



1 **Terrorism and Nuclear Proliferation**

2 The attacks of 9/11 were a pivot point in our national experience. They highlighted the failure of  
3 national policy to recognize and respond to the growth of a global terror network. They should have  
4 put an end to the Democrats’ naive thinking that international terrorists could be dealt with within the  
5 normal criminal justice system, but that misconception persists.

6 The gravest threat we face – nuclear terrorism – demands a comprehensive strategy for reducing the  
7 world’s nuclear stockpiles and preventing proliferation. The U.S. should lead that effort by reducing  
8 the size of our nuclear arsenal to the lowest number consistent with our security requirements and  
9 working with other nuclear powers to do the same. In cooperation with other nations, we should end  
10 the production of fissile material, improve our collective ability to interdict the spread of weapons of  
11 mass destruction and related materials, and ensure the highest possible security standards for existing  
12 nuclear materials wherever they may be located.

13 But that is not enough. We must develop and deploy both national and theater missile defenses to  
14 protect the American homeland, our people, our armed forces abroad, and our allies. Effective,  
15 layered missile defenses are critical to guard against the unpredictable actions of rogue regimes and  
16 outlaw states, reduce the possibility of strategic blackmail, and avoid the disastrous consequences of  
17 an accidental or unauthorized launch by a foreign power.

18 **Better Intelligence – the Key to Prevention**

19 Intelligence is America’s first line of defense. We must increase the ranks and resources of our  
20 human intelligence capabilities, integrate the technical and human sources, and get that information  
21 more quickly to the warfighter and the policy maker. The multi-jurisdictional arrangements that now  
22 prevail on Capitol Hill should be replaced by a single with a Joint Committee on Intelligence.

23 ***Intelligence Key to Fighting Bioterrorism and Cyberterrorism***

24 Bioterrorism and cyberterrorism, once the stuff of science fiction films, are immediate threats to our  
25 nation’s health and safety. Our food and water distribution systems require special vigilance. By the  
26 same token, a well-placed cyber-attack could cripple our economy, shut down our energy and  
27 transportation systems, wreck our health care delivery systems, and put millions of lives at risk.  
28 Although our country has thwarted new terrorist attacks since 2001, those threats do persist. That is  
29 why our reform of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act was so vital, and why the Democrats’  
30 opposition to it was so wrong.

31 **Immigration, National Security, and the Rule of Law**

32 Immigration policy is a national security issue, for which we have one test: Does it serve the national  
33 interest? By that standard, Republicans know America can have a strong immigration system without  
34 sacrificing the rule of law.

1    ***Enforcing the Rule of Law at the Border and Throughout the Nation***

2    Border security is essential to national security. In an age of terrorism, drug cartels, and criminal  
3    gangs, allowing millions of unidentified persons to enter and remain in this country poses grave risks  
4    to the sovereignty of the United States and the security of its people. We simply must be able to track  
5    who is entering and leaving our country.

6    Our determination to uphold the rule of law begins with more effective enforcement, giving our  
7    agents the tools and resources they need to protect our sovereignty, completing the border fence  
8    quickly and securing the borders, and employing complementary strategies to secure our ports of  
9    entry. Experience shows that enforcement of existing laws is effective in reducing and reversing  
10   illegal immigration.

11   Our commitment to the rule of law means smarter enforcement at the workplace, against illegal  
12   workers and lawbreaking employers alike, along with those who traffic in fraudulent documents. As  
13   long as jobs are available in the United States, economic incentives to enter illegally will persist. But  
14   we must empower employers so they can know with confidence that those they hire are permitted to  
15   work. That means that E-Verify must be renewed and receive the federal government’s full support.  
16   It does not mean a national ID card.

17   The rule of law means guaranteeing to law enforcement the tools and coordination to deport criminal  
18   aliens without delay – and correcting court decisions that have made deportation so difficult. It  
19   means enforcing the law against those who overstay their visas, rather than letting millions flout the  
20   generosity that gave them temporary entry. It means imposing maximum penalties on those who  
21   smuggle illegal aliens into the U.S., both for their lawbreaking and for their cruel exploitation. It  
22   means requiring cooperation among federal, state and local law enforcement and real consequences  
23   for self-described sanctuary cities, which refuse to participate in what is an essential national security  
24   campaign. It does not mean driver’s licenses for illegal aliens, nor does it mean that states should be  
25   allowed to flout the federal law barring them from giving in-state tuition rates to illegal aliens.

26   We oppose amnesty. The rule of law suffers if government policies encourage or reward illegal  
27   activity. The American people’s rejection of en masse legalizations is especially appropriate given  
28   the federal government’s past failures to enforce the law.

29   ***Embracing Immigrant Communities***

30   Today’s immigrants are walking in the steps of most other Americans’ ancestors, seeking the  
31   American dream and contributing culturally and economically to our nation. We celebrate the  
32   industry and love of liberty of these fellow Americans.

33   Both government and the private sector must do more to foster legally present immigrants’  
34   integration into American life to advance respect for the rule of law and a common American  
35   identity. It is a national disgrace that the first experience most new Americans have is with a  
36   dysfunctional immigration bureaucracy defined by delay and confusion; we will no longer tolerate  
37   those failures.

1 In our multiethnic nation, everyone – immigrants and native-born alike – must embrace our core  
2 values of liberty, equality, meritocracy, and respect for human dignity and the rights of women.

3 Our common culture is based upon a common language – English – and every child must learn  
4 English to have the opportunity to succeed in America. English is the accepted language of business,  
5 commerce, and legal proceedings, and it is essential as a unifying cultural force. As such, it must be  
6 recognized and promoted by the federal government. It is also important, as part of cultural  
7 integration, that our schools provide better education in U.S. history and civics for all children,  
8 thereby fostering a commitment to our national motto, *E Pluribus Unum*.

9 We are grateful to the thousands of new immigrants, many of them not yet citizens, who are serving  
10 in the Armed Forces. Their patriotism is inspiring; it should remind the institutions of civil society of  
11 the need to embrace newcomers, assist their journey to full citizenship, and help their communities  
12 avoid patterns of isolation.

### 13 ***Welcoming Refugees***

14 Our country continues to accept refugees from troubled lands all over the world. In some cases, these  
15 are people who stood with America in dangerous times, and they have first call on our hospitality.  
16 We oppose, however, the granting of refugee status on the basis of lifestyle or other non-political  
17 factors

## 18 **Supporting Our Heroes**

19 Republican leadership, from the presidency to the Congress, has given America the best-manned,  
20 best-trained, best-equipped, and best-led military in the world. That is a radical change from the late  
21 1990's, when national defense was neglected and under-funded by the Clinton Administration. Our  
22 armed forces today are modern, agile, and adaptable to the unpredictable range of challenges in the  
23 years ahead. We pledge to keep them that way.

### 24 **Providing for the Armed Forces**

25 The men and women who wear our country's uniform – whether on active duty or in the Reserves or  
26 National Guard – are the most important assets in our military arsenal. They and their families must  
27 have the pay, health care, housing, education, and overall support they need. We must significantly  
28 increase the size of our Armed Forces; crucial to that goal will be retention of combat veterans.

29 Injured military personnel deserve the best medical care our country has to offer. The special  
30 circumstances of the conflict in Iraq have resulted in an unprecedented incidence of traumatic brain  
31 injury, which calls for a new commitment of resources and personnel for its care and treatment. We  
32 must make military medicine the gold standard for advances in prosthetics and the treatment of  
33 trauma and eye injuries.

1 We must always remember those who have given the ultimate sacrifice; their families must be  
2 assured meaningful financial assistance. It is the solemn duty and honor we give to those who  
3 bravely don the uniform of freedom.

#### 4 *National Guard and Reserves*

5 We pledge to maintain the strength of the National Guard and Reserves and to ensure they receive  
6 pay, benefits, and resources befitting their service. Their historic role as citizen-soldiers is a proud  
7 tradition linking every community with the cause of national security. We affirm service members'  
8 legal right to return to their civilian jobs, whether in government or in the private sector, when their  
9 active duty is completed, and we call for greater transition assistance from employers across the  
10 nation to smooth their return to the work force.

#### 11 *Personnel policies*

12 The all-volunteer force has been a success. We oppose reinstating the draft, whether directly or  
13 through compulsory national service. We support the advancement of women in the military and their  
14 exemption from ground combat units. Military priorities and mission must determine personnel  
15 policies. Esprit and cohesion are necessary for military effectiveness and success on the battlefield.  
16 To protect our servicemen and women and ensure that America's Armed Forces remain the best in  
17 the world, we affirm the timelessness of those values, the benefits of traditional military culture, and  
18 the incompatibility of homosexuality with military service.

#### 19 **Fulfilling our Commitment to our Veterans**

20 To military personnel who have served honorably and then retire or leave active duty, we owe a  
21 smooth transition to civilian life. Funding for the programs that assist them should be sufficient,  
22 timely, and predictable and never be subject to political gamesmanship.

#### 23 *Economic Opportunity for Veterans*

24 Returning veterans must have access to education benefits, job training, and a wide variety of  
25 employment options. We want to build on the bipartisan expansion of the GI Bill by encouraging  
26 private colleges to bridge the gap between GI Bill education benefits and tuition costs. We will  
27 strongly enforce the Uniformed Services Employment and Reemployment Rights Act so that  
28 returning veterans can promptly return to their former jobs. Our existing "veteran preference"  
29 regulations must lead to real action, not hollow promises. We encourage private businesses to expand  
30 their outreach to the veterans community, especially disabled veterans.

#### 31 *Veterans' Health Care and Disability System*

32 We will hold the Veteran's Administration accountable for tangible results and steady improvement  
33 of its services. The VA must become more responsive and more efficient by eliminating its disability  
34 backlog and reducing waiting times for treatment. To ensure that the VA provides veterans with  
35 world class medical care, both at its own facilities and through partnerships with community  
36 providers, we must recruit the next generation of highly qualified medical professionals. We call for

1 greater attention by the VA to the special health care needs of women veterans, who will comprise an  
2 even larger percentage of VA patients in the future.

3 The VA's current disability compensation formulas need to be restructured and modernized. Those  
4 who have borne the burden of war must have access to training, rehabilitation, and education. Their  
5 families and caregivers deserve our concern and support.

6 We pledge special attention to combat stress injuries. There must be adequate counseling when  
7 veterans return home – for them and their families. They should have ongoing professional care,  
8 whether in a VA facility or closer to home, so that the natural and usually temporary responses to the  
9 horrors of war do not become permanent conditions. We recognize the need for more mental health  
10 professionals who can give the highest quality treatment to our veterans.

11 We applaud the non-profit organizations which assist veterans and their families materially and in  
12 other ways. They represent the best of the American spirit and merit our support.

### 13 **Procurement Reform**

14 The military's partners are the men and women who work in the defense industry and civilian sector,  
15 supplying the Armed Forces with equipment vital to the success of their mission. To ensure that our  
16 troops receive the best material at the best value, we must reform the defense budgeting and  
17 acquisition process to control costs and ensure vigorous and fair competition. We will not allow  
18 congressional pork to take the place of sound, sustained investment in the nation's security.

## 19 **Securing the Peace**

20 The Republican vision of peace through strength requires a sustained international effort, separate  
21 from our armed forces, to develop and maintain alliances and relationships that will lead to greater  
22 peace and stability.

### 23 **Promoting Human Rights and American Values**

24 The international promotion of human rights reflects our heritage, our values, and our national  
25 interest. Societies that enjoy political and economic freedom and the rule of law are not given to  
26 aggression or fanaticism. They become our natural allies.

27 Republican leadership has made religious liberty a central element of U.S. foreign policy. Asserting  
28 religious freedom should be a priority in all America's international dealings. We salute the work of  
29 the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom and urge special training in religious liberty  
30 issues for all U.S. diplomatic personnel.

31 To be successful international leaders, we must uphold international law, including the laws of war,  
32 and update them when necessary. Our moral standing requires that we respect what are essentially  
33 American principles of justice. In any war of ideas, our values will triumph.

1    ***State Department Reform***

2    Advancing America’s values should be the core mission of every part of the federal government,  
3    including the Department of State. America’s diplomatic establishment must energetically represent  
4    our country’s agenda to the world. We propose a thorough reform of its structure to ensure that  
5    promotions and appointments are based on performance in supporting the nation’s agenda. Our  
6    diplomats must be the best our country has to offer, and America’s diplomatic abilities must be an  
7    integral part of America’s national security system.

8    ***Public Diplomacy***

9    Throughout the Cold War, our international broadcasting of free and impartial information promoted  
10   American values to combat tyranny. It still does, through Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and  
11   Radio/TV Marti, and it remains an important instrument in promoting a modernizing alternative to  
12   the culture of radical terror. Getting America’s message out to the world is a critical element in the  
13   struggle against extremism, and our government must wage a much more effective battle in the war  
14   of ideas.

15   ***Human Trafficking***

16   Generations after the end of slavery in America, new forms of bondage have emerged to exploit men,  
17   women and children. We salute those across the political spectrum who have come together to end  
18   the commerce in our fellow human beings. We advocate the establishment of an Inter-Agency Task  
19   Force on Human Trafficking, reporting directly to the President, and call for increased diplomatic  
20   efforts with foreign governments that have been negligent toward this evil. The principle underlying  
21   our Megan’s Law – publicizing the identities of known offenders – should be extended to  
22   international travel in order to protect innocent children everywhere.

