement of creative activity in the performance and practice of the arts, and of a widespread participation in, and appreciation of, the arts is essential to the general welfare. We also believe that the arts will play an increasingly important role in the lives of our citizens, and that the encouragement of the arts, although primarily a matter for private and local initiative, is an appropriate matter of concern to the Federal Government.

There should be a Federal advisory agency, as provided in several bills now pending before Congress, with general authority to assist in formulating plans to

develop the cultural resources of the United States, and to promote general appreciation of the beauty and educational value of works of art, literary and musical compositions and of the contribution of performing artists in all fields.

Many great libraries, museums and art galleries in different parts of the country are accessible to the public without cost, due, in most instances, to the munificence of private benefactors. Private donors have brought to our country important works of art produced over the ages, and have taken leading parts in encouraging American artists. A central agency is needed to foster the use of the materials already available and to enlarge the opportunities to give every American citizen a happier way of life.

Legislation providing incentives for those who have the talent to produce cultural assets for the nation should be enacted by Congress to supplement measures in this field providing scholarships and interchanges of scholars with other countries.

19. To Restore Integrity to U. S. Administrative Agencies.

No dereliction of the Republican Administration has been more serious than the spread of apathy and corruption in the Federal administrative agencies — agencies which under our system are the right arm of sound and wise government. Few if any of the agencies now function properly. Some have become the handmaidens of the very industries they regulate. We call for a complete and thorough-going investigation of these agencies by the Congress looking toward the elimination of inadequate or corrupt administration and preparing the way for sound and enduring reform to protect the public interest.

20. To Repair our National Defense and Make Progress In Space.

Nothing more clearly demonstrates the need for a Democratic President in 1961 than the decline in the military security of this country since 1953.

When Mr. Truman left the Presidency America was the preeminent power in the

world. We now find ourselves out-stripped by the Russians in important forms of modern armament. We are also far behind in the exploration of outer space, which may well have similar significance for the power balance of the world that the voyages of discovery had for the nations of Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries.

According to the Administration's own admission on present expectations the next three years will give the Russians a superiority of three to one over the United States in inter-continental ballistic missiles. Even with great effort, it will be many years before we can exceed the current huge payloads the Russians have shot into space. In fact, all of our shots combined have failed to put into space as great a payload as the Russians did on a single occasion earlier this year. And our capability for defense in limited wars has been seriously reduced.

We have been cast into this grave position because the Republicans believe money to be more important than the military security of our country. In 1953, in order to make possible an improvident tax reduction promised by the Republicans in the 1952 campaign, they cut seven billion dollars from the defense monies which had been recommended by the Truman Administration, most of which cut was taken from funds for the procurement and development of new weapons. The resulting lag in our air, missile, and space programs soon became evident when the Russians demonstrated they were making more rapid advances than expected in their own strategic forces. The Republicans then decided to concentrate their defense cuts on the Army and the Marine Corps. The resulting reduction in our capacity to fight with anything but nuclear weapons forced upon the Republican Administration the "new look" in U. S. strategy. This switch was announced in the proclamation of the dangerous -- and now discredited -- massive retaliation doctrine. At the very time when the Russians were getting the jump on us in nuclear missiles, the Republican Administration announced that a massive nuclear war was the only kind we would "choose" to fight.

While the Republican money managers have been paring vital programs in the

defense budget, the Republican managers of public opinion have been assuring the American people that our defense effort is adequate. Information has been censored, books have been banned, misleading statements have been made. Even proven shortcomings have been glossed over by the assurance that a soldier in the White House would never let us fall behind the Soviets.

But now, a series of Russian successes and American failures, coupled with the evident progress of Russian power diplomacy, has proven the point beyond a doubt: the Republicans have done a second-rate, second-best job that could cost us more in freedom and national security than can possibly be measured in money. One has but to read the testimony of distinguished military leaders, such as General Maxwell Taylor, Admiral Arleigh Burke, and General Bernard Schriever, to see the palpable falseness of Republican claims that all is well with our defenses. Two Chiefs of Staff, a Director of Research and Development and the head of the Redstone Arsenal have asked to be retired rather than be charged with responsibilities without the means to execute them.

