

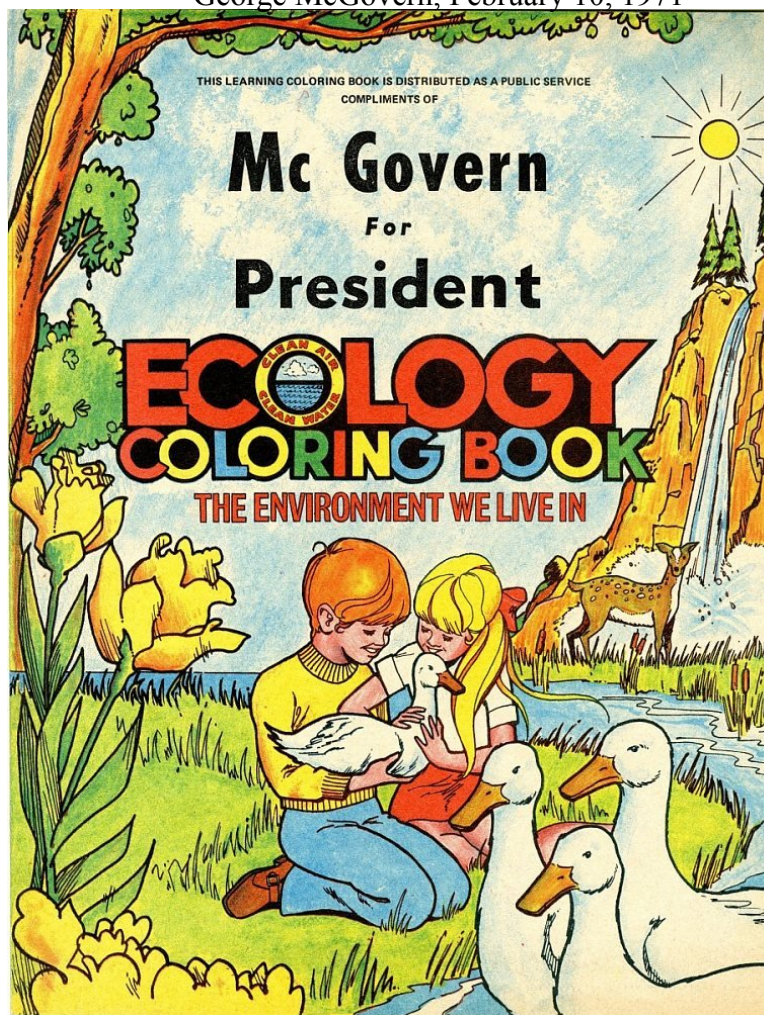
I put together a list of possible policy objectives for McGovern after receiving a new patch of primary sources from Princeton's Mudd here's what's up if you'd like to see any of those sources/want more explanation let me know and I am happy to provide that



The Environment

"We're not going to have another chance at replacing these resources once they're destroyed. I believe that they're God-given resource that this country has been more richly endowed with than any other people in all of the life of mankind. And we have a special obligation as stewards of what we have been entrusted with to take care of it, not to abuse it, not to destroy it, not to foul our nest to the point where an enjoyable life becomes impossible."

- George McGovern, February 10, 1971



Background:

McGovern was the principal sponsor or co-sponsored every major piece of ecological legislation from his time in the House to his last day in the Senate. McGovern placed foremost interest in conservation but recognized there needed to be efforts to reverse the effects of pollution, to be decided by an expert council.

Proposals:

- Creation of a National Resource Advisors Council to publish a comprehensive review of environmental issues and to propose solutions.
 - This was planned to branch into an international ecological organization, The World Environmental Institute, to study, solve, and prevent pressing environmental issues.
- A \$3 billion dollar “super-agency” modeled after NASA specifically targeting pollution and efforts to reduce emissions and reverse the effects of present pollutants.
- Multiple regional conservation programs, including the Great Plains Conservation Program and Great Lakes National Recreation Area surrounding the upper Missouri basin. This is coupled with a new public lands use policy designed to inspire more engagement in parks.
- A federal guaranteed right for all citizens to enjoy a pollution free environment, enforced through anti-pollution lawsuits either filed by citizens and supported by the state/federal government or by the state/federal government itself.
- Preventing the establishment of the Space, Science, and Technology Committee to prevent some of its aims for environmental protection and because it is, “not necessary at this time.”