23   **Sovereign American Leadership in International Organizations**

24   The United States participates in various international organizations which can, at times, serve the  
25   cause of peace and prosperity, but those organizations must never serve as a substitute for principled  
26   American leadership. Nor should our participation in them prevent our joining with other  
27   democracies to protect our vital national interests.

28   At the United Nations, our country will pay a fair, but not disproportionate, share of dues. The UN  
29   must reform its scandal-ridden and corrupt management and become more accountable and  
30   transparent in its operations and expenses. As a matter of U.S. sovereignty, American forces must  
31   remain under American command.

32   Discrimination against Israel at the UN is unacceptable. We welcome Israel’s membership in the  
33   Western European and Others Group at the UN headquarters and demand its full acceptance and  
34   participation at all UN venues. We likewise oppose the ideological campaign against Vatican  
35   participation in UN conferences and other activities.

1 Because the UN has no mandate to promote radical social engineering, any effort to address global  
2 social problems must respect the fundamental institutions of marriage and family. We assert the  
3 rights of families in all international programs and will not fund organizations involved in abortion.  
4 We reject any treaty or agreement that would violate those values. That includes the UN convention  
5 on women’s rights, signed in the last months of the Carter Administration, and the UN convention on  
6 the rights of the child. For several reasons, particularly our concern for US sovereignty and  
7 America’s long-term energy needs, we have deep reservations about the regulatory, legal, and tax  
8 regimes inherent in the Law of the Sea Treaty.

9 To shield the members of our Armed Forces and others in service to America from ideological  
10 prosecutions, the Republican Party does not accept the jurisdiction of the International Criminal  
11 Court over Americans. We support the American Servicemembers Protection Act, to shield U.S.  
12 personnel and officials as they act abroad to meet global security requirements.

### 13 **Helping Others Abroad**

14 Americans are the most generous people in the world. No nation spends more in combined public  
15 and private efforts to combat disease and poverty around the world, and no nation works harder to  
16 ensure the continued vitality of the global economy. Our reasons for doing so are both moral and  
17 practical, for a world where half of the human race lives on a few dollars a day is neither just nor  
18 stable.

19 Including the world’s poor in an expanding circle of development is part and parcel of the Republican  
20 approach to world trade through open markets and fair competition. It must also be a top priority of  
21 our foreign policy. Decades of massive aid have failed to spur economic growth in the poorest  
22 countries, where it has often propped up failed policies and corrupt rulers. We will target foreign  
23 assistance to high-impact goals: fostering the rule of law through democratic government,  
24 emphasizing literacy and learning, and concentrating on the foundations for economic development:  
25 clean water, agricultural improvement, and microcredit funding for small enterprises. Maternal and  
26 child health, especially safer childbirthing and nutrition, must be priorities, especially in countries  
27 affected by epidemics of HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis.

### 28 **Strengthening Ties in the Americas**

29 Faith and family, culture and commerce, are enduring bonds among all the peoples of the Americas.  
30 Republicans envision a fully democratic fraternity of nations, based on mutual respect, acting  
31 together to advance liberty and market-based development. Our relations with our immediate  
32 neighbors, Canada and Mexico, are grounded on our shared values and common purpose, as well as  
33 our steadily increasing trade. We pledge to continue this close association and to advance mutually  
34 beneficial trade agreements throughout Latin America, promoting economic development and social  
35 stability there while opening markets to our goods and services.

1 Two factors distort this hemispheric progress. One is narco-terrorism, with its ability to destabilize  
2 societies and corrupt the political process. In an era of porous borders, the war on drugs and the war  
3 on terror have become a single enterprise. We salute our allies in the fight against this evil, especially  
4 the people of Mexico and Colombia, who have set an example for their neighbors. We support  
5 approval of a free trade agreement with Colombia, currently blocked by Capitol Hill Democrats and  
6 their union boss supporters, as an overdue gesture of solidarity for this courageous ally of the United  
7 States.

8 The other malignant element in hemispheric affairs is the anachronistic regime in Havana, a  
9 mummified relic from the age of totalitarianism, and its buffoonish imitators. We call on the nations  
10 of Latin America and the Caribbean to join us in laying the groundwork for a democratic Cuba.  
11 Looking to the inevitable day of liberation, we support restrictions on trade with, and travel to, Cuba  
12 as a measure of solidarity with the political prisoners and all the oppressed Cuban people. We call for  
13 a dedicated platform for transmission of Radio and Television Marti into Cuba and, to prepare for the  
14 day when Cuba is free, we support the work of the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba. We  
15 affirm the principles of the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, recognizing the rights of Cubans fleeing  
16 Communist tyranny, and support efforts to admit more of them through a safe, legal, orderly process.

### 17 **Advancing Hope and Prosperity in Africa**

18 The great promise of Africa has been dimmed by disease, hunger, and violence. Republicans have  
19 faced up to each of those challenges because, in addition to humanitarian concerns, the U.S. has  
20 important security interests in the stability and progress of African nations. The devastating toll of  
21 HIV/AIDS threatens to destabilize entire societies through large numbers of orphaned youths. In  
22 response, the U.S. has become the unrivaled leader in fighting the diseases that are the scourge of  
23 much of the continent. Republican-sponsored legislation has brought jobs and investment to sub-  
24 Saharan Africa. To continue that progress, we advocate continued expansion of trade with African  
25 nations.

26 Genocide must end. The horrendous suffering of the people in the Darfur region of Sudan, as well as  
27 less publicized human tragedies elsewhere, calls for a far more energetic and determined response  
28 from Africa's elected leaders. The United States stands ready to assist them with materiel,  
29 transportation, and humanitarian supplies. We will continue America's diplomatic efforts to secure a  
30 comprehensive and humane settlement for the people of the southern and western Sudan.

### 31 **Partnerships across the Asia-Pacific Region**

32 The U.S. is a Pacific nation, and our historic ties to Asia will grow stronger in the years ahead.  
33 Australia has stood shoulder to shoulder with us in every major conflict. The ties between our  
34 peoples, our economies, and our governments are extraordinary. Our longstanding alliance with  
35 Japan has been the foundation for peace and prosperity in Asia, and we look for Japan to forge a  
36 leadership role in regional and global affairs. Another valued ally, the Republic of Korea remains  
37 vigilant with us against the tyranny and international ambitions of the maniacal state on its border.

1 The U.S. will not waver in its demand for the complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantlement of  
2 North Korea's nuclear weapons programs, with a full accounting of its proliferation activities. We  
3 look toward the restoration of human rights to the suffering people of North Korea and the fulfillment  
4 of the wish of the Korean people to be one in peace and freedom.

5 ***India***

6 We welcome America's new relationship with India, including the U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Accord.  
7 Our common security concerns and shared commitment to political freedom and representative  
8 government can be the foundation for an enduring partnership.

9 ***Pakistan***

10 We must expand our ties with the government and the people of Pakistan. We support their efforts to  
11 improve democratic governance and strengthen civil society, and we appreciate the difficult but  
12 essential role Pakistan plays in the fight against terror.

13 ***Taiwan***

14 Our policy toward Taiwan, a sound democracy and economic model for mainland China, must  
15 continue to be based upon the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act. We oppose any unilateral steps  
16 by either side to alter the status quo in the Taiwan straits on the principle that all issues regarding the  
17 island's future must be resolved peacefully, through dialog, and be agreeable to its people. If China  
18 were to violate these principles, the U.S., in accord with the Taiwan Relations Act, will help Taiwan  
19 defend itself. As a loyal friend of America, the democracy of Taiwan has merited our strong support,  
20 including the timely sale of defensive arms and full participation in the World Health Organization  
21 and other multilateral institutions.

22 ***China***

23 We will welcome the emergence of a peaceful and prosperous China, and will welcome even more  
24 the development of a democratic China. Its rulers have already discovered that economic freedom  
25 leads to national wealth; the next lesson is that political and religious freedom leads to national  
26 greatness. That is not likely to be learned while the government in Beijing pursues advanced military  
27 capabilities without any apparent need, suppresses basic human rights in Tibet and elsewhere, and  
28 erodes democracy in Hong Kong.

29 Our bilateral trade with China has created export opportunities for American farmers and workers,  
30 while both the requirements of the World Trade Organization and the realities of the marketplace  
31 have increased openness and the rule of law in China. We must yet ensure that China fulfills its WTO  
32 obligations, especially those related to intellectual property rights, elimination of subsidies, and  
33 repeal of import restrictions. China's full integration into the global economy requires that it adopt a  
34 flexible monetary exchange rate and allow free movement of capital. China's economic growth  
35 brings with it the responsibility for environmental improvement, both for its own people and for the  
36 world community.

1 ***Vietnam***

2 Our relations with Vietnam have improved, but two grave matters remain. The first is the need for  
3 unceasing efforts to obtain an accounting for, and repatriation of the remains of, Americans who gave  
4 their lives in the cause of freedom. The second is continued retribution by the government of  
5 Vietnam against its ethnic minorities and others who assisted U.S. forces there. We owe them a debt  
6 of honor and will do all we can to relieve their suffering.

7 ***Burma***

8 We urge all the nations of East Asia to join the world-wide effort to restore the suffering people of  
9 Burma to the democratic family of nations. The military dictatorship in Burma is among the worst on  
10 the planet. Its savagery demands a strong response from the world community, including economic  
11 and financial sanctions and isolation of the illegitimate regime.

12 **Strengthening Our Relations with Europe**

13 Our country's ties to the peoples of Europe are based on shared culture and values, common interests  
14 and goals. We particularly appreciate our close friendship with the United Kingdom, a relationship  
15 that has led the forces of freedom for generations. The enduring truth – that America's security is  
16 inseparable from Europe's – was reaffirmed by our European allies after 9/11. NATO, the most  
17 successful military alliance in history, has been greatly strengthened by the addition of new members  
18 in Central and Eastern Europe. We strongly support NATO-endorsed efforts to deploy missile  
19 defenses to protect our European allies from the threat of Iranian missiles, and we appreciate the  
20 willingness of the governments of Poland and the Czech Republic to host these needed defensive  
21 systems.

22 We support the continuing reconciliation efforts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus. We condemn the  
23 escalation of anti-Semitic violence, arson, and desecration in Europe and other areas of the world.

24 ***Russia***

25 Americans and the Russian people have common imperatives: ending terrorism, combating nuclear  
26 proliferation, promoting bilateral trade, and more. But matters of serious concern remain, particularly  
27 the Russian government's treatment of the press, opposition parties, and institutions of civil society.  
28 It continues its aggressive confrontations with its neighbors, from economic intimidation to outright  
29 warfare, and has aligned with dangerous anti-democratic forces in the Middle East. As a condition  
30 for its continued acceptance in world organizations, Russia must respect the independence and  
31 territorial integrity of all the nations of the former Soviet Union and move toward a free and  
32 democratic society.

1 **The Middle East**

2 The momentum of change in the Middle East has been in the right direction. From Morocco to the  
3 Gulf States, the overall trend has been toward cooperation and social and economic development,  
4 especially with regard to the rights of women. We acknowledge the substantial assistance the U.S.  
5 has received from most governments in the region in the war on terror. Those countries that have  
6 made peace with Israel, whether officially or in fact, deserve our appreciation and assistance.

7 We urge the continued isolation of groups like Hamas and Hezbollah because they do not meet the  
8 standards of the international community. We call for the restoration of Lebanon's independence and  
9 sovereignty and the full implementation of all UN resolutions concerning that country.

10 The struggle in which we are engaged is ideological, not ethnic or religious. The extremists we face  
11 are abusers of faith, not its champions. We appreciate the loyalty of all Americans whose family  
12 roots lie in the Middle East, and we gratefully acknowledge the contributions of American Arabs and  
13 Muslims, especially those in the Armed Forces and the intelligence community.

14 ***Israel***

15 Israel is a vigorous democracy, unique in the Middle East. We reaffirm America's commitment to  
16 Israel's security and will ensure that Israel maintains a qualitative edge in military technology over  
17 any potential adversaries. We recognize Israel's need for secure, defensible borders and its right to  
18 exist as a Jewish state able to defend itself against homicide bombings and other attacks against its  
19 people. We support the vision of two democratic states living in peace and security: Israel, with  
20 Jerusalem as its capital, and Palestine. For that to become a reality, the Palestinian people must  
21 support leaders who reject terror, embrace the ethos of democracy, and respect the rule of law. We  
22 call on Arab governments throughout the region to help advance that goal.

23 The U.S. seeks a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East, negotiated between the parties  
24 themselves, without the imposition of an artificial timetable, and without the demand that Israel deal  
25 with entities which continue to pledge her destruction. At the heart of any peace process must be a  
26 mutual commitment to resolve all issues through negotiation. Part of that process must be a just, fair,  
27 and realistic framework for dealing with the Palestinian refugee issue. Like all other elements in a  
28 meaningful agreement, this matter can be settled only on the basis of mutually agreed changes that  
29 reflect today's realities as well as tomorrow's hopes.

30 ***Iraq***

31 A stable, democratic Iraqi nation is within reach. Our success in Iraq will deny al Qaeda a safe  
32 haven, limit Iranian influence in the Middle East, strengthen moderate forces there, and give us a  
33 strategic ally in the struggle against extremism. To those who have sacrificed so much, we owe the  
34 commitment that American forces will leave that country in victory and with honor. That outcome is  
35 too critical to our own national security to be jeopardized by artificial or politically inspired  
36 timetables that ignore the advice of our on-the-ground commanders. As the people of Iraq assume  
37 their rightful place in the ranks of free and open societies, we offer them a continuing partnership.