It will not be easy, nor will it be cheap, to recover from the errors of the past seven years. In a pamphlet entitled "The Military Forces We Need and How to Get Them", we have dealt with these issues rigorously and in detail.

The first task of a Democratic President will be to appraise our national security needs and secure from the Congress the authority and the funds, in addition to present levels if need be, that are necessary to:

(a) establish and maintain deterrent military power of such character that the Sino-Soviet leaders will have no doubt that an attack on the United States would surely be followed by their own destruction.

(b) provide adequate military forces in being, of a conventional non-nuclear nature, capable of fulfilling our commitments abroad to deal effectively with so-called "brush-fire" wars and limited breaches of world peace.

(c) conduct a thorough-going weapon-systems evaluation to weed out obsolete weapons on which we are now spending billions unnecessarily.

(d) reorganize the defense and space organizations, so that money now wasted in duplication and inefficiency can be used to procure the weapons we need and the men we need to use them.

Only a Democratic President, unfettered by the mistakes of the past seven years, will be able to shape policies geared to the needs of the age of nuclear power and space, and thus establish a defense program adequate to our country's needs.

21. To Restore Our Position of Leadership Among the Nations.

This statement is issued at a moment when the President is embarked on an extended good-will trip. The hopes of all Americans for the success of his mission go with him. Americans are undivided in their dedication to the progress of world peace with justice. Peace is not a partisan issue. Any attempt by Republican or Democrat to make partisan capital of peace is deceitful, damaging and dangerous.

The legitimate debate is not over ends but means -- the policies which will produce the conditions most likely to secure the just and lasting peace which all Americans seek. The record of the Republican Administration in foreign policy reveals erratic policy switches which have sadly damaged America's strength and prestige.

The Republican record divides into three general phases -- the first two comprising the six years under the ascendancy of the late Secretary Dulles, and the remaining interval with the President more in the foreground and more or less in charge. The prevailing tone has altered from one phase to the next, but the underlying characteristics have remained much the same -- a reluctance to grasp the true requirements of American power, a failure on the President's part to form

policy with a strategic sense, and a preference for the soft slogan.

When the Republicans sought office in 1952, we were promised a new, bold and dynamic foreign policy to be based upon the slogans of repudiating the wartime agreements with the Soviet Union, the liberation of the satellites, and the unleashing of Chiang Kai-shek. We were going to "seize the initiative". Mr. Dulles explained how these feats would be brought off at a bargain: "Those who don't believe that results can be achieved by moral pressure, by the weight of propaganda, don't know what they are talking about." Merchandising supplied the guidelines. Slogans instead of realities became the ruling considerations. The true considerations of purpose and action were made secondary. Public opinion was dealt with, not as a creative force to be formed and led, but as a factor to be manipulated. Salesmanship, slogans and packaging were put ahead of statesmanship and policies.

By 1954 it was evident that the "bold new policy of seizing the initiative" bore no relation to reality. Instead of our being able to move forward toward an enduring peace, our growing diplomatic and military weakness encouraged our enemies to press us more insistently. Mr. Dulles then developed a new approach -- the technique of brinkmanship. No longer were we to press forward -- we were to preserve the status quo by a willingness to blunder closer to the brink of nuclear war. It called for extreme rigidity in our relations with the U.S.S.R. It foreclosed the possibility of meaningful negotiations. This was the foreign policy counterpart of the strategy of massive retaliation. It reflected our unwillingness to support the political effort and the expenditures for conventional forces required to back up any more sensible policy. It depended for its hoped-for successes upon our maintaining a clear cut predominance over the Soviet Union in nuclear armaments. Brinkmanship, dubious at its inception, was totally discredited when Sputnik demonstrated the Soviet scientific lead in missiles.

