

# THE REPUBLICAN REVERSAL

Research Documents

Primary Sources

2004 Republican Party Platform

*August 30, 2004*

## **Coast Guard**

Republicans recognize the critical new role played by the U.S. Coast Guard in upholding America's maritime security against terrorist threats. Our nation saw the dedication and the versatility of the Coast Guard in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 – a performance that demonstrated the Coast Guard's vital contribution to homeland security. We applaud the men and women of the Coast Guard for rising to meet new challenges, even as they continue to accomplish traditional missions such as search and rescue, navigation assistance, drug interdiction, fisheries enforcement, and environmental protection. We also applaud the Coast Guard men and women who serve and have served in the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean in Operation Iraqi Freedom.

Under the leadership of President Bush and the Republican Congress, our nation has significantly increased budget support for the Coast Guard to achieve its expanded mission. We affirm the importance of continued strong support, including for efforts to recapitalize and enlarge the Coast Guard's fleet, a critical component of our overall national fleet. This should not be done at the expense of or by in any way reducing the U.S. Navy's shipbuilding program. Our nation asks much of the men and women of the Coast Guard – uniformed warfighters who serve on the front line of the War on Terror. We applaud the President and the Republican Congress for ensuring that the service has the resources needed to accomplish its expanded mission.

...

## **Building a Better World Based on Democratic Governments, Free Markets, and International Compassion**

Republicans applaud President Bush for launching groundbreaking efforts to address the needs and hopes of the world's poor, cutting across traditional boundaries to focus on what works. We agree with President Bush that the United States must use this moment of opportunity to extend the benefits of freedom across the globe – by actively working to bring the hope of democracy, development, free markets, and free trade to every corner of the world.

The events of September 11, 2001, taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interests as strong states. Poverty does not make poor people into terrorists and murderers. Yet poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders.

Republicans believe that a world where some live in comfort and plenty, while half of the human race lives on less than \$2 a day, is neither just nor stable. We applaud President Bush and the

Republican Congress for their leadership and moral clarity in making the inclusion of all of the world's poor in an expanding circle of development – and opportunity – one of the top priorities of U.S. international policy.

Decades of massive development assistance have failed to spur economic growth in the poorest countries. Worse, development aid has often served to prop up failed policies, relieving the pressure for reform and perpetuating misery. Results of aid are typically measured in dollars spent by donors, not in the rates of growth and poverty reduction achieved by recipients. These are the indicators of a failed strategy.

Working with other nations, and under the leadership of President Bush and the Republican Congress, the United States has confronted this failure. President Bush helped to forge a new consensus at the United Nations Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey that the objectives of assistance – and the strategies to achieve those objectives – must change.

Republicans support the President's goal to help unleash the productive potential of individuals in all nations. Sustained growth and poverty reduction are impossible without the right national policies. Where governments have implemented real policy changes, we will provide significant new levels of assistance. The United States and other developed countries should set an ambitious and specific target: to double the size of the world's poorest economies within a decade.

We endorse the strategies that the United States is pursuing to achieve this goal, including:

- providing resources through the Millennium Challenge Account to aid countries that have met the challenge of reform;
- improving the effectiveness of the World Bank and other development banks in raising living standards;
- insisting upon measurable results to ensure that development assistance is actually making a difference in the lives of the world's poor;
- increasing the amount of development assistance that is provided in the form of grants instead of loans; • opening societies to commerce and investment;
- enhancing public health in countries afflicted by epidemics and pandemics like HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis;
- emphasizing education, literacy, and learning as the foundation of democracy and development; and
- continuing to aid agricultural development.

Republicans know that a strong world economy enhances our national security by advancing prosperity and freedom in the rest of the world. Economic growth supported by free trade and free markets creates new jobs and higher incomes. It allows people to lift their lives out of poverty, spurs economic and legal reform, enhances the fight against corruption, and reinforces the habits of liberty.