1 *Afghanistan*

2 In the seven years since U.S. troops helped topple the Taliban, there has been great progress – but  
3 much remains to be done. We must prevail in Afghanistan to prevent the reemergence of the Taliban  
4 or an al Qaeda sanctuary in that country. A nationwide counterinsurgency strategy led by a unified  
5 commander is an essential prerequisite to success. Additional forces are also necessary, both from  
6 NATO countries and through a doubling in size of the Afghan army. The international community  
7 must work with the Afghan government to better address the problems of illegal drugs, governance,  
8 and corruption. We flatly reject the Democratic Party’s idea that America can succeed in  
9 Afghanistan only by failure in Iraq.

10 *Iran*

11 We express our respect for the people of Iran who seek peace and aspire to freedom. Their current  
12 regime, aggressive and repressive, is unworthy of them. The Iranian people, many of whom risk  
13 persecution to speak out for democracy, have a right to choose their own government.

14 As a rogue state, Iran’s leadership supports terror, threatens its neighbors, and provides weapons that  
15 are killing our troops in Iraq. We affirm, in the plainest words we can use, that the U.S. government,  
16 in solidarity with the international community, will not allow the current regime in Tehran to develop  
17 nuclear weapons.

18 We call for a significant increase in political, economic, and diplomatic pressure to persuade Iran’s  
19 rulers to halt their drive for a nuclear weapons capability, and we support tighter sanctions against  
20 Iran and the companies investing in its energy sector. At the same time, the U.S. must retain all  
21 options in dealing with a situation that gravely threatens our security, our interests, and the safety of  
22 our friends.

23

## 1                    **Reforming Government to Serve the People**

2    The American people believe Washington is broken ... and for good reason. Short-term politics  
3    overshadow the long-term interests of the nation. Our national legislature uses a budget process  
4    devised long before the Internet and seems unable to deal in realistic ways with the most pressing  
5    problems of families, businesses, and communities. Members of Congress have been indicted for  
6    violating the public trust. Public disgust with Washington is entirely warranted.

7    As grassroots Republicans, we demand a return to our party's core principles: Constrain the federal  
8    government to its legitimate constitutional functions. Let it empower people, while limiting its reach  
9    into their lives. Spend only what is necessary, and tax only to raise revenue for essential government  
10   functions. Unleash the power of enterprise, innovation, civic energy, and the American spirit – and  
11   never pretend that government is a substitute for family or community.

12   The other party wants more government control over people's lives and earnings; grassroots  
13   Republicans do not. The other party wants to continue pork barrel politics; we are disgusted by it, no  
14   matter who practices it. The other party wants to ignore fiscal problems while squandering billions  
15   on ineffective programs; we are determined to end that waste. The entrenched culture of official  
16   Washington – an intrusive tax-and-spend liberalism – remains a formidable foe, but we will confront  
17   and ultimately defeat it.

### 18    **Washington's Failure: the Scope of the Problem**

19   The federal government collects \$2.7 trillion a year from American families and businesses. That's  
20   \$7.4 billion a day. Even worse, it *spends* over \$3 trillion a year: \$8.2 billion a day. Why? Largely  
21   because those who created this bloated government will not admit a single mistake or abolish a single  
22   program. The facts are staggering:

- 23        • Recent audits show that 22% of all federal programs are ineffective or incapable of  
24        demonstrating results.
- 25        • 69 separate programs administered by 10 different agencies provide education or care to  
26        children under the age of 5.
- 27        • Nine separate agencies administer 44 different programs for job training.
- 28        • 23 separate programs, each with its own overhead, provide housing assistance to the elderly.

29   It is no wonder that the American people have so little confidence in Washington to act effectively  
30   when federal action is really needed.

### 31    **The Budget Process – A Fraud that Guarantees Runaway Spending**

32   For more than three decades – since enactment of the Budget Act of 1974 by a Democrat-controlled  
33   Congress – the federal government has operated within a rigged system notable for its lack of

1 transparency. The earlier approach – annual passage of the appropriation bills, amended and voted up  
 2 or down, with the numbers there for all to see – had its flaws and generated much red ink. But its  
 3 replacement, the current budget process, only worsened the money flow and came to rely on  
 4 monstrous omnibus money bills. The results are pernicious for all seeking to limit government’s  
 5 growth. For example:

- 6 • The budget process assumes every spending project will be on the books forever, even if the  
 7 law says the spending will expire – but it assumes tax relief will be temporary.
- 8 • It treats well-deserved tax cuts as a kind of spending, so that letting Americans keep more of  
 9 their earnings is considered the same as more spending on pork projects.
- 10 • In its topsy-turvy accounting, an increase in a program’s funding is actually a decrease if it is  
 11 less than the rate of inflation.
- 12 • Once a budget is produced under that system, the budget law itself limits the time Congress  
 13 can consider it before voting.

14 Moreover, the budget’s review process is a sham. Of the \$3 trillion spent annually, only one-third is  
 15 reviewed each year during the budget and appropriations process. The remaining \$2 trillion  
 16 automatically goes to interest on the national debt or entitlements. And because the budget process  
 17 assumes an automatic increase in spending, the debate on the remaining one-third is only over how  
 18 much *more* spending to approve.

19 Finally, while government requires corporations to budget for future pension and health care costs,  
 20 our government ignores those requirements. No U.S. corporation could keep its books the way  
 21 Washington keeps ours.

22 ***A Plan to Control Spending***

23 Republicans will attack wasteful Washington spending immediately. Current procedures should be  
 24 replaced with simplicity and transparency. For example:

- 25 • Earmarking must stop. To eliminate wasteful projects and pay-offs to special interests, we  
 26 will impose an immediate moratorium on the earmarking system and reform the  
 27 appropriations process through full transparency. Tax dollars must be distributed on the basis  
 28 of clear national priorities, not a politician’s seniority or party position.
- 29 • Government waste must be taken off auto-pilot. We call for a one-year pause in non-defense,  
 30 non-veterans discretionary spending to force a critical, cost-benefit review of all current  
 31 programs.
- 32 • We call for a constitutionally sound presidential line-item veto.
- 33 • If billions are worth spending, they should be spent in the light of day. We will insist that,  
 34 before either the House or Senate considers a spending bill, every item in it should be exposed  
 35 to the taxpayers on the Internet.

- 1 • Because the problem is too much spending, not too few taxes, we support a supermajority  
2 requirement in both the House and Senate to guard against tax hikes.
- 3 • New authorizations should be offset by reducing another program, and no appropriation  
4 should be permitted without a current authorization.
- 5 • Congressional ethics rules governing special interests should apply across the board, without  
6 the special exemptions now granted to favored institutions.
- 7 • We support the Government Shutdown Protection Act to ensure the continuance of essential  
8 federal functions when advocates of pork threaten to shut down the government unless their  
9 wasteful spending is accepted.
- 10 • We will insist that the budget reasonably plan for the long-term costs of pension and health  
11 care programs.

## 12 **Empowering the States, Improving Public Services**

13 The long term solution for many of Washington’s problems is structural. Congress must respect the  
14 limits imposed upon it by the Tenth Amendment: *“The powers not delegated to the United States by  
15 the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the  
16 people.”*

17 We look to the model of Republican welfare reform, which, since its enactment in 1996, has  
18 accomplished a major transfer of resources and responsibility from the federal government back to  
19 the states – with an accompanying improvement in the program itself. Applying that approach to  
20 other programs will steer Congress back into line with the Constitution, reversing both its intrusion  
21 into state matters and its neglect of its central duties.

22 To aid in the fulfillment of those duties, we propose a National Sunset Commission to review all  
23 federal programs and recommend which of them should be terminated due to redundancy, waste, or  
24 intrusion into the American family. The Congress would then be required by law to schedule one year  
25 or nay vote on the entire sunset list with no amendments.

## 26 **Congress Must Improve Oversight of Government Programs**

27 Congress has a fundamental duty to conduct meaningful oversight on the effectiveness of government  
28 programs, not use every hearing as an opportunity for political grandstanding. To that end:

- 29 • We urge every congressional committee to reserve at least one week every month to conduct  
30 oversight of the nearly 1,700 separate grant and loan programs of the federal government.
- 31 • To prevent conflicts of interest, a Truth in Testimony mandate should require all committee  
32 witnesses to detail the amount of federal funding they and their employer currently receive  
33 and, in the case of associations, how much federal money their members would receive from  
34 the proposed legislation.

- 1 • Because official Washington does not even know how much land it owns, we call for a  
2 national audit of all federally-owned properties as a first step toward returning unnecessary  
3 properties to the American people or to state and local government for public use.

#### 4 **Improving the Work of Government**

5 Modern management of the federal government is long overdue. The expected retirement over the  
6 next ten years of more than 40 percent of the federal work force, and 60 percent of its managers,  
7 presents a rare opportunity: a chance to gradually shrink the size of government while using  
8 technology to increase its effectiveness and reshape the way agencies do business.

9 Each agency must be able to pass a financial audit and set annual targets for improving efficiency  
10 with fewer resources. Civil service managers should be given incentives for more effective  
11 leadership, including protection against the current guilty-until-proven-innocent grievance procedures  
12 which disgruntled employees use against them to thwart reform. Due process cannot excuse bad  
13 behavior.

14 We will provide Internet transparency in all federal contracting as a necessary step in combating cost  
15 overruns. We will draw on the expertise of today's successful managers and entrepreneurs in the  
16 private sector, like the dollar-a-year businesspeople who answered their country's call during the  
17 Second World War, to build real-world competence and accountability into government procurement  
18 and operations.

#### 19 **Domestic Disaster Response**

20 Americans hit by disaster must never again feel abandoned by their government. The Katrina  
21 disaster taught a painful lesson: The federal government's system for responding to a natural calamity  
22 needs a radical overhaul.

23 State and local cooperation is crucial, as are private relief efforts, but Washington must take the lead  
24 in forging a partnership with America's best run businesses to ensure that FEMA's Emergency  
25 Operations Centers run as well as any Fortune 500 Company. We must make it easier for both  
26 businesses and universities to act as force-multipliers in relief situations.

#### 27 **Restoring Our Infrastructure**

28 The American people can have safer roads and bridges, better airports and more efficient harbors, as  
29 long as we straighten out the government's spending priorities. The politics of pork distorts the  
30 allocation of resources for modernizing the nation's infrastructure. That can leave entire  
31 communities vulnerable to natural disasters and deprive others of the improvements necessary for  
32 economic growth and job creation. We pledge a business-like, cost-effective approach for  
33 infrastructure spending, always mindful of the special needs of both rural and urban communities.

## 1 **Entitlement Reform**

2 The job of modernizing Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid calls for bipartisanship, not political  
3 posturing. Through the last four presidential terms, we have sought that cooperation, but it has not  
4 been forthcoming. The public demands constructive action, and we will provide it.

### 5 *Social Security*

6 We are committed to putting Social Security on a sound fiscal basis. Our society faces a profound  
7 demographic shift over the next twenty-five years, from today's ratio of 3.3 workers for every retiree  
8 to only 2.1 workers by 2034. We believe the solution should give workers control over, and a fair  
9 return on, their contributions. No changes in the system should adversely affect any current or near-  
10 retiree.

### 11 *Medicare and Medicaid*

12 As discussed in the health care section of this document, we commit to revive Medicare by rewarding  
13 quality care, promoting competition, and giving patients and providers control over treatment options.  
14 We envision a new Medicaid partnership with the states, improving public health through flexibility  
15 and innovation.

## 16 **Appointing Constitutionalist Judges for the Nation's Courts**

17 Judicial activism is a grave threat to the rule of law because unaccountable federal judges are  
18 usurping democracy, ignoring the Constitution and its separation of powers, and imposing their  
19 personal opinions upon the public. This must stop.

20 We condemn the Supreme Court's disregard of homeowners' property rights in its *Kelo* decision and  
21 deplore the Court's arbitrary extension of Americans' habeas corpus rights to enemy combatants held  
22 abroad. We object to the Court's unwarranted interference in the administration of the death penalty  
23 in this country for the benefit of savage criminals whose guilt is not at issue. We lament that judges  
24 have denied the people their right to set abortion policies in the states and are undermining traditional  
25 marriage laws from coast to coast. We are astounded that four justices of the Supreme Court believe  
26 that individual Americans have no individual right to bear arms to protect themselves and their  
27 families.

28 Republicans will insist on the appointment of constitutionalist judges, men and women who will not  
29 distort our founding documents to deny the people's right to self-government, sanction federal  
30 powers that violate our liberties, or inject foreign law into American jurisprudence.

31 Republicans oppose stealth nominations. Nominees to the Supreme Court must have a clear and  
32 distinguished record that leaves no doubt about their respect for the Constitution and their intellectual  
33 fortitude.

34 We reject the Democrats' view that judicial nominees should guarantee particular results even before  
35 the case is filed. Judges should not be politicians. Jurists nominated by a Republican president will

1 be thoughtful and open-minded, always prepared to view past error in light of *stare decisis*, including  
2 judicial fiats that disenfranchised the American people.