With the collapse of brinkmanship, the Administration had no clear view of what to do next. It was unwilling to face up to the cause of its difficulties, the substitution of slogans and phrases for policy and action. It no longer saw how it could reverse our growing political, military and economic weakness in relation to our enemies. It had lost the will to action necessary to restore the foundation of a sound foreign policy.

At this point Mr. Khrushchev threatened a blockade of Berlin. The Communists also demonstrated that there were a number of other points at which they could bring serious pressure against the free world -- Quemoy, Matsu, Laos, India, Afghanistan, Iraq, Africa, and now Cuba.

In June of this year Mr. Eisenhower was warning us that a meeting at the summit would be dangerous. But a further turn of the screw at Geneva and Mr. Eisenhower totally reversed himself and even proposed an exchange of visits with Mr. Khrushchev. Having too long accepted a position of second best the Republicans have been forced into the path of negotiation against their will, under unfavorable circumstances and with no clear idea as to how they propose to achieve peace with justice through negotiation.

The inescapable truth is that this country has been challenged by the Soviet Union to engage in a struggle of competitive coexistence. The Democratic Party recognizes, as it has always recognized, that the Soviet Union is determined to refuse the right of self-determination to captive nations and in the long run to replace the free nations by a system of communism. All negotiations with the Soviet Union must take place against the background of this unalterable purpose of the Soviet Union.

Whether Khrushchev will succeed in this purpose depends upon our ability and our willingness to take up the challenge of competitive coexistence. Our foreign policy should be far more than slogans, speeches and reassurances. Our foreign policy is basically a matter of our national strength, our national effort and our

national will and ideals of human justice.

The Soviet Union challenges us in the development of nuclear weapons and armed forces; it challenges us in the outreach of mankind to conquer space; it challenges us in the race to create decent living standards for the millions who live in the low income countries; it challenges us to develop and maintain an international system that is stronger, more dedicated to human values, and swifter in its march toward true social justice than the Communist alternative holds itself out to be.

If we surpass the Soviet Union in these fields of human endeavor, our foreign policy will be meaningful and our search for peace can be successful. If we fall behind; if we yield to the Soviet Union in this global competition, no negotiations, no agreements with our adversary, if they are ever achieved, will serve to protect us. Bit by bit, we shall lose our position of leadership, our allies and friends, and eventually our ability to protect our freedom and our way of life from the aggressive thrusts of communist power.

In this great competition the stakes are higher even than our own national survival; the stakes are, in effect, the very heritage of human freedom. The responsibility of this age has fallen on us because without our resources, our technical competence and our strength of political tradition, the other free nations alone would not be strong enough to make the fight. If, however, we succeed, we will succeed only as one of a community of free nations; if we fail we will bring down the other free nations with us. This is particularly true in our efforts to deal with the problems of the underdeveloped countries and of our trade policies of which GATT is the cornerstone.

Thus our foreign policy must be a policy of coalition -- of a mighty association of the free. It must mingle power and strength with understanding of others; national self-interest with the self-interest of other nations, firmness with humanitarianism and charity.

The Democratic Party pledges itself to the only sound road to peace -- to a revival and reawakening of our purpose and national power, for the creation of a

closely-linked society of free nations, capable of besting the Soviet Union in the total competition to which it has challenged the free peoples of the world.

This is the only sure road to peace because it alone recognizes the truth of the international situation. It alone is beyond the reach of debate, or propaganda, or breach of faith.

The Republican Party has shown itself lacking in understanding and willingness to make the necessary effort to meet the Communist challenge to survival in freedom. Good-will tours are an inadequate substitute for solid policies and programs designed to achieve the real conditions of peace.

## 22. To Lead the Search for Peace.

The end sought by the foreign policy of a Democracy is to assure a just peace. The most important issue in the world today is the issue of peace. The search for peace is more urgent than ever in this age of nuclear weapons, for a Third World War may destroy civilization. And the Democratic Party, as always is committed to the search for peace.