Under Republican leadership, the United States has fostered an environment of economic openness to capitalize on our country's greatest asset in the information age: a vital, innovative society that welcomes creative ideas and adapts to them. American companies continue to show

the world innovative ways to improve productivity and redraw traditional business models. Upon this extraordinary foundation, President Bush and the Republican Congress have rebuilt an effective American trade policy. Rooted in America's political and economic ideals, the Republican blueprint they have implemented promotes open markets and open societies, free trade and the free flow of information, and the development of new ideas and private sectors. This self-sustaining economic and commercial progress has nurtured the human spirit, the middle class, law, and liberty.

Republicans applaud the renewal of the executive-Congressional partnership on trade matters under Republican leadership. After a gap of eight years, the Administration reestablished majority support in the Congress for free and fair trade by passing Trade Promotion Authority and the other market-opening measures for developing countries in the Trade Act of 2002.

We commend the strong record of President Bush and the Republican Congress in using their authority to promote economic growth and economic freedom beyond America's shores, especially through free trade initiatives. We support the Administration's comprehensive strategy to promote free trade, exemplified by the launch of the Doha negotiation of the World Trade Organization (WTO), regional and sub-regional initiatives such as the Central American Free Trade Agreement, the Free Trade Area of the Americas, and the Middle East Free Trade Area, extension of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, and the conclusion of bilateral free trade agreements with nations such as Australia, Morocco, Chile, and Singapore.

We hail the strong record of President Bush and the Republican Congress in:

- completing agreements with 12 countries, and currently negotiating with 10 other nations, to reduce trade barriers – together, these 22 nations represent America's third largest export market, with economies totaling \$2.5 trillion in purchasing power;
- enforcing trade agreements and laws against unfair practices, including staunch opposition to regulations that impede farm exports and improved agriculture; • opposing unfair manipulation of currency rates by U.S. trading partners; and
- taking timely action to help domestic industries and workers adjust to foreign competition, including through safeguard actions in support of America's manufacturing sector and trade adjustment assistance for workers;
- incorporating appropriate labor and environmental concerns into U.S. trade negotiations, promoting mutually supportive trade and environmental policies and agreements; and
- using the International Labor Organization, trade preference programs, and trade talks to improve working conditions in conjunction with freer trade.

We recognize that there is a fundamental connection between trade and development. Trade policies can help developing countries strengthen property rights, competition, the rule of law, investment, the spread of knowledge, open societies, the efficient allocation of resources, and regional integration – all leading to growth, opportunity, and confidence in developing countries. We therefore welcome the Republican-led reauthorization in the Trade Act of 2002 of preference programs with the nations of the Caribbean and Andean regions.

...

## **Private Property Rights**

The core of ownership in America has always been ownership of private property that a citizen can call his or her own. Republicans respect this tradition. For reasons both Constitutional and environmental, therefore, President Bush and the Republican Congress will safeguard private property rights by enforcing the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment and by providing just compensation whenever private property is needed to achieve a compelling public purpose. We oppose efforts to diminish the rights of private citizens to the land they own.

### **BUILDING AN INNOVATIVE, GLOBALLY COMPETITIVE ECONOMY**

*"By leading the world when it comes to innovation and change, we'll make America a hopeful place for those who want to work, and those who want to dream, and those who want to start their own business."*

— President George W. Bush

America's economy is the strongest in the world, and it is getting stronger thanks to lower taxes, fewer burdensome regulations, and a focus on encouraging investment. Our goal is to make sure America remains the strongest economy in a dynamic world and to make it possible for every American who wants a job to find one. We must ensure that workers are equipped with the education and training to succeed in the best jobs of the 21st century, and we must encourage the strong spirit of innovation that has put America at the forefront of new technology industries. Future prosperity demands that we have affordable, cleaner, more independent energy supplies and affordable, high-quality health care. We must maintain our commitment to free and fair trade, lower taxes, limited regulation, and a limited, efficient government that keeps up with the new realities of a changing world. By keeping the costs of running a business low and ensuring that our workers have the skills to compete in a dynamic global economy, President Bush and the Republican Congress will continue to ensure that America is the best nation in the world in which to create jobs.

...