3 No qualified person should be denied the opportunity to serve on the federal bench due to race,  
4 ethnicity, religion or sex. In affirming Article VI of the Constitution – that no religious test shall ever  
5 be required for any office – we insist that the Senate should never inquire into a nominee’s religious  
6 convictions and we condemn the opposition, by some members of the Democratic Party, to recent  
7 judicial nominees because of their ethnicity or religion.

### 8 **Protecting the Right to Vote in Fair Elections**

9 Many members of the Armed Services will find it difficult to participate in this year’s elections  
10 because of the government’s reliance on outdated and inadequate voting, notification, and ballot  
11 delivery systems. The mishandling and delaying of registration forms and absentee ballots  
12 disenfranchises thousands of our servicemen and servicewomen. The Commander-in-Chief, the  
13 Department of Defense, and state and local election officials must do more to protect the voting rights  
14 of those on the front lines of freedom.

15 We oppose attempts to distort the electoral process by wholesale restoration of the franchise to  
16 convicted felons, by makeshift or hurried naturalization procedures, or by discretionary ballot-reading  
17 by election boards.

18 Preventing voting fraud is a civil rights issue. We support the right of states to require photo  
19 identification for voting and call upon the Department of Justice to deploy its resources to prevent  
20 ballot tampering in the November elections.

21 The rights of citizenship do not stop at the ballot box. They include the free-speech right to devote  
22 one’s resources to whatever cause or candidate one supports. We oppose any restrictions or  
23 conditions upon those activities that would discourage Americans from exercising their constitutional  
24 right to enter the political fray or limit their commitment to their ideals. We likewise oppose the  
25 reimposition upon broadcasting of the so-called Fairness Doctrine, which would ration conservative  
26 views in talk radio.

### 27 **Guaranteeing a Constitutional Census in 2010**

28 The integrity of the 2010 census, proportioning congressional representation among the states, must  
29 be preserved. The census should count every person legally abiding in the United States in an actual  
30 enumeration. We urge all who are legally eligible to participate in the census count to do so; at the  
31 same time, we urge Congress to specify – and to justify – which census questions require a response.

### 32 **Working with Americans in the Territories**

33 We welcome greater participation in all aspects of the political process by Americans residing in  
34 Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, the Northern Marianas, and Puerto Rico. Since no

1 single approach can meet the needs of those diverse communities, we emphasize respect for their  
2 wishes regarding their relationship to the rest of the Union. We affirm their right to seek the full  
3 extension of the Constitution, with all the rights and responsibilities it entails.

4 We support the Native American Samoans' efforts to preserve their culture and land-tenure system,  
5 which fosters self-reliance and strong extended-family values. We support increased local self-  
6 government for the United States citizens of the Virgin Islands, and closer cooperation between the  
7 local and federal governments to promote private sector-led development and self-sufficiency. We  
8 recognize that Guam is a strategically vital U.S. territory, an American fortress in the western Pacific.  
9 We affirm our support for the patriotic U.S. citizens of Guam to achieve greater self-government, an  
10 improved federal territorial relationship, new economic development strategies, and continued  
11 political self-determination.

12 We support the right of the United States citizens of Puerto Rico to be admitted to the Union as a  
13 fully sovereign state after they freely so determine. We recognize that Congress has the final  
14 authority to define the constitutionally valid options for Puerto Rico to achieve a permanent non-  
15 territorial status with government by consent and full enfranchisement. As long as Puerto Rico is not  
16 a state, however, the will of its people regarding their political status should be ascertained by means  
17 of a general right of referendum or specific referenda sponsored by the U.S. government.

## 18 **Preserving the District of Columbia**

19 The nation's capital is a special responsibility of the federal government. Yet some of the worst  
20 performing schools in the country are mere blocks from the Department of Education, and some of  
21 the most crime-ridden neighborhoods in the country are blocks from the Department of Justice.  
22 Washington should be made a model city. Two major Republican initiatives – a first-time D.C.  
23 homebuyers credit and a landmark school choice initiative – have pointed the way toward a civic  
24 resurgence, and a third piece of GOP legislation now guarantees young D.C. residents significant  
25 assistance in affording higher education. Because Washington's buildings and monuments may be  
26 top targets of terrorist groups, the federal government must work closely with local officials to  
27 improve security without burdening local residents.

28 The Framers of the Constitution gave the city of Washington a unique status that cannot be  
29 represented in a Congress defined only by statehood. If that status were to be changed, we favor  
30 retrocession of all but the core federal area to nearby states, thereby ensuring full voting  
31 representation for all residents.

32

## Expanding Opportunity to Promote Prosperity

America's free economy has given our country the world's highest standard of living and allows us to share our prosperity with the rest of humanity. It is an engine of altruism, empowering everything from the Sunday morning collection plate to great endowments. It creates opportunity, rewards self-reliance and hard work, and unleashes productive energies that other societies can only imagine.

Today's challenge is to build into that system a greater degree of security – in availability of jobs, in accessibility of health care, in portability of pensions, in affordability of energy. That is an urgent task because economic freedom – and the prosperity it makes possible – are not ends in themselves. They are means by which families and individuals can maintain their independence from government, raise their children by their own values, and build communities of self-reliant neighbors.

Economic freedom expands the prosperity pie; government can only divide it up. That is why Republicans advocate lower taxes, rational regulation, and smaller, smarter government. That agenda translates to more opportunity for more people. It represents the economics of inclusion, the path by which hopes become achievements. It is the way we will reach our goal of enabling everyone to have a chance to own, invest, and build – without government wasting away their earnings.

### **Republican Tax Policy: Protecting Hardworking Americans**

The most important distinction between Republicans and the leadership of today's Democratic Party concerning taxes is not just that we believe you should keep more of what you earn. That's true, but there is a more fundamental distinction. It concerns the purpose of taxation. We believe government should tax only to raise money for its essential functions.

Today's Democratic Party views the tax code as a tool for social engineering. They use it to control our behavior, steer our choices, and change the way we live our lives. It gives them the power to anoint winners and losers, favor or cripple an industry, reward their friends, and redesign society. That explains why they so often support taxes that they know will have a terrible effect on the economy – because the economy is a secondary consideration.

#### ***The Democrats Plan to Raise Your Taxes***

The last thing Americans need right now is tax hikes. On the federal level, Republicans lowered taxes in 2001 and 2003 in order to encourage economic growth, put more money in the pockets of every taxpayer, and make the system fairer. If Congress had then controlled its spending, we could have done even more.

Ever since those tax cuts were enacted, the Democratic Party has been clear about its goals: It wants to raise taxes by eliminating those Republican tax reductions. The impact on American families would be disastrous:

- Marginal tax rates would rise. This is in addition to their proposal to target millions of taxpayers with even higher rates.

- 1 • The “marriage penalty” would return for two-earner couples.
- 2 • The child tax credit would fall to half its current value.
- 3 • Small businesses would lose their tax relief.
- 4 • The federal death tax would be enormously increased.
- 5 • Investment income – the seed money for new jobs – would be eaten away by higher rates for
- 6 dividend and capital gain income.

7 All that and more would amount to an annual tax hike upwards of \$250 billion – almost \$700 per  
8 taxpayer every year, for a total of \$1.1 trillion in additional taxes over the next decade. That is what  
9 today’s Democratic Party calls “tax fairness.” We call it an unconscionable assault on the paychecks  
10 and pocketbooks of every hard-working American household. Their promises to aim their tax hikes  
11 at various income levels is a smokescreen; history shows that when congressional Democrats want  
12 more money, they raise taxes on everyone.

### 13 *The Republican Agenda: Using Tax Relief to Grow the Economy*

14 Sound tax policy alone may not ensure economic success, but terrible tax policy does guarantee  
15 economic failure. Along with making the 2001 and 2003 tax cuts permanent so American families  
16 will not face a large tax hike, Republicans will advance tax policies to support American families,  
17 promote savings and innovation, and put us on a path to fundamental tax reform.

#### 18 Lower Taxes on Families and Individuals

- 19 • American families with children are the hardest hit during any economic downturn.  
20 Republicans will lower their tax burden by doubling the exemption for dependents.
- 21 • New technology should not occasion more taxation. We will permanently ban internet access  
22 taxes and stop all new cell phone taxes.
- 23 • For the sake of family farms and small businesses, we will continue our fight against the  
24 federal death tax.
- 25 • The Alternative Minimum Tax, a stealth levy on the middle-class that unduly targets large  
26 families, must be repealed.

#### 27 Keeping Good Jobs in America

28 America’s producers can compete successfully in the international arena – as long as they have a  
29 level playing field. Today’s tax code is tilted against them, with one of the highest corporate tax rates  
30 of all developed countries. That not only hurts American investors, managers, and the U.S. balance  
31 of trade; it also sends American jobs overseas. We support a major reduction in the corporate tax rate  
32 so that American companies stay competitive with their foreign counterparts and American jobs can  
33 remain in this country.

1 Promoting Savings through the Tax Code

2 Our tax code should encourage personal savings. High tax rates discourage thrift by penalizing the  
3 return on savings and should be replaced with incentives to save. Public policy should encourage  
4 employers to offer automatic enrollment in tax-deferred savings programs. The current limits on tax-  
5 free savings accounts should be removed.

6 Fundamental Tax Reform

7 Over the long run, the mammoth IRS tax code must be replaced with a system that is simple,  
8 transparent, and fair while maximizing economic growth and job creation. As a transition, we  
9 support giving all taxpayers the option of filing under current rules or under a two-rate flat tax with  
10 generous deductions for families. This gradual approach is the taxpayers' best hope of overcoming  
11 the lobbyist legions that have thwarted past simplification efforts.

12 As a matter of principle, we oppose retroactive taxation, and we condemn attempts by judges, at any  
13 level of government, to seize the power of the purse by ordering higher taxes. Because of the vital  
14 role of religious and fraternal benevolent societies in fostering charity and patriotism, they should not  
15 be subject to taxation.

16 In any fundamental restructuring of federal taxation, to guard against the possibility of hypertaxation  
17 of the American people, any value added tax or national sales tax must be tied to simultaneous repeal  
18 of the Sixteenth Amendment, which established the federal income tax.

19 **Small Business: the Engine of Job Growth**

20 We proudly call ourselves the party of small business because small businesses are where national  
21 prosperity begins. Main Street retailers, entrepreneurs, independent contractors, and direct sellers  
22 create most of the country's new jobs and have been the primary means of economic advance by  
23 women and minorities.

24 Eight years ago, when Democrats controlled the Executive Branch, small business faced a hostile  
25 regulatory agenda, from OSHA's ergonomics standards and attempts to intrude into the homes of  
26 telecommuting employees to IRS discrimination against independent contractors. Republicans turned  
27 back those threats, along with much of the onerous taxation that limited the growth of small  
28 businesses. We reduced their marginal tax rates, quadrupled the limit on their expensing of  
29 investments, and phased out the death tax on family owned small businesses and family farms. We  
30 enacted Health Savings Accounts to help small business owners secure health insurance for  
31 themselves and their employees. All those gains are jeopardized if Democrats gain unfettered power  
32 once again.

33 Republicans will advance a multi-pronged plan to support small business and grow good-paying jobs:

- 34
- Through the energy agenda laid out elsewhere in this platform, we will attack the rise in  
35 energy costs that is making it so difficult for entrepreneurs to compete.

- 1 • Our tax reduction and tax simplification agenda will allow businesses to focus on  
2 producing and selling their products and services – not paying taxes.
- 3 • Our plan to return control of health care to patients and providers will benefit small  
4 business employers and employees alike.
- 5 • Our determination to vigorously open foreign markets to American products is an  
6 opportunity for many small businesses to grow larger in the global economy.
- 7 • Our approach to regulation – basing it on sound science to achieve goals that are  
8 technically feasible -- will protect against job-killing intrusions into small businesses.
- 9 • Our commitment to legal reform means letting small businesses keep their earnings, rather  
10 than turning them over to cunning lawyers.

11 Using history as our guide, we look to innovative entrepreneurs for the ingenuity and daring that can  
12 give us the next generation of technological progress. The advances our country needs, in everything  
13 from health care to energy to environmental protection, are most likely to come from the men and  
14 women of small business.

## 15 **Technology and Innovation**

16 American innovation has twin engines: technology and small business, employing over half the  
17 private-sector work force. The synergy of our technology and small business drove a world-wide  
18 economic transformation of the last quarter-century. To maintain our global leadership, we need to  
19 encourage innovators by making permanent the Research and Development tax credit as part of the  
20 overall agenda outlined in this platform.

21 Innovation is our future – in our approach to energy, to education, to health care, and especially to  
22 government. As a symbol of that commitment, we share the vision of returning Americans to the  
23 moon as a step toward a mission to Mars. In advancing our country’s space and aeronautics program,  
24 NASA will remain one of the world’s most important pioneers in technology, and from its  
25 explorations can come tremendous benefits for mankind.

## 26 **Developing a Flexible and Innovative Workforce**

27 To master the global economy, our work force must be creative, independent, and able to adapt to  
28 rapid change. That challenge calls for better education and training and new approaches to employer-  
29 employee relations. It means investing in people, not institutions.

### 30 ***The Failed Model of Employer-Employee Relations***

31 The Democrats’ approach to employment policy is a retreat to failed models of the past: new  
32 regulatory burdens on employers that make it more difficult for businesses, big and small, to hire and  
33 keep employees. That empowers union bosses at the expense of their members, trial lawyers at the

1 expense of small businesses, and government bureaucrats at the expense of employer-employee  
2 partnerships. Its goal is not to create jobs but to control the workplace and the work force.