Civil Rights/Constitutional Law

"Those revolutionaries who proceed on the notion that the end justifies the means are striking out against the very ends of peace and justice they claim to pursue. This is the cruelest hypocrisy of our times."

- George McGovern, September 1, 1970.



Background:

McGovern prided himself as a zealous defender of the constitutional system and of the individual liberties in the Bill of Rights. In response to Executive-branch dominance of the 70's, McGovern sought to return to Congress its Constitutional status as a co-equal branch. He consistently opposed attacks on the court system by those who, in preaching law and order, attempted to undermine the fundamental rights of the citizenry.

Proposals:

- Guaranteeing the right of media to publish classified information and/or information that actors in the federal government may otherwise not wish to be exposed.
- A ban on no-knock warrants and “other repressive preventive detention.”
- Tightening restrictions on wiretapping and surveillance, condemning officials who condone unwarranted and widespread surveillance of citizens through the use of wire-taps and other electronic devices.
- Creating legislation to limit and provide oversight for computerized data collection.
- End the policy of pitting group against group and sowing division among the American public to further domestic policy objectives.
- Elimination of FBI surveillance of peace groups and demonstrations.
- More response from within government to the criticisms voiced by young people, women and minority groups.
- A reaffirmation of the guarantees provided for by the Bill of Rights.
- The constitutional exercise of law to check the excesses of violent fanaticism by the left and right alike.
- Guarantee the equal status of men and women in society.
- Lower the age requirement to vote to 18.

Crime and Justice