Let no one deceive himself: the road to peace is long, torturous and difficult. Peace cannot be magically achieved by a parley at the summit, nor can it be guaranteed by signatures at the bottom of a statement of pious principles. We see no possibility of a once-and-for-all settlement among heads of state which will relieve Americans of the burden of continuing international responsibility.

Nevertheless, we Democrats affirm our profound conviction that the pursuit of justice and of peace must never flag. We are determined to achieve the preconditions of peace and to bring closer to reality this deepest aspiration of mankind.

The world is in a constant process of change and communist states are no more exempt from this inexorable condition than are free states. Western policy must be oriented, not just to meeting, but to influencing and guiding, changes in the world situation. We believe the condition of change provides opportunities and that new challenges call for new responses.

We must keep open the lines of communication with our opponents. People can appreciate the difficulties in the way to peaceful agreement but they expect every avenue to be aggressively explored. While political leadership has a responsibility to explore the possibilities of meetings at the summit, it also has a responsibility to inform the people honestly of what it believes can reasonably be expected from diplomatic conferences at all levels.

But new departures in foreign policy are accompanied by perils as well as by opportunities. We steadfastly oppose, for example, any retreat from our fundamental commitments in Berlin. And to permit the Communist world to achieve superiority in military power could be disastrous to the cause of peace. At the same time, as peace is our greatest goal, the achieving of disarmament with inspection and control should have top priority in our policy.

Above all, we should not permit the Communist world to usurp the role of peacemaker. The Republicans permitted Mr. Khrushchev to take from us the mantle of leadership which we had for so long held in proposals for disarmament. Our government has apparently accepted the necessity of negotiating within a frame of reference set by the Soviets. We should test the sincerity of Soviet intentions by concrete proposals of our own for effective disarmament, each step toward which to be guaranteed by reliable, inspected and enforced procedures under the aegis of the United Nations.

We are not afraid to have the United States raise the banner of idealism. We hope that a just and enduring peace will become the all-pervading purpose of the foreign policy of the United States and that disarmament, as one of the necessary steps toward peace, will become a major item in all the diplomacy of our country and at all the meetings in which our country will take part -- in the meetings of the ten-country Disarmament Committee to start at the beginning of next year, in the discussions in the United Nations, and in the summit and other high-level meetings of the future. We hope and expect that the National Peace Agency we have

recommended will be established promptly to further this cause.

Foreign policy, to be effective, must be underwritten by performance. It is not enough to perceive a change in world affairs; it is rash and reckless to suppose that this change justifies unilateral disarmament through budget cuts in our military power, cutting back of our overseas responsibilities and concentration of national attention on lesser concerns. The Eisenhower Administration, by failing to inform us about the realities and to prepare for the problems of the coming epoch, has invited disaster for our nation and the Free World.

The Democratic Party has the energy and determination to maintain our own national growth and strength, and at the same time the bold idealism to achieve a sound reduction of world tensions and solid steps toward world peace.

#### THE YEAR AHEAD

We Democrats are faced with serious responsibilities in the year which lies ahead. We are faced with the responsibility of being a constructive opposition party. We are faced with the responsibility of attaining whatever is attainable in the face of Republican Congressional obstruction and the irascible vetoes of a tired President. But we are also faced with the duty of stating our own alternatives to the Republican drift. We are faced with the duty of facing our urgent problems and stating them in real-life size, of pulling them from behind the Madison Avenue curtain into full view of our people. We have the responsibility of giving the voters a clear choice in 1960 and of making it plain what that choice is.

This document lists some of the things which we believe are wrong in our nation and it outlines some of the steps which we believe should be undertaken to correct them.

We hope it will help the American people to see more clearly some of the facts of life facing us in this nation and in this world. We hope it will arouse

indignation over past fumbles and failures and restore a sense of national purpose and urgency. We hope finally that it will drown out the uncertain trumpets of the Republican Administration with a resolute chorus of determination to roll up our sleeves and get on with the big jobs which need to be done for survival, for security, and for a better America in a world at peace.

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