### 3 ***The Republican Model: Investing in People***

4 Republicans believe that the employer-employee relationship of the future will be built upon  
5 employee empowerment and workplace flexibility.

6 • The Industrial Revolution treated people like machines; today's economy must treat them as  
7 individuals. We need a fresh approach to work schedules, removing outdated distinctions  
8 between full time and part time, clock-punching and overtime. The federal government should  
9 set an example in that regard.

10 • The work place must catch up with the way Americans live now. For increasing numbers of  
11 workers, especially those with children, the choice of working from home will be good for  
12 families, profitable for business, and energy efficient.

13 • All workers should have portability in their pension plans and their health insurance, giving  
14 them greater job mobility, financial independence, and security.

15 • Global competitiveness will increasingly require an entrepreneurial culture of cooperation and  
16 team work. Making the best talent part of our team is the rationale for the H-1B visa program,  
17 which needs updating to reflect our need for more leaders in science and technology while we  
18 take the necessary steps to create more of them in our own school systems. By  
19 complementing the U.S. work force with needed specialists from abroad, we can make sure  
20 American companies remain here at home.

21 Businesses and employees, working together, are best suited to addressing the challenges ahead.  
22 Empowering official Washington and the trial bar, as Democrats prefer, will only lead to more  
23 antagonistic relations.

### 24 ***Individual-Based Unemployment Insurance and Training***

25 Government can play an important role in addressing economic dislocations by modernizing its re-  
26 training and unemployment assistance programs. We must make these programs actually anticipate  
27 dislocations so that affected workers can get new skills quickly and return to the workforce. We  
28 advocate a seamless approach to helping employees stay on the job and advance through education.  
29 Workers should be able to direct a portion of their unemployment insurance into a tax-free Lost  
30 Earnings Buffer Account that could be used for retraining or relocation. With financial incentives to  
31 return to work as soon as feasible, this approach will also require strengthening community colleges  
32 and making them more accessible through Flexible Training Accounts.

### 33 **Protecting Union Workers**

34 We affirm both the right of individuals to voluntarily participate in labor organizations and bargain  
35 collectively and the right of states to enact Right-to-Work laws. But the nation's labor laws, to a  
36 large extent formed out of conflicts several generations ago, should be modernized to make it easier

1 for employers and employees to plan, execute, and profit together. To protect workers from misuse  
2 of their funds, we will conscientiously enforce federal law requiring financial reporting and  
3 transparency from labor unions. We advocate paycheck protection laws to guard the integrity of the  
4 political process and the security of workers' earnings.

### 5 ***Stopping the Assault on the Private Ballot***

6 The recent attempt by congressional Democrats to deny workers a private ballot in union referenda is  
7 an assault, not only against a fundamental principle of labor law, but even more against the dignity  
8 and honor of the American work force. Their “card check” legislation, which deprives workers of  
9 their privacy and their right to vote, exposes workers to intimidation by union organizers and must be  
10 rejected.

### 11 **Rebuilding Homeownership**

12 Homeownership remains key to creating an opportunity society. We support timely and carefully  
13 targeted aid to those hurt by the housing crisis so that affected individuals can have a chance to trade  
14 a burdensome mortgage for a manageable loan that reflects their home's market value. At the same  
15 time, government action must not implicitly encourage anyone to borrow more than they can afford  
16 to repay. We support energetic federal investigation and, where appropriate, prosecution of criminal  
17 wrongdoing in the mortgage industry and investment sector.

18 Republican policy aims to make owning a home more accessible through enforcement of open  
19 housing laws, voucher programs, urban homesteading and – what is most important – a strong  
20 economy with low interest rates. Because affordable housing is in the national interest, any  
21 simplified tax system should continue to encourage homeownership, recognizing the tremendous  
22 social value that the home mortgage interest deduction has had for decades. In addition, sound  
23 housing policy should recognize the needs of renters so that apartments and multi-family homes  
24 remain important components of the housing stock.

### 25 **Reforming the Civil Justice System to Improve Competitiveness**

26 The rule of law demands that injured parties have access to the forums to vindicate their rights, but  
27 the rule of law does not mean the rule of lawyers – especially trial lawyers who manipulate the  
28 system to enrich themselves rather than protecting consumers, workers, or taxpayers. The rule of  
29 lawyers threatens our global competitiveness, denies Americans access to the quality of justice they  
30 deserve, and puts every small business one lawsuit away from bankruptcy.

31 The Republican approach to eliminate frivolous lawsuits has advanced in Congress through efforts  
32 like the Class Action Fairness Act and in many states which have adopted medical liability reforms,  
33 which we will continue to pursue on the federal and state level. But because their Democratic donees  
34 currently control Congress, the trial lawyers are on the offensive. They are trying to undermine  
35 federal health and safety regulations by allowing trial lawyers at the state level to preempt the  
36 reasoned judgments of independent experts. They seek to weaken lower-cost dispute resolution  
37 alternatives such as mediation and arbitration in order to put more cases into court. In bill after bill,

1 their congressional allies insert new causes of action – trial lawyer earmarks – designed to drag more  
2 Americans into court.

3 Our repeated warnings about the corruption at the heart of the trial bar have been vindicated by high-  
4 profile criminal convictions and prison terms for some of the nation’s leading class action and  
5 personal injury trial lawyers. All plaintiffs, especially those who must hire personal injury lawyers  
6 on a contingency basis, should be protected against abuse by their attorneys, and the attorney-client  
7 privilege should be defended as a bulwark in the defense of liberty.

## 8 **Free and Fair Trade**

9 Greater international trade, aggressively advanced on a truly level playing field, will mean more  
10 American jobs, higher wages, and a better standard of living. It is also a matter of national security  
11 and an instrument to promote democracy and civil society in developing nations.

12 With 95 percent of the world’s customers outside our borders, we need to be at the table when trade  
13 rules are written to make sure that free trade is indeed a two-way street. We encourage multilateral,  
14 regional, and bilateral agreements to reduce trade barriers that limit market access for U.S. products,  
15 commodities and services. To achieve that goal, Congress should reinstate the trade promotion  
16 authority every president should have in dealing with foreign governments. Trade agreements that  
17 have already been signed and are pending before Congress should be debated and voted on  
18 immediately.

19 An aggressive trade strategy is especially important with regard to agriculture. Our farm economy  
20 produces for the world; its prosperity depends, more than ever before, on open markets. U.S.  
21 agricultural exports will top \$100 billion this year. We will contest any restrictions upon our farm  
22 products within the World Trade Organization and will work to make the WTO’s decision-making  
23 process more receptive to the arguments of American producers.

24 We pledge stronger action to protect intellectual property rights against pirating and will aggressively  
25 oppose the direct and indirect subsidies by which some governments tilt the world playing field  
26 against American producers. To protect American consumers, we call for greater vigilance and more  
27 resources to guard against the importation of tainted food, poisonous products, and dangerous toys.

## 28 **Supporting our Agricultural Communities**

29 Farming communities have been hard hit this year by flood and violent weather, as well as the  
30 escalation of fuel costs. Especially under those circumstances, federal agricultural aid should go to  
31 those who need it most as part of a sensible economic safety-net for farmers. We advocate the  
32 creation of Farm Savings Accounts to help growers manage risks brought on by turbulence in global  
33 markets and nature itself. Mindful that 98 percent of the 2 million farms in this country are owned by  
34 individuals or family farming partnerships, we affirm our fight against the death tax.

35 Those who live on and work the land are our finest environmental stewards. They understand, better  
36 than most, the need for safe water, clean air, and conservation of open space. We oppose attempts to

- 1 hamper agricultural production with heavy-handed mandates, including any expansion of the Clean
- 2 Water Act to regulate ditches, culverts, converted cropland, and farm and stock ponds. We reaffirm
- 3 traditional state supremacy over water allocations and will continue to make available renewable
- 4 rangeland under sound environmental conditions. We support greater investment in conservation
- 5 incentive programs to help rural communities improve and sustain environmental quality.
  
- 6 To meet surging global demand for food and biofuel, farmers must have the technology to grow
- 7 higher yields using fewer inputs. USDA must remain the international leader in agricultural research
- 8 to ensure that America and the world will never have to choose between food and fuel.
  
- 9

## Energy Independence and Security

All Americans are painfully aware of the energy crisis our nation faces. Energy costs are spiraling upward, food prices continue to rise, and as a result, our entire economy suffers. This winter, families will spend for heat what they could have saved for college, and small businesses will spend for fuel what could have covered employee health insurance.

Our current dependence on foreign fossil fuels threatens both our national security and our environment and could force drastic changes in the way we live. The ongoing transfer of Americans' wealth to OPEC – roughly \$700 billion a year – helps underwrite terrorists' operations and creates little incentive for repressive regimes to accept democracy, whether in the Middle East or Latin America.

It didn't have to be this way, and it must not stay this way. Our nation must have a robust energy supply because energy drives prosperity and increases opportunity for every American. We reject the idea that America cannot overcome its energy challenges – or that high gasoline prices are okay, as long as they are phased in gradually. We reject half-measures and believe “No, we can't” is not a viable energy policy.

Together we can build a future around diverse, reliable, and cleaner energy sources. We can strengthen our national security, create a pathway to growing prosperity, and preserve our environment. The American people will rise to this challenge.

### Growing Our Energy Supply

No amount of wishing or hoping can suspend the laws of supply and demand. We must aggressively increase our nation's energy supply, in an environmentally responsible way, and do so through a comprehensive strategy that meets both short and long term needs.

In the long run, American production should move to zero-emission sources, but our nation's fossil fuel resources are the bridge to that emissions-free future – and it would be folly to burn a bridge before making it to the other side.

### *Growing American Energy Production*

We simply must draw more American oil from American soil if we are to have the resources we need to achieve energy independence. We support accelerated exploration and drilling of American sources, from oilfields off the nation's coasts to proven fields such as those in Montana, North Dakota, and Alaska. The Green River Basin in Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming offers recoverable shale oil that is ready for development, and most of it is on federal lands. We should also embrace our open trading relationship with our friends in Canada, which is second only to Saudi Arabia in proven oil reserves.

To deliver that energy to American consumers, we will expand our refining capacity. Because of environmental extremism and regulatory blockades in Washington, not a single new refinery has

1 been built in this country in 30 years. We will encourage refinery construction and modernization  
2 and, with sensitivity to environmental concerns, an expedited permitting process.

### 3 *Nuclear Power: the Earth's Clean Future*

4 Nuclear energy – a gift to mankind implanted in matter itself – is the most reliable zero-carbon-  
5 emissions source of energy that we have. Unwarranted fearmongering that has no relationship to  
6 current technologies and safeguards has prevented us from starting construction of a single nuclear  
7 power plant in 31 years. Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy has for decades relied upon nuclear vessels,  
8 while other advanced nations have harnessed nuclear power to provide a major portion of their  
9 energy consumption. There is no reason why the United States cannot do the same. Confident in the  
10 promise offered by science and technology, Republicans will pursue dramatic increases in the use of  
11 safe, affordable, reliable – and clean – nuclear power.

12 As new plants are constructed using the highest safety and operation standards, the nation's industrial  
13 and manufacturing base will be rejuvenated. The labor force will expand, with nearly 15,000 high  
14 quality jobs created for every new nuclear plant built – and those workers will lead the nation away  
15 from its dependence on foreign oil.

### 16 *Solar, Wind, Geothermal, Hydropower*

17 Alternate power sources must enter the mainstream. The technology behind solar energy has  
18 improved significantly in recent years, and the commercial development of wind power promises  
19 major benefits both in costs and in environmental protection. Republicans support these and other  
20 alternative energy sources, including geothermal and hydropower, and anticipate technological  
21 developments that will increase their economic viability. We therefore advocate a long-term energy  
22 tax credit equally applicable to all renewable power sources.

### 23 *Clean Coal*

24 Although alternate fuels will shape our energy future, coal – America's most affordable and abundant  
25 energy resource and the source of most of our electricity – remains a strategic national resource that  
26 must play a major role in energy independence. We look to innovative technology to transform  
27 America's coal supplies into clean fuels capable of powering motor vehicles and aircraft. We support  
28 coal-to-liquid and gasification initiatives, just as we support investment in the development and  
29 deployment of carbon capture and storage technologies, which can reduce emissions. No strategy for  
30 reducing energy costs will be viable without a commitment to continued coal production and  
31 utilization.

### 32 *Natural Gas*

33 Natural gas is plentiful in North America, but we can extract more and do a better job of distributing  
34 it nationwide to cook our food, heat our homes, and serve as a growing option as a transportation  
35 fuel. Both independently and in cooperation with alternative fuels, natural gas will be an essential  
36 part of any long-term energy solution. We must ensure it gets to consumers safely and quickly.

## 1 **Reducing Demand for Fossil Fuels**

2 While we grow our supplies, we must also reduce our demand – not by changing our lifestyles but by  
3 putting the free market to work and taking advantage of technological breakthroughs.