"From political intimidation and conspiracy trials to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, come home, America!"

- George McGovern March 21, 1972



Background:

McGovern believed that the first task of society was to protect its citizens' lives and property—he called crime the number one priority of his administration were he elected. He repeatedly called for a concerted effort to destroy the social roots of crime. McGovern was critical of the Nixon administration both for failing to deal with organized crime and for attempting to suppress the legitimate rights of law-abiding Americans.

Proposals:

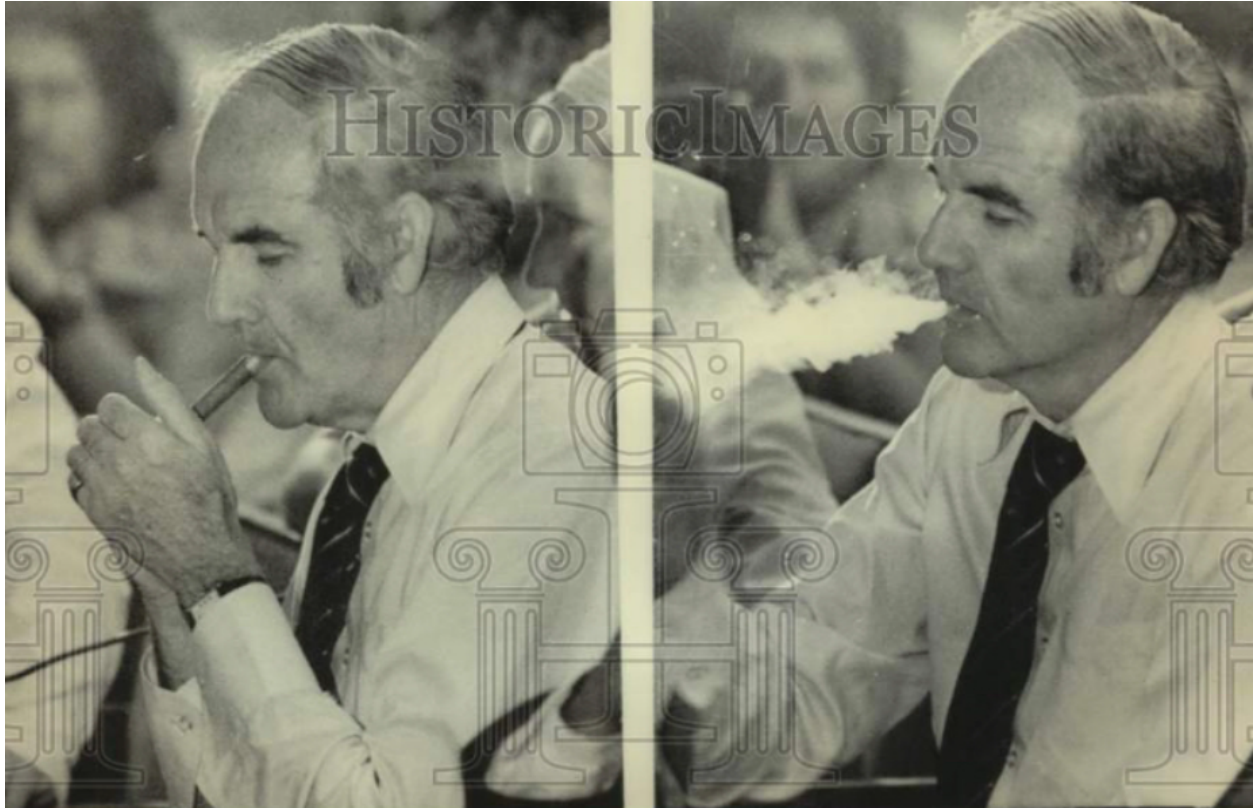
- A policeman's Bill of Rights, modeled after the GI bill, to encourage young Americans to join the police force through federally subsidizing higher education as well as other means.
- Strict control on the sale and ownership of handguns, with exceptions for those who can satisfy requirements verifying that they hunt for sport.
- Shifting the focus of the prison system away from punishment and towards rehabilitation achieved by improving the quality and standards of prison life (regular cleaning, useful labor, education).
- Requiring extensive police training programs focusing on community outreach and trust building.
- The foundation of a National Advisory Committee on Interstate Crime to examine present problems and new solutions and provide feedback and suggestions.
- Increasing sentencing penalties for crimes which involve a firearm.
- Oversight review to make sure federal funds dedicated to improving police and prison practices are being used and used appropriately.
- Prohibiting excessive bail and eliminating minimum sentencing requirements.
- "Reform of the grand jury system" (vague as it is.)
- A complete overhaul and streamlining of the judicial structure. that would ensure that not more than 60 days elapse between arrest and trial.