## **Ensuring an Affordable, Reliable, More Independent Energy Supply**

A stable, affordable, more independent energy supply is vital to fueling America's economic growth, increasing prosperity, helping families afford prices at the pump, and making America more secure. President Bush and Republicans in Congress recognize the need for a balanced energy policy that increases both energy production and conservation. We need a comprehensive energy policy so that we will no longer lurch from one energy crisis to the next. Recent electricity blackouts, the California energy crisis, natural gas and oil price spikes, and high gasoline prices remind us that only a comprehensive energy policy will produce energy stability for America's families and businesses.

As one of his first acts in office, President Bush released the National Energy Policy (NEP) report, a comprehensive plan to reduce America's dependence on foreign sources of energy by increasing domestic energy production and supporting conservation and alternative and renewable energy. The President's proposal would make America more energy independent

while creating jobs and promoting economic growth. It includes over 100 recommendations, nearly half of which addressed renewable energy, energy efficiency, and conservation. President Bush has implemented nearly every non-legislative recommendation outlined in the NEP report. Republicans in the House and Senate have stood solidly with the President. We endorse the President's policy, appreciate the hard work of Congressional Republicans in the face of intractable partisan opposition, and urge final passage of a bill to secure America's energy future.

- Republicans support developing new technologies for more efficient generation and use of power. New technologies will allow us to create new job-producing industries and save jobs in industries that have long been staples of America's economy. For instance, working with Congressional Republicans, the President has already committed \$2 billion over 10 years for clean coal research and development – which helps keep America's coal industry strong and reduces the emissions associated with coal use. As part of that commitment, we support FutureGen, an international, public-private initiative to build the world's first integrated sequestration and hydrogen research power plant that would burn coal more cleanly. President Bush's Clear Skies Initiative would create a \$50 billion private market to deploy these clean coal technologies.
- The Republican Party supports research and investment designed to realize the enormous benefits of a hydrogen economy and put the United States on the cutting edge of energy technology. The FreedomCar Partnership and Hydrogen Fuel Initiative include \$1.7 billion over five years to begin building hydrogen cars and the infrastructure to support them.
- Using the most sophisticated technologies, we can explore and develop oil resources here at home with minimal environmental impact. Our Party continues to support energy development in the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), which, according to the U.S. Geological Survey, holds as much as 16 billion barrels of oil – enough to replace oil imports from Saudi Arabia for nearly 20 years. The drilling footprint can be confined to just 2,000 acres (the entire refuge contains 19 million acres), about the size of Washington's Dulles Airport, on ice roads that melt away in the summer, leaving little trace of human intervention. We have already wasted precious time. If the previous Administration had not vetoed the ANWR proposal passed by the Republican Congress in 1995, at this moment ANWR would be producing up to one million barrels of oil a day.
- Republicans strongly support removing unnecessary barriers to domestic natural gas production and expanding environmentally sound production in new areas, such as Alaska and the Rocky Mountains. Increasing supply, including the construction of a new natural gas pipeline from Alaska to the lower 48, will bring needed relief to consumers and make America's businesses more competitive in the global marketplace.
- Last summer, the largest blackout in North American history affected 8 states, leaving more than 50 million Americans without power. Republicans support measures to modernize the nation's electricity grid to prevent future blackouts and provide American

consumers and businesses with more affordable, reliable power. We will work to unleash innovation so entrepreneurs can develop technologies for a more advanced and robust transmission system that meets our growing energy demands. We also support the establishment of mandatory, enforceable reliability rules for electric utilities to reduce the likelihood of future blackouts.

- Republicans will continue to support renewable energy through extension of the production tax credit for wind and biomass, as well as efforts to expand the use of biodiesel and ethanol, which can reduce America's dependence on foreign oil while increasing revenues to farmers.
- Nuclear power provides America with affordable, emissions-free energy. We believe nuclear power can help reduce our dependence on foreign energy and play an invaluable role in addressing global climate change. President Bush supports construction of new nuclear power plants through the Nuclear Power 2010 initiative, and continues to move forward on creating an environmentally sound nuclear waste repository.

...