### 4 *Increase Conservation through Greater Efficiency*

5 Conservation does not mean deprivation; it means efficiency and achieving more with less. Most  
6 Americans today endeavor to conserve fossil fuels, whether in their cars or in their home heating, but  
7 we can do better. We can construct better and smarter buildings, use smarter thermostats and  
8 transmission grids, increase recycling, and make energy-efficient consumer purchases. Wireless  
9 communications, for example, can increase telecommuting options and cut back on business travel.  
10 The Republican goal is to ensure that Americans have more conservation options that will enable  
11 them to make the best choices for their families.

### 12 *New Technologies for Cars and Other Vehicles*

13 We must continue to develop alternative fuels, such as biofuels, especially cellulosic ethanol, and  
14 hasten their technological advances to next-generation production. Because alternative fuels are  
15 useless if vehicles cannot use them, we must move quickly to flexible fuel vehicles; we cannot expect  
16 necessary investments in alternative fuels if this flexibility does not become standard. We must also  
17 produce more vehicles that operate on electricity and natural gas, both to reduce demand for oil and  
18 to cut CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

19 Given that fully 97 percent of our current transportation vehicles rely on oil, we will aggressively  
20 support technological advances to reduce our petroleum dependence. For example, light-weight  
21 composites could halve the weight and double the gas mileage of cars and trucks, and together with  
22 flex-fuel and electric vehicles, could usher in a renaissance in the American auto industry.

## 23 **Global Warming and Environmental Protection**

24 By increasing our American energy supply and decreasing the long term demand for oil, we will be  
25 well positioned to address the challenge of global warming and continue our longstanding  
26 responsibility for stewardship over the environment.

## 27 **Addressing Climate Change Responsibly**

28 The same human economic activity that has brought freedom and opportunity to billions has also  
29 increased the amount of carbon in the atmosphere. Increased atmospheric carbon has a warming  
30 effect on the earth. While the scope and long-term consequences of this warming effect are the  
31 subject of ongoing scientific research, we believe the United States should take measured and  
32 reasonable steps today. Those steps, if consistent with our global competitiveness, will also be good  
33 for our national security, our energy independence, and our economy.

1 ***The Solution: Technology and the Market***

2 As part of a global climate change strategy, Republicans support technology-driven, market-based  
3 solutions that will decrease emissions, reduce excess greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere, increase  
4 energy efficiency, mitigate the impact of climate change where it occurs, and maximize any ancillary  
5 benefits climate change might offer for the economy.

6 To reduce emissions in the short run, we rely upon the power of new technologies, as discussed  
7 above, especially zero-emission energy sources such as nuclear and other alternate power sources.  
8 But innovation must not be hamstrung by Washington bickering, regulatory briar patches, or  
9 obstructionist lawsuits. Empowering Washington will only lead to unintended consequences and  
10 unimagined economic and environmental pain; instead, we must unleash the power of scientific  
11 know-how and competitive markets.

12 ***International Cooperation***

13 Because climate change is global, it must become a truly global concern as well. All developed and  
14 developing economies, particularly India and China, can make significant contributions in dealing  
15 with the matter. It would be unrealistic and counterproductive to expect the U.S. to carry burdens  
16 which are more appropriately to be shared by all.

17 ***Using Cash Rewards to Encourage Innovation***

18 Because Republicans believe that solutions to global climate change will be found in the ingenuity of  
19 the American people, we propose a Climate Prize for scientists who solve the challenges of global  
20 warming. Honoraria of many millions of dollars would be a small price for technological  
21 developments that eliminate our need for gas-powered cars or abate atmospheric carbon.

22 ***Doing No Harm***

23 Republicans caution against the doomsday climate change scenarios peddled by the aficionados of  
24 centralized command-and-control government. We can – and should – address global warming  
25 without succumbing to the no-growth radicalism that treats climate questions as dogma rather than as  
26 situations to be managed responsibly.

27 A robust economy will be essential to dealing with climate change, and we will insist on reasonable  
28 policies that do not force Americans to sacrifice their way of life or trim their hopes and dreams for  
29 their children. This perspective serves not only the people of the United States but also the world's  
30 poorest peoples, who would suffer terribly if climate change is severe – just as they would if the  
31 world economy itself were to be crippled. We must not allow either outcome.

32 **Continuing Our Stewardship over the Environment**

33 Republican concern about global climate change is in keeping with our longstanding appreciation for  
34 nature and gratitude for the bounty the Almighty has bestowed upon the American people. It was  
35 Republican President Theodore Roosevelt who said, “The conservation of natural resources is the  
36 fundamental problem. Unless we solve that problem, it will avail us little to solve all others.” We  
37 agree. Whether through family vacations, hunting or fishing trips, backpacking excursions, or

1 weekend hikes, Americans of all backgrounds share a commitment to protecting the environment and  
2 the opportunities it offers.

3 In caring for the land and water, private ownership has been the best guarantee of conscientious  
4 stewardship, while the world’s worst instances of environmental degradation have occurred under  
5 governmental control. By the same token, it is no accident that the most economically advanced  
6 countries also have the strongest environmental protections.

7 Our national progress toward cleaner air and water has been a major accomplishment of the  
8 American people. By balancing environmental goals with economic growth and job creation, our  
9 diverse economy has made possible the investment needed to safeguard natural resources, protect  
10 endangered species, and create healthier living conditions. State and local initiatives to clean up  
11 contaminated sites – brownfields – have exceeded efforts directed by Washington. That progress can  
12 continue if grounded in sound science, long-term planning, and a multi-use approach to resources.

13 Government at all levels should cooperate with land owners’ efforts to protect fragile environments  
14 and endangered species. We advocate incentives to preserve green space, conserve and expand  
15 wetlands, and maintain the natural beauty of the American environment. Republican leadership has  
16 led to the rejuvenation and renewal of our National Park system. Future expansion of that system, as  
17 well as designation of National Wilderness areas or Historic Districts, should be undertaken only with  
18 the active participation of state and local governments.

## Health Care Reform: Putting Patients First

Americans have the best doctors, the best hospitals, the most innovative medical technology, and the best scientists in the world. Our challenge and opportunity is to build around them the best health care system. Republicans believe the key to real reform is to give control of the health care system to patients and their doctors, not bureaucrats in government or business.

There are reasons why American families and businesses are dissatisfied with the current state of health care:

- Most Americans work longer and harder to pay for health care.
- Dedicated physicians are changing careers to avoid litigation.
- The need to hold onto health insurance is driving family decisions about where to live and work.
- Many new mothers worry about the loss of coverage if they choose to stay at home with their children.
- The need – and the bills – for long-term care are challenging families and government alike.
- American businesses are becoming less competitive in the global marketplace because of insurance costs.

It is not enough to offer only increased access to a system that costs too much and does not work for millions of Americans. The Republican goal is more ambitious: Better health care for lower cost.

### **First Principle: Do No Harm**

How do we ensure that all Americans have the peace of mind that comes from owning high-quality, comprehensive health coverage? The first rule of public policy is the same as with medicine: Do no harm.

The American people rejected Democrats' attempted government takeover of health care in 1993, and they remain skeptical of politicians who would send us down that road. Republicans pledge that, as we reform our health care system ...

- We *will not* put the system on a path that empowers Washington bureaucrats at the expense of patients.
- We *will not* put government between patients and their doctors.
- We *will not* raise taxes instead of reducing health care costs.
- We *will not* tolerate any “reform” that would result in rationed care.

- 1       • We *will not* replace the current system with the staggering inefficiency, maddening  
2       irrationality, and uncontrollable costs of a government monopoly.

3       Radical restructuring of health care would be as unwise – and as unethical – as unneeded medical  
4       surgery. We want all Americans to be able to choose the best doctor, hospital, and health coverage  
5       for their needs. We believe that real reform is about improving your access to a physician, your  
6       control over care, and your ability to afford that care.

7       These are simple goals, shared by all Americans, but the other party’s insistence on putting  
8       Washington in charge of patient care has blocked any progress toward them. We reject their  
9       insistence upon expanding bureaucracy and control rather than empowering patients and simplifying  
10      the system. We offer a detailed program that will improve the quality, cost, and coverage of health  
11      care throughout the nation, and we *will* turn that plan into reality.

## 12      **Patient Control and Portability**

13      Republicans believe all Americans should be able to obtain an affordable health care plan that meets  
14      their needs and the needs of their families.

15      Families and doctors are the key to real reform, not lawyers and bureaucrats. To empower families,  
16      we must make insurance more affordable and more secure, and give employees the option of owning  
17      coverage that is not tied to their job. Patients should not have to worry about losing their insurance.  
18      Insurance companies should have to worry about losing patients’ business.

19      The current tax system discriminates against individuals who do not receive health care from their  
20      employers, gives more generous health tax benefits to upper income employees, and fails to provide  
21      every American with the ability to purchase an affordable health care plan. Republicans propose to  
22      correct inequities in the current tax code that drive up the number of uninsured and to level the  
23      playing field so that individuals who choose a health insurance plan in the individual market face no  
24      tax penalty. All Americans should receive the same tax benefit as those who are insured through  
25      work, whether through a tax credit or other means.

26      Individuals with pre-existing conditions must be protected; we will help these individuals by building  
27      on the experiences of innovative states rather than by creating a new unmanageable federal  
28      entitlement.

## 29      **Improving Quality of Care and Lowering Costs**

30      While delivering control of health coverage to families and individuals, Republicans will also  
31      advance a variety of targeted reforms to improve the quality of care, lower costs, and help Americans  
32      – men, women, and children – live longer and healthier lives.

### 33      ***Prevent Disease and End the “Sick Care” System***

34      Chronic diseases – in many cases, preventable conditions – are driving health care costs, consuming  
35      three of every four health care dollars. We can reduce demand for medical care by fostering personal

1 responsibility within a culture of wellness, while increasing access to preventive services, including  
2 improved nutrition and breakthrough medications that keep people healthy and out of the hospital. To  
3 reduce the incidence of diabetes, cancer, heart disease, and stroke, we call for a national grassroots  
4 campaign against obesity, especially among children.

5 ***Empower Individuals to Make the Best Health Care Choices.***

6 Transparency – clear information about the price and the quality of care – empowers patients. It lets  
7 consumers make better decisions about where to spend their health care dollars, thereby fostering  
8 competition and lowering costs. Patients must have the information they need to make sound  
9 decisions about their doctors, hospitals, and insurance companies.

10 ***Use Health Information Technology to Save Lives***

11 Advances in medical technology are revolutionizing medicine. Information technology is key to early  
12 detection and treatment of chronic disease as well as fetal care and health care in rural areas –  
13 especially where our growing wireless communications network is available. The simple step of  
14 modernizing recordkeeping will mean faster, more accurate treatment, fewer medical errors, and  
15 lower costs. Closing the health care information gap can reduce both under-utilization (the diabetic  
16 who forgets to refill an insulin prescription) and over-utilization (the patient who endures repetitive  
17 tests because providers have not shared test results).

18 ***Protect Good Doctors from Greedy Trial Lawyers***

19 The prescription for more good doctors is fewer frivolous lawsuits. Every patient must have access  
20 to legal remedies for malpractice; but meritless lawsuits drive up insurance rates to outrageous levels  
21 and ultimately drive up the number of uninsured. Frivolous lawsuits also drive up the cost of health  
22 care as doctors are forced to practice defensive medicine – such as ordering unnecessary tests – to  
23 protect themselves from trial lawyers. Many leave their practices rather than deal with the current  
24 system. This emergency demands medical liability reform.

25 ***Reward Good Doctors for Delivering Real Results***

26 Patients deserve access to doctors they trust who will personalize and coordinate their care to ensure  
27 they receive the right treatment with the right doctor at the right time. Providers should be paid for  
28 keeping people well, not for the number of tests they run or procedures they perform. The current  
29 cookie-cutter system of reimbursement needs restructuring from the view of the patient, not the  
30 accountant or Washington bureaucrat.

31 ***Drive Costs Down With Interstate Competition***

32 A national market for health insurance means more competition, more choice, and lower costs.  
33 Families – as well as fraternal societies, churches and community groups, and small employers –  
34 should be able to purchase policies across state lines. The best practices and lowest prices should be  
35 available in every state. We call upon state legislators to reconsider the counterproductive approach  
36 of medical mandates, and we salute those Republican governors who are leading the way in  
37 demonstrating ways to provide affordable health care options.

1 ***Modernize Long-Term Care Options for All***

2 The financial burdens and emotional challenges of ensuring adequate care for elderly family  
3 members affect every American, especially with today’s aging population. We must develop new  
4 ways to support individuals, not just institutions, so that older Americans can have a real choice  
5 whether to stay in their homes. This is true not only with regard to Medicaid, where we spend \$100  
6 billion annually on long term care, but also for those who do not qualify for that assistance.

7 **Funding Medical Research**

8 We support federal investment in basic and applied biomedical research. This commitment will  
9 maintain America’s global competitiveness, advance innovative science that can lead to medical  
10 breakthroughs, and turn the tide against diseases affecting millions of Americans – diseases that  
11 account for the majority of our health care costs. The United States leads in this research, as  
12 evidenced by our growing biotechnology industry, but foreign competition is increasing. One way  
13 government can help preserve the promise of American innovation is to ensure that our intellectual  
14 property laws remain robust.

15 Federal research dollars should be spent as though lives are at stake – because, in fact, they are.  
16 Research protocols must consider the special needs of formerly neglected groups if we are to make  
17 significant progress against breast and prostate cancer, diabetes, and other killers.

18 Taxpayer-funded medical research must be based on sound science, with a focus on both prevention  
19 and treatment, and in accordance with the humane ethics of the Hippocratic Oath. In that regard, we  
20 call for a major expansion of support for the stem-cell research that now shows amazing promise and  
21 offers the greatest hope for scores of diseases – with adult stem cells, umbilical cord blood, and cells  
22 reprogrammed into pluripotent stem cells – without the unethical destruction of embryonic human  
23 life. We call for a ban on human cloning, the creation of human embryos for research purposes.

24 **Protecting Rights of Conscience**

25 The health care profession can be both a profession and a calling. All who are engaged in the healing  
26 arts – doctors, nurses, pharmacists, and others – must be free to obey their conscience while  
27 performing their professional duties. This is especially true of the religious organizations which  
28 deliver a major portion of America’s health care, a service rooted in the charity of faith communities.

29 **Medicare**

30 The growth of Medicare presents special challenges, and we intend to meet them. Its projected  
31 growth is out of control and threatens to squeeze out other programs, while funding constraints lead  
32 to restricted access to treatment for many seniors. There are solutions. Medicare can be a leader for  
33 the rest of our health care system by encouraging treatment of the whole patient. Specifically, we  
34 should compensate doctors who coordinate care, especially for those with multiple chronic  
35 conditions, and eliminate waste and inefficiency. Medicare patients must have more control of their

1 care and choice regarding their doctors, and the benefits of competition must be delivered to the  
2 patients themselves if Medicare is to provide quality health care.

3 Finally, because it is isolated from the free market forces that encourage innovation, competition,  
4 affordability, and expansion of options, Medicare is especially susceptible to fraud and abuse. The  
5 program loses tens of billions of dollars annually in erroneous and fraudulent payments. We are  
6 determined to root out the fraud and eliminate this assault on the taxpayer.

### 7 **Medicaid**

8 Our Medicaid obligations will consume \$5 trillion over the next ten years. Medicaid now accounts  
9 for 20-25 percent of state budgets and threatens to overwhelm state governments for the indefinite  
10 future. We can do better while spending less. A first step is to give Medicaid recipients more health  
11 care options. Several states have allowed beneficiaries to buy regular health insurance with their  
12 Medicaid dollars. This removes the Medicaid “stamp” from people’s foreheads, provides  
13 beneficiaries with better access to doctors, and saves taxpayers’ money.

### 14 **Building a Health Care System for Future Emergencies**

15 To protect the American people from the threats we face in the century ahead, we must develop and  
16 stockpile medicines and vaccines so we can deliver them where urgently needed. Our health care  
17 infrastructure must have the surge capacity to handle large numbers of patients in times of crisis,  
18 whether it is a repeat of Hurricane Katrina, a flu pandemic, or a bioterror attack on multiple cities.  
19 Republicans will ensure that this infrastructure, including the needed communications capacity, is  
20 closely integrated into our homeland security needs.

21

## 22 **Education Means a More Competitive America**

23 Education is a parental right, a state and local responsibility, and a national strategic interest.

24 Maintaining America’s preeminence requires a world-class system of education, with high standards,  
25 in which all students can reach their potential. That requires considerable improvement over our  
26 current 70 percent high school graduation rate and six-year graduation rate of only 57 percent for  
27 colleges.

28 Education is essential to competitiveness, but it is more than just training for the work force of the  
29 future. It is through education that we ensure the transmission of a culture, a set of values we hold in  
30 common. It has prepared generations for responsible citizenship in a free society, and it must  
31 continue to do so.

## 1 **Principles for Elementary and Secondary Education**

2 All children should have access to an excellent education that empowers them to secure their own  
3 freedom and contribute to the betterment of our society. We reaffirm the principles that have been the  
4 foundation of the nation’s educational progress toward that goal: accountability for student academic  
5 achievement; periodic testing on the fundamentals of learning, especially math and reading, history  
6 and geography; transparency, so parents and the general public know which schools best serve their  
7 students; and flexibility and freedom to innovate so schools and districts can best meet the needs of  
8 their students.

9 We advocate policies and methods that are proven and effective: building on the basics, especially  
10 phonics; merit pay for good teachers; classroom discipline; parental involvement; and strong  
11 leadership by principals. We reject a one-size-fits-all approach, and support local innovations such as  
12 single-sex education.

13 To ensure that all students will have access to the mainstream of American life, we support the  
14 English First approach and oppose divisive programs that limit students’ future potential. All  
15 students must be literate in English, our common language, to participate in the promise of America.

### 16 ***Early Childhood Education***

17 Because parents are a child’s first and most important teachers, all parents should be afforded the  
18 opportunities to ensure that their children enter kindergarten or first grade ready to learn. That  
19 requires the improvement of early childhood learning programs for low-income youngsters, such as  
20 Head Start. We reaffirm our support for the child care tax credit that helps parents choose the care  
21 best for their family.

### 22 ***Giving Students the Best Teachers***

23 For students to meet world class standards, they must have access to world class teachers, whether in  
24 person or through virtual public schools that can bring high-quality instruction into the classroom.  
25 School districts must have the authority to recruit, reward, and retain the best and brightest teachers,  
26 and principals must have the authority to select and assign teachers without regard to collective  
27 bargaining agreements. Because qualified teachers are often not available through traditional routes,  
28 we support local efforts to create an adjunct teacher corps of experts from higher education, business,  
29 and the military to fill in when needed.

30 Teachers must be protected against frivolous litigation and should be able to take reasonable actions  
31 to maintain discipline and order in the classroom. We encourage the private-public partnerships and  
32 mentoring that can make classroom time more meaningful to students by integrating it with learning  
33 beyond school walls. These efforts are crucial to lowering the drop-out rate and helping at-risk  
34 students realize their potential.

35 Partnerships between schools and businesses can be especially important in STEM subjects: science,  
36 technology, engineering and math. The need to improve secondary education in those fields can be  
37 measured by the number of remedial courses now offered at the college level. Our country’s reliance  
38 upon foreign talent in those areas begins with insufficient emphasis upon them in the high school

1 years. We applaud those who are changing that situation by giving young people real-world  
2 experience in the private sector.

### 3 *Asserting Family Rights in Schooling*

4 Parents should be able to decide the learning environment that is best for their child. We support  
5 choice in education for all families, especially those with children trapped in dangerous and failing  
6 schools, whether through charter schools, vouchers, faith-based or other non-public schools, or the  
7 option of learning at home. We will energetically assert the right of students to engage in voluntary  
8 prayer in schools and to have equal access to school facilities for religious purposes. We support  
9 abstinence education and oppose school-based clinics that provide referrals, counseling, and related  
10 services for abortion and contraception. School-based mental health programs should not include the  
11 use of psychotropic drugs.

### 12 *Reviewing the Federal Role in Primary and Secondary Education*

13 Although the Constitution assigns the federal government no role in local education, Washington's  
14 authority over the nation's schools has increased dramatically. In less than a decade, annual federal  
15 funding has shot up 41 percent to almost \$25 billion, while the regulatory burden on state and local  
16 governments has risen by about 6.7 million hours – and added \$141 million in costs – during that  
17 time.

18 To get our schools back to the basics of learning, we support initiatives to block-grant more  
19 Department of Education funding to the states, with requirements for state-level standards,  
20 assessments, and public reporting to ensure transparency. Local educators must be free to end  
21 ineffective programs and reallocate resources where they are most needed.

### 22 *Maintaining our Commitment to IDEA*

23 Because a federal mandate on the states must include the promised federal funding, we will fulfill the  
24 promise of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act to cover 40 percent of the costs incurred  
25 because of that legislation. We urge preventive efforts in early childhood, especially individual  
26 assistance in reading, to help many youngsters move beyond the need for IDEA's protections.

### 27 **Higher Education**

28 Our country's system of higher education – public and private, secular and religious, large and small  
29 institutions – is unique for its excellence, its diversity, and its accessibility. Learning is a safeguard  
30 of liberty. Post-secondary education not only increases the earnings of individuals but advances  
31 economic development. Our colleges and universities drive much of the research that keeps America  
32 competitive. We must ensure that our higher education system remain innovative and accessible.

### 33 *Meeting College Costs*

34 Students and their parents face formidable challenges in planning for college as costs continue to  
35 outpace inflation. Higher education seems immune from market controls and the law of supply and  
36 demand. We commend those institutions which are directing a greater proportion of their endowment  
37 revenues toward tuition relief.

1 The Republican vision for expanding access to higher education has led to two major advances,  
2 Education Savings Accounts and Section 529 accounts, by which millions of families now save for  
3 college. While federal student loans and grants have opened doors to learning for untold numbers of  
4 low- and middle-income students, the overall financial aid system, with its daunting forms and  
5 confused rationales, is nothing less than Byzantine. It must be simplified. We call for a presidential  
6 commission to undertake that task and to review the role of government regulations and policies in  
7 the tuition spiral. We affirm our support for the public-private partnership that now offers students  
8 and their families a vibrant marketplace in selecting their student loan provider.

9 ***Innovation Will Lead to Lifelong Learning***

10 The challenge to American higher education is to make sure students can access education in  
11 whatever forms they want. As mobility increases in all aspects of American life, student mobility,  
12 from school to school and from campus to campus, will require new approaches to admissions,  
13 evaluations, and credentialing. Distance learning propelled by an expanding telecommunications  
14 sector and especially broadband, is certain to grow in importance – whether through public or private  
15 institutions -- and federal law should not discriminate against the latter. Lifelong learning will  
16 continue to transform the demographics of higher education, bringing older students and real-world  
17 experience to campus.

18 ***Community Colleges Continue to Play a Crucial Role***

19 Community colleges are central to the future of higher education, especially as they build bridges  
20 between the world of work and the classroom. Many of our returning veterans find community  
21 colleges to be welcoming environments where they can develop specific skills for use in the civilian  
22 workforce. As the first responders to economic development and retraining of workers, these schools  
23 fulfill our national commitment of an affordable and readily accessible education for all.

24 ***Special Challenges in Higher Education***

25 Free speech on college campuses is to be celebrated, but there should be no place in academia for  
26 anti-Semitism or racism of any kind. We affirm the right of students and faculty to express their  
27 views in the face of the leftist dogmatism that dominates many institutions. To preserve the integrity  
28 and independence of the nation's colleges, we will continue to ensure alternatives to ideological  
29 accrediting systems.

30 Educational opportunities for women have increased dramatically since enactment of Title IX of the  
31 Education Amendments of 1972. That law should not be distorted by Washington bureaucrats to  
32 micromanage collegiate athletics or force cancellation of men's sports programs.

33 Because some of the nation's leading universities create or tolerate a hostile atmosphere toward the  
34 ROTC, we will rigorously enforce the provision of law, unanimously upheld by the Supreme Court,  
35 which denies those institutions federal research grants unless their military students have the full  
36 rights and privileges of other students. That must include the right to engage in ROTC activities on  
37 their own campus, rather than being segregated elsewhere.

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## **Protecting Our Families**

Republicans remain the party of vigorous action against crime. Our national experience over the past twenty years has shown that vigilance, tough yet fair prosecutors, meaningful sentences, protection of victims' rights, and limits on judicial discretion protect the innocent by keeping criminals off the streets.

### **Stopping Online Child Predators and Ending Child Pornography**

The Internet must be made safe for children. That's why Republicans have led efforts to increase the funding necessary to track down and jail online predators through the Adam Walsh Act. We commit to do whatever it takes, using all the tools of innovative technology, to thwart those who would prey upon our children. We call on service providers to ensure that the Internet cannot become a safe haven for criminals.

Child pornography is a hideous form of child abuse. Those who produce it – and those who traffic in it – must be punished to the maximum extent of the law. Because it is an international problem, the Executive Branch must carry the fight overseas to where the molesters perpetrate their evil. Congress should expand the range of companies required to report the existence of child pornography, and we congratulate the social networking sites that agree to bar known sex offenders from participation.

### **Ridding the Nation of Dangerous Street Gangs**

Gang violence is a growing problem, not only in urban areas but in many suburbs and rural communities. It has escalated with the rise of gangs composed largely of illegal aliens, most of whose victims are law-abiding members of immigrant communities. We call for stronger enforcement and determined prosecution of gang conspiracies. Aliens involved with gangs or who are convicted of crimes of violence or sex offenses must be deported as soon as possible after completing their sentences.

### **Locking Up Criminals**

Criminals behind bars cannot harm the general public. To that end:

- We support mandatory sentencing provisions for gang conspiracy crimes, violent or sexual offenses against children, rape, and assaults resulting in serious bodily injury.
- Gang rape, child rape, and rape committed in the course of another felony deserve, at the least, mandatory life imprisonment.
- We oppose the granting of parole to dangerous or repeat felons.
- Courts must have the option of imposing the death penalty in capital murder cases and other instances of heinous crime, while federal review of those sentences should be

1 streamlined to focus on claims of innocence and to prevent delaying tactics by defense  
2 attorneys.

### 3 **Reforming Prisons and Serving Families**

4 Public authorities at all levels must cooperate to regain control of the nation’s correctional  
5 institutions. It is unacceptable that prison officers should live in fear of the inmates they guard.  
6 Similarly, persons jailed for whatever cause should be protected against cruel or degrading treatment  
7 by other inmates. We cannot allow correctional facilities to become ethnic or racial battlegrounds.