### **Research and Development**

America's economy is undergoing a fundamental transition from one based primarily on manufacturing to one based on innovation, services, and ideas. Two-thirds of America's economic growth in the 1990s resulted from the introduction of new technology and 60 percent of the new jobs of the 21st century require post-secondary education, yet only one-third of America's workforce has achieved that level.

In order to maintain America's global leadership, Republicans have provided unprecedented support for federal research and development to help spur innovation. Federal R&D funding is up 44 percent from 2001 to \$132 billion in 2005, which includes a 26 percent increase in support for basic research. The President has doubled the budget for the National Institutes of Health and increased the National Science Foundation budget by 30 percent. President Bush and the Republican Party also support making the R&D tax credit permanent.

The rapid pace of technological development demands that we remain on the leading edge of innovation and science. Republicans are committed to providing the investment and incentives needed to foster next generation technologies. The 21st Century Nanotechnology Research and Development Act, passed by a Republican Congress and signed by President Bush, increased funding for nanotechnology research. In addition, the President has dedicated \$1.7 billion over five years to develop hydrogen fuel cells and related next-generation energy technologies. The President's support for NASA and vision for space exploration will also enhance scientific development and technological breakthroughs.

...

### **Respecting and Protecting the Environment**

Republicans know that economic prosperity is essential to environmental progress. That belief is supported by compelling historical evidence. For example, over the last 30 years, air pollution

from the six major pollutants decreased substantially, even as our population grew, our energy consumption increased, and the economy expanded.

Our Party's environmental policies are geared towards results. Thanks to President Bush's strong leadership and the commitment of Congressional Republicans to reform and innovation, air pollution has been reduced, water quality has improved, wetlands have been restored, and more than a thousand brownfields sites are being revitalized. Republicans also acknowledge the progress made by states and local communities in environmental stewardship efforts. As the laboratories of innovation, they should be given flexibility and authority to address many environmental concerns.

Finally, we link the security of private property to our environmental agenda because environmental stewardship has been best advanced where property is privately held. After all, people who live on the land, work the land, and own the land also love the land and protect it. President Bush and the Republican Congress will safeguard private property rights by enforcing the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment and by providing just compensation whenever private property is needed to achieve a compelling public purpose.

### **Clear Skies**

We support President Bush's Clear Skies proposal, the most aggressive Presidential initiative in history to reduce power plant emissions. Clear Skies, through a proven cap-and-trade system, will reduce by 70 percent emissions of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and mercury. The market-based policies in Clear Skies, along with a 90 percent cut in pollution from diesel vehicles, will help states meet new, more stringent standards to protect public health. The President's plan also provides regulatory certainty, enabling power plants to install state-of-the-art pollution control technologies. These steps will lead to significant environmental improvements while ensuring a reliable, affordable electricity supply and keeping America's coal industry strong.

### **Revitalizing Urban Communities**

Two years ago, President Bush fulfilled a campaign promise and signed legislation to clean up more of the abandoned and polluted industrial sites known as brownfields. So far, the Bush Administration has restored more than 1,000 brownfields to usable condition, which is more than were restored in the previous seven years. And that work continues. By prioritizing cleanup of brownfields, we are encouraging growth on existing sites and thus preserving greenfields and undeveloped land. We are also opening usable land for small businesses and residents in hundreds of communities, and creating thousands of jobs. We support these efforts to revitalize urban neighborhoods, both aesthetically and economically.

### **National Parks**

President Bush's commitment to national parks is producing results: parks are better managed, better funded, and better protected. Over the last four years, President Bush has been fulfilling his campaign promise to address the \$4.9 billion maintenance backlog plaguing the National Park system. Republicans will continue to support President Bush's approach to improving

national parks, and will move forward with common-sense management reforms that maximize visitor satisfaction and protect and conserve the parks' natural resources for future generations.

### **Land Conservation and Stewardship**

Our air, land, and water have all become cleaner in the last four years – and this progress can be seen all across America. The 2002 Farm Bill provided unprecedented levels of funding to enhance conservation efforts by farmers and ranchers. And last year President Bush worked with the Republican leadership in Congress to pass the Healthy Forests Restoration Act. This law, based on the President's Healthy Forests Initiative, is reducing the risk of catastrophic wildfire, saving lives and property, and improving the health of our forests.