8 Breaking the cycle of crime begins with the children of those who are incarcerated. Deprived of a  
9 parent through no fault of their own, these youngsters should be a special concern of our schools,  
10 social services, and religious institutions. Government at all levels should work with faith-based  
11 institutions that have proven track records in diverting young and first offenders from criminal  
12 careers through Second Chance and similar programs.

### 13 **Protecting Law Enforcement Officers**

14 In solidarity with those who protect us, we call for mandatory prison time for all assaults involving  
15 bodily injury to law enforcement officers. Reviews of death sentences imposed for murdering a  
16 police officer should be expedited, and a retrial of the penalty phase of the killer’s trial should be  
17 allowed in the absence of a unanimous verdict. We support the right of off-duty and retired officers to  
18 carry firearms. Criminals should be barred from seeking monetary damages for injuries they incur  
19 while committing a felony.

### 20 **Growing Law Enforcement**

21 In recent years, many federal resources for law enforcement have been shifted to the fight against  
22 terror. To compensate for that loss of manpower – and with the significant increase in cybercrime,  
23 identity theft, and human trafficking – several thousand new FBI agents, U.S. marshals, immigration  
24 officers, and Border Patrol agents are needed. The costs will be significant; but the social and  
25 economic costs of street gangs, identity theft, and illegal entry into this country would be much  
26 greater.

### 27 **Continuing the Fight against Illegal Drugs**

28 The human toll of drug addiction and abuse hits all segments of American society. It is an  
29 international problem as well, with most of the narcotics in this country coming from beyond our  
30 borders. We will continue the fight against producers, traffickers, and distributors of illegal  
31 substances and support the work of those who help individuals struggling with addiction. We  
32 endorse state and local initiatives, such as Drug Courts, that are trying new approaches to curbing  
33 drug abuse and diverting first-time offenders to rehabilitation.

1 **Protecting the Victims of Crime**

2 Twenty-six years ago, President Reagan’s Task Force on Victims of Crime, calling the neglect of  
3 crime victims a “national disgrace,” proposed a constitutional amendment to secure their formal  
4 rights. Today, that disgrace persists in courtrooms across the nation. Innocent victims – battered  
5 women, abused children, the loved ones of the murdered – still may not be told when their case is  
6 being heard. They can be excluded from the courtroom even when the defendant and his friends may  
7 be present. They have no right to a speedy trial, and a judge or parole board has no obligation to  
8 consider their personal safety in making release decisions. In short, the innocent have far fewer  
9 rights than the guilty. We call on Congress to correct this imbalance by sending to the states for  
10 ratification a constitutional amendment. In addition, crime victims should be assured of access to  
11 legal and social services, and the Crime Victims Fund established under President Reagan should be  
12 used solely for that purpose.

13 **Securing Our Civil Liberties**

14 Because our Constitution is based on the principles of individual liberty and limited government, we  
15 must always ensure that law enforcement respects the civil and constitutional rights of the people.  
16 While we wage war on terrorism in foreign lands, it is sometimes necessary for intelligence agencies  
17 and law enforcement officials to pursue terrorist threats at home. However, no expansion of  
18 governmental powers should occur at the expense of our constitutional liberties.

19 **Renewing Neighborhoods, Building Communities**

20 The two most effective forces in reducing crime and other social ills are strong families and caring  
21 communities. Both reinforce constructive conduct and ethical standards by setting examples and  
22 providing safe havens from dangerous and destructive behaviors. Given the weight of social science  
23 evidence concerning the crucial role played by the traditional family in setting a child’s future course,  
24 we urge a thoughtful review of governmental policies and programs which may tend to undermine  
25 that institution.

26 Decentralized decision-making in the place of official controls empowers individuals and groups to  
27 tackle social problems in partnership with government. Bureaucracy is no longer a credible approach  
28 to helping those in need. This is especially true in light of alternatives such as faith-based  
29 organizations, which tend to have a greater degree of success than others in dealing with problems  
30 such as substance abuse and domestic violence. To accomplish their missions, those groups must be  
31 able to rely upon people who share their faith; their hiring must not be subjected to government  
32 regulation and mandates.

33 **Preserving Our Values**

34 From its founding, America has been an idea as much as a political or geographic entity. It has  
35 meant, for untold millions around the world, a set of ideals that speak to the highest aspirations of

1 humanity. From its own beginning, the Republican Party has boldly asserted those ideals, as we now  
2 do again, to affirm the rights of the people under the rule of law.

### 3 **Upholding the Constitutional Right to Bear Arms**

4 We uphold the right of individual Americans to own firearms, a right which antedated the  
5 Constitution and was solemnly confirmed by the Second Amendment. We applaud federal court  
6 rulings affirming that right, particularly the Supreme Court's *Heller* decision, and we assert the  
7 individual responsibility to safely use and store firearms. We call on the next president to appoint  
8 judges who will similarly respect the Constitution.

9 Gun ownership is responsible citizenship, enabling Americans to defend their homes and  
10 communities against violent individuals and the drug culture. We call for education in constitutional  
11 rights in schools, and we support the option of firearms training in federal programs serving senior  
12 citizens and women. We urge immediate action to review the automatic denial of gun ownership to  
13 returning members of the Armed Forces who have suffered trauma during service to their country.  
14 We condemn frivolous lawsuits against firearms manufacturers, which are transparent attempts to  
15 deprive citizens of their rights. We oppose federal licensing of law-abiding gun owners and national  
16 gun registration as violations of the Second Amendment.

### 17 **Ensuring Equal Treatment for All**

18 Individual rights – and the responsibilities that go with them – are the foundation of a free society.  
19 From the time of Lincoln, equality of individuals has been a cornerstone of the Republican Party.  
20 Our commitment to equal opportunity extends from landmark opportunity legislation for the students  
21 of Washington D.C. to historic appointments at the highest levels of government. We consider  
22 discrimination based on sex, race, age, religion, creed, disability or national origin to be immoral and  
23 will strongly enforce anti-discrimination statutes. We ask all to join us in rejecting the forces of  
24 hatred and bigotry and in denouncing all who practice or promote racism, anti-Semitism, ethnic  
25 prejudice, or religious intolerance. As a matter of principle, Republicans oppose any attempts to  
26 create race-based governments within the United States, as well as any governments not bound by the  
27 Constitution or the Bill of Rights.

28 Precisely because we oppose discrimination, we reject preferences, quotas, and set-asides, whether in  
29 education or in corporate boardrooms. The government should not make contracts on these bases, and  
30 neither should corporations. We support efforts to help low-income individuals get a fair shot based  
31 on their potential and merit, and we affirm the common-sense approach of the Chief Justice of the  
32 United States: that the way to stop discriminating on the basis of race is to stop discriminating.

### 33 **Protecting Our National Symbols**

34 The symbol of our unity, to which we all pledge allegiance, is the flag. By whatever legislative  
35 method is most feasible, Old Glory should be given legal protection against desecration. We

1 condemn decisions by activist judges to deny children the opportunity to say the Pledge of Allegiance  
2 in public school.

### 3 **Maintaining The Sanctity and Dignity of Human Life**

4 Faithful to the first guarantee of the Declaration of Independence, we assert the inherent dignity and  
5 sanctity of all human life and affirm that the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life  
6 which cannot be infringed. We support a human life amendment to the Constitution, and we endorse  
7 legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment’s protections apply to unborn children. We  
8 oppose using public revenues to promote or perform abortion and will not fund organizations which  
9 advocate it. We support the appointment of judges who respect traditional family values and the  
10 sanctity and dignity of innocent human life.

11 We have made progress. The Supreme Court had upheld prohibitions against the barbaric practice of  
12 partial-birth abortion, the Born Alive Infants Protection Act has become law, and states are now  
13 permitted to extend health care coverage to children before birth. We invite all persons of good will,  
14 whether across the political aisle or within our party, to work together to reduce the incidence of  
15 abortion; to protect girls from exploitation and statutory rape through a parental notification  
16 requirement; and to oppose sex selection abortions. We all have a moral obligation to assist, not to  
17 penalize, women struggling with the challenges of an unplanned pregnancy. We salute those who  
18 provide them alternatives, including crisis pregnancy centers, and we take pride in the tremendous  
19 increase in adoptions that has followed Republican legislative initiatives.

### 20 ***Americans with Disabilities***

21 Respect for life requires efforts to include persons with disabilities in education, employment, the  
22 justice system, and civic participation. In keeping with that commitment, we oppose the non-  
23 consensual withholding of care or treatment from the disabled, as well as the elderly and infirm, just  
24 as we oppose euthanasia and assisted suicide, which endanger especially those on the margins of  
25 society. Because government should set a positive standard in hiring and contracting for the services  
26 of disabled Americans, we need to update the statutory authority for the AbilityOne program, the  
27 main avenue by which those productive members of our society can offer high quality services at the  
28 best possible value.

### 29 **Preserving Traditional Marriage**

30 Because our children’s future is best preserved within the traditional understanding of marriage, we  
31 call for a constitutional amendment that fully protects marriage as a union of a man and a woman, so  
32 that judges cannot make other arrangements equivalent to it. In the absence of a national amendment,  
33 we support the right of the people of the various states to affirm traditional marriage through state  
34 initiatives.

35 Republicans have been at the forefront of protecting traditional marriage laws, both in the states and  
36 in Congress. A Republican Congress enacted the Defense of Marriage Act, affirming the right of  
37 states not to recognize same-sex marriages licensed in other states. To safeguard that victory, a

1 Republican House of Representatives passed legislation withdrawing jurisdiction over DOMA from  
2 the federal courts. We urge renewed use of that Article III power to prevent activist federal judges  
3 from imposing upon the rest of the nation the judicial activism in Massachusetts and California.

#### 4 **Safeguarding Religious Liberties**

5 Our Constitution guarantees the free exercise of religion and forbids any religious test for public  
6 office, and it likewise prohibits the establishment of a state-sponsored creed. The balance between  
7 those two ideals has been distorted by judicial rulings which attempt to drive faith out of the public  
8 arena.

9 We affirm every citizen's right to apply religious values to public policy and the right of faith-based  
10 organizations to participate fully in public programs without renouncing their beliefs, removing  
11 religious objects or symbols, or becoming subject to government-imposed hiring practices. We  
12 support the First Amendment right of freedom of association on the part of the Boy Scouts of  
13 America and other service organizations whose values are under assault, and we call upon the  
14 Commonwealth of Massachusetts to reverse its policy of blacklisting religious groups which decline  
15 to arrange adoptions by same-sex couples. Respectful of our nation's diversity in faith, we urge  
16 reasonable accommodation of religious beliefs in the private workplace. We deplore the increasing  
17 incidence of attacks against religious symbols, as well as incidents of anti-Semitism on college  
18 campuses.

#### 19 **Preserving Americans' Property Rights**

20 At the center of a free economy is the right of citizens to be secure in their property. That right was  
21 undermined by the Supreme Court's *Kelo* decision, allowing local governments to seize a person's  
22 home or land, not for important public use, but for transfer to private developers. That 5-to-4  
23 decision highlights what is at stake in the election of the next president, who may make new  
24 appointments to the Court. We call on state legislatures to moot the *Kelo* decision by appropriate  
25 legislation, and we pledge on the federal level to pass legislation to protect against unjust federal  
26 takings. We will enforce the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment to ensure just compensation  
27 whenever private property is needed to achieve a compelling public purpose. We urge caution in the  
28 designation of National Historic Areas, which can set the stage for widespread governmental control  
29 of citizens' lands.

#### 30 **Supporting Native American Communities**

31 The federal government has a special responsibility to the people in Indian country and a unique trust  
32 relationship with them, which has been insufficiently honored. The social and economic problems  
33 that plague Indian country have grown worse over the last several decades, and we must reverse that  
34 trend. Ineffective government programs deprive Indians of the services they need, and long-term  
35 failures threaten to undermine tribal sovereignty itself.

1 Republicans believe that economic self-sufficiency is the ultimate answer to the challenges in Indian  
2 country and that tribal communities, not Washington bureaucracies, are better situated to craft local  
3 solutions. Federal – and state – regulations that thwart job creation must be reconsidered so that  
4 tribal governments acting on Native Americans’ behalf are not disadvantaged. The Democratic  
5 Party’s repeated undermining of tribal sovereignty to advantage union bosses is especially egregious.

6 Republicans reject a one-size-fits-all approach to federal-tribal partnerships and will work to expand  
7 local autonomy where tribal governments seek it. Better partnerships will help us to expand  
8 opportunity, deliver top-flight education to future generations, modernize and improve the Indian  
9 Health Service to make it more responsive to local needs, and build essential infrastructure. Native  
10 Americans must be empowered to develop the rich natural resources on their lands without undue  
11 federal interference.

12 Crime in Indian country, especially against women, is a special problem demanding immediate  
13 attention. Inadequate resources and neglect have made Indians less safe and allowed safe havens to  
14 develop in Indian country for criminal narcotics enterprises. The government must increase funding  
15 for tribal officers and investigators, FBI agents, prosecutors, and tribal jails. The legal system must  
16 provide stability and protect property rights. Everyone’s civil rights must be safeguarded, including  
17 the right to due process and freedom of the press, with accountability for all government officials.

18 We support efforts to ensure equitable participation in federal programs by Native Americans, Native  
19 Alaskans, and Native Hawaiians and to preserve their culture and languages. We honor the sacrifices  
20 of Native Americans serving in the military today and will ensure that all veterans receive the care  
21 and respect they have earned through their service to America.

22