### **Protecting America's Water Resources**

America's wetlands serve as habitat for thousands of species of wildlife. They also help to trap pollution, clean the water, reduce the impact of floods, and stabilize shore areas. Three decades ago, the United States was losing wetlands at the rate of about 500,000 acres each year. President Bush is working with the Republican Congress and state and local officials to fulfill his new national goal to increase wetland acres and quality by restoring, improving, and protecting at least three million wetland acres over the next five years. To achieve this worthy goal, our Party also will focus on critical resource needs, including implementing a sensible plan to address coastal erosion in the Gulf Coast region.

Chronic water shortages in the West are one of the greatest environmental challenges facing the nation in the coming decades. We support efforts by the Administration to work with states and local communities in the West to expand the use of proven tools like market-based voluntary transfers through water banks and other water-marketing tools. We also endorse the President's efforts to work with the state of Florida to implement the Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan. Our Party reaffirms the traditional primacy of states over water allocation. We steadfastly oppose diverting water away from the Great Lakes region.

### **Protecting Oceans**

Republicans are committed to developing an integrated, comprehensive national oceans policy. The President and Congress have supported the work of the U.S. Oceans Commission, which will offer important recommendations to improve management, observation, and conservation of oceans and coastal resources for future generations.

### **Global Climate Change**

Republicans are committed to meeting the challenge of long-term global climate change by relying on markets and new technologies to improve energy efficiency. These efforts will help reduce emissions over time while allowing the economy to grow. Our President and our Party strongly oppose the Kyoto Protocol and similar mandatory carbon emissions controls that harm economic growth and destroy American jobs.

## **Modernizing the Endangered Species Act**

The Endangered Species Act (ESA) serves a noble purpose, which Americans overwhelmingly support. Our Party remains committed to the goal of protecting species to enhance their chances for survival. Over the last 30 years, successes under ESA have been limited due to confrontation and polarization – including an ever-growing barrage of litigation preventing the Fish and Wildlife Service from protecting new species and recovering plants and animals already listed as threatened or endangered.

Republicans believe we can achieve greater progress in protecting species for future generations through results-based cooperative conservation programs and voluntary agreements that encourage private stewardship. The ESA must be updated to reflect new approaches that focus resources on species in need of recovery, not lawsuits. As with other major federal environmental laws, ESA should require peer-reviewed science, so resources can be focused on the most pressing recovery efforts. Just as importantly, the Act should encourage expansion of voluntary agreements with private property owners while ensuring that ESA enforcement respects and upholds private property rights.

## **Agriculture and Rural America**

American farm and ranch families embody some of the best values of our nation: hard work and risk-taking, love of the land and love of our country. Farming is the first industry of America – the industry that feeds us, the industry that clothes us, and the industry that increasingly provides more of our energy. The success of America's farmers and ranchers is essential to the success of the American economy. The President put his words into action when he signed the 2002 Farm Bill, passed with strong support from Republicans in Congress. And President Bush continues to pursue and enforce international trade agreements that affect farmers and ranchers.

Republican policies are working, such as the recently revitalized WTO Doha round negotiations that will create new opportunities for U.S. farmers and ranchers by cutting foreign tariffs, expanding quotas for American products, and eliminating agricultural export subsidies. Since 2001, the U.S. farm economy has enjoyed tremendous improvement and is today in a position of historic strength. Farmers' net cash income for 2003 was \$63 billion, an 11.5 percent increase from 2000. And farmers' equity reached a record \$1.16 trillion last year, putting American agriculture in its best financial health ever.

There is much more to rural America than agriculture, ranching, and forestry. The kind of economic development that generates family-sustaining jobs is critical to small towns and rural communities. President Bush and the Republican Congress are promoting good schools, accessible health care, decent housing, safe drinking water and waste disposal, and efficient transportation. They also are expanding the availability of the Internet and broadband service to allow people in rural America to access world-class technology.

Source: Republican Party Platforms: "2004 Republican Party Platform," August 30, 2004. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25850>.