- Direct Federal financing of local anti narcotics programs so that money was not "frittered away" as it trickled down through state governments.
- A Model Cities-style approach to crime prevention in which neighborhoods in the 25 highest-crime cities would get Federal financial help "with paramount emphasis focused on increasing the number of foot patrolmen."
- A national light-the-streets program like proposed by Representative Edward Koch.

Drugs

*"I am fed up with a system which busts the pot smoker and lets the big
dope racketeer go free."*

- George McGovern, February 16, 1972



Background:

McGovern saw drug use as an issue of sin rather than a crime. From his perspective, drug users ought not to have been jailed, but treated as those struggling with health crises. He took special aim at heroin as the biggest threat to drug users and citizens at large.

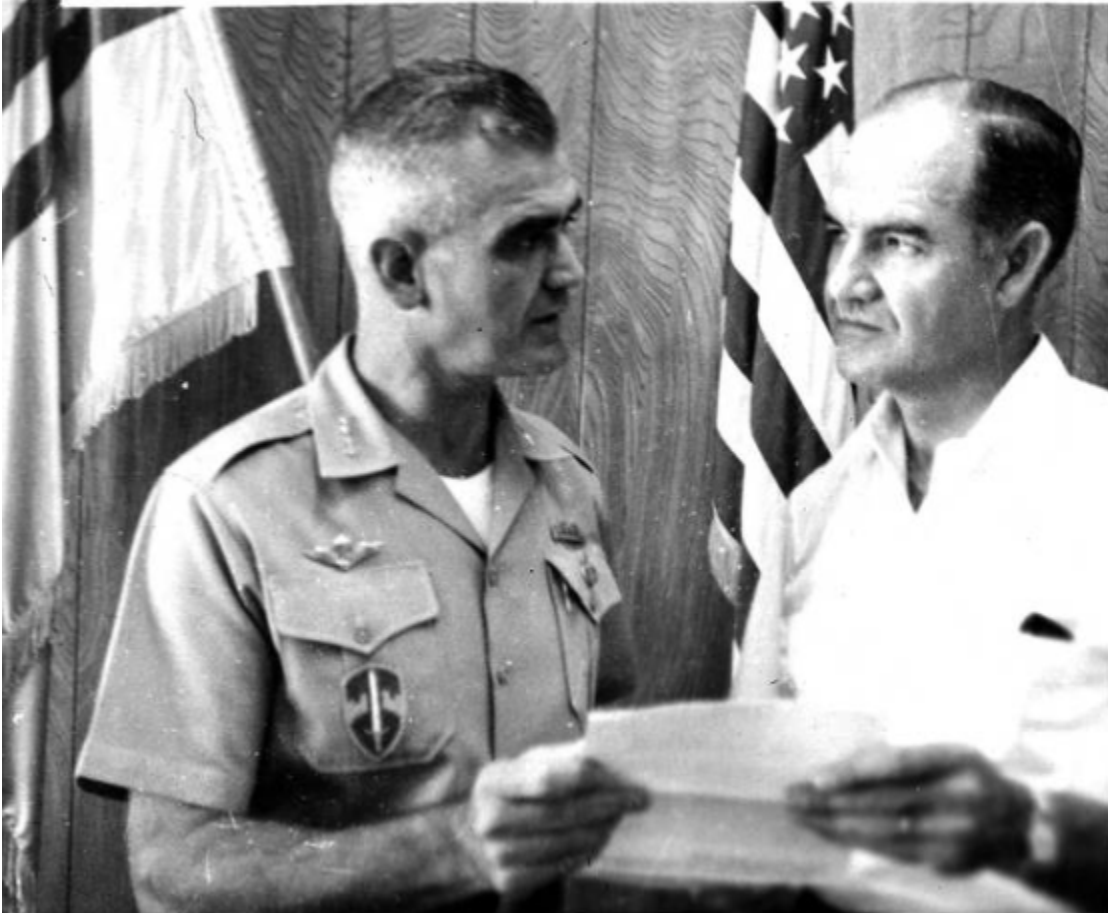
Proposals:

- A \$1.5 billion attack on the burgeoning drug problem in the United States.
 - \$550 million for more specialized enforcement manpower for "a fulltime sustained crackdown on pushers and big time dealers, and not just an election year burst."
 - \$200 million to underwrite "thorough, credible and effective drug education programs in every elementary and secondary school and in every community in the country."
 - \$500 million for guaranteed treatment and rehabilitation for "every known addict, whether he is discovered by arrest or by voluntary efforts to get help."
 - \$200 million for accelerated research and experimentation on methods to rid the body of heroin craving.
- Reclassification of marijuana use from felony to misdemeanor, punishable by fine (marijuana sale would remain a felony).

Defense

"What I propose is that we spend all that is necessary for a prudent national defense. And I propose that we spend no more than that."

- George McGovern, January, 1972



Background:

McGovern believed strongly in the Eisenhower truism that an excessive budget and bloated military hindered the state and defense of it. Many of McGovern's proposals were to be funded through reductions in the defense budget, though he recognized the need for a resolute defense made stronger by trimming fat. He consistently pointed out the dangerous economic and political consequences of a permanent arms industry and the responsibility of civilian leaders for the growth of the military-industrial complex.

Proposals:

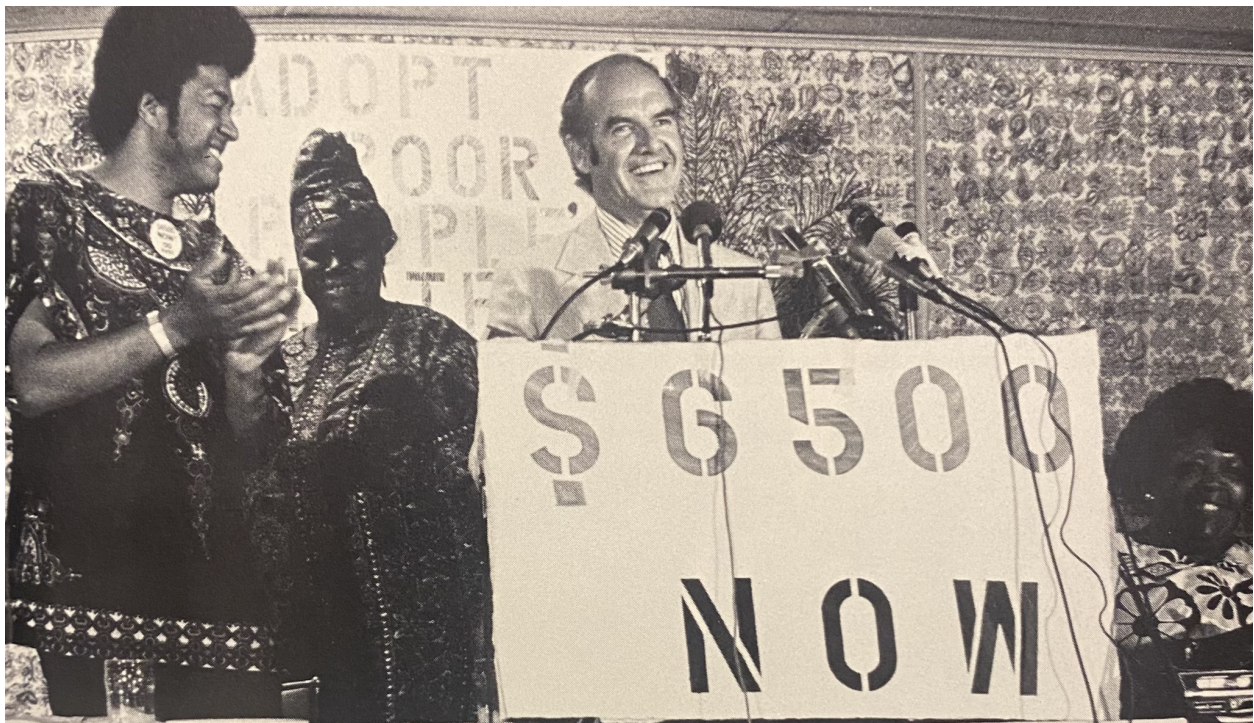
- Creation of a Permanent Commission of Defense Review to provide Congress with a thorough and ongoing knowledge of defense and national security affairs. Among its responsibilities would be the preparation each year of an alternative budget which takes into account broad national priorities on arms control and foreign relations.
- Curtailment of military aid to repressive and undemocratic regimes while maintaining and, in some cases, redoubling civilian aid.
- Increases in servicemen's wages until they are comparable with civilian standards. Senator
 - Increased pay for servicemen would also be offset by the elimination of funding for the Selective Service System which would no longer be needed.
- Total active duty military manpower of 1,735,000, composed entirely of volunteers, including 10 Army and 2 Marine land divisions: 600,000 reserves, or nine land division equivalents, with improved combat capabilities; plus 761,000 DOD civilian personnel.
 - Elimination of the draft. and the establishment of an all-volunteer army.
 - A back-up lottery, for use only in case of national emergency, under which men could be called without favoritism or discrimination.
- 26 tactical air wings, including 18 Air force, 6 Navy and 2 Marine Corps double wings, with modernized close air support and air superiority aircraft.
- Naval forces constructed around 6 attack aircraft carriers and 1 amphibious Marine Expeditionary Force, with necessary escorts: is-proved sealift capacity, and construction toward an expanded force of 84 nuclear attack submarines.

- A mixed nuclear deterrent composed of 41 Polaris/Poseidon submarines, 1,000 ICOM's, and 200 manned bombers, with the capability to strike approximately 3500 targets.
- An annual research and development program of \$5.5 billion.
- Suspension of production, testing and deployment of the MIRV system.

Economic Conversion

"It is irresponsible to undertake the production or superfluous weapons systems solely because of jobs involved. The MIRV, ABM, and other such systems fuel the deadly arms competition; they waste scarce resources which are needed for urgent public programs; they are inherently inflationary; and they are poor providers of jobs as well. But it is just as irresponsible to cut these weapons programs without moving at the same time to develop alternative employment for the displaced workers and to alleviate the inevitable economic depression in communities which have grown most dependent on defense spending."

- George McGovern, October 19, 1971



Background:

McGovern was the first member of Congress to propose a nationwide conversion of the economy away from war and towards development in the National Peacetime Transition Act of 1970. His proposal for a guaranteed income is his most memorable economic program, but economic conversion is the synthesis of all of McGovern's proposals. Most- if not all- of his other agenda items depend- or simply are extensions of- economic conversion.

Proposals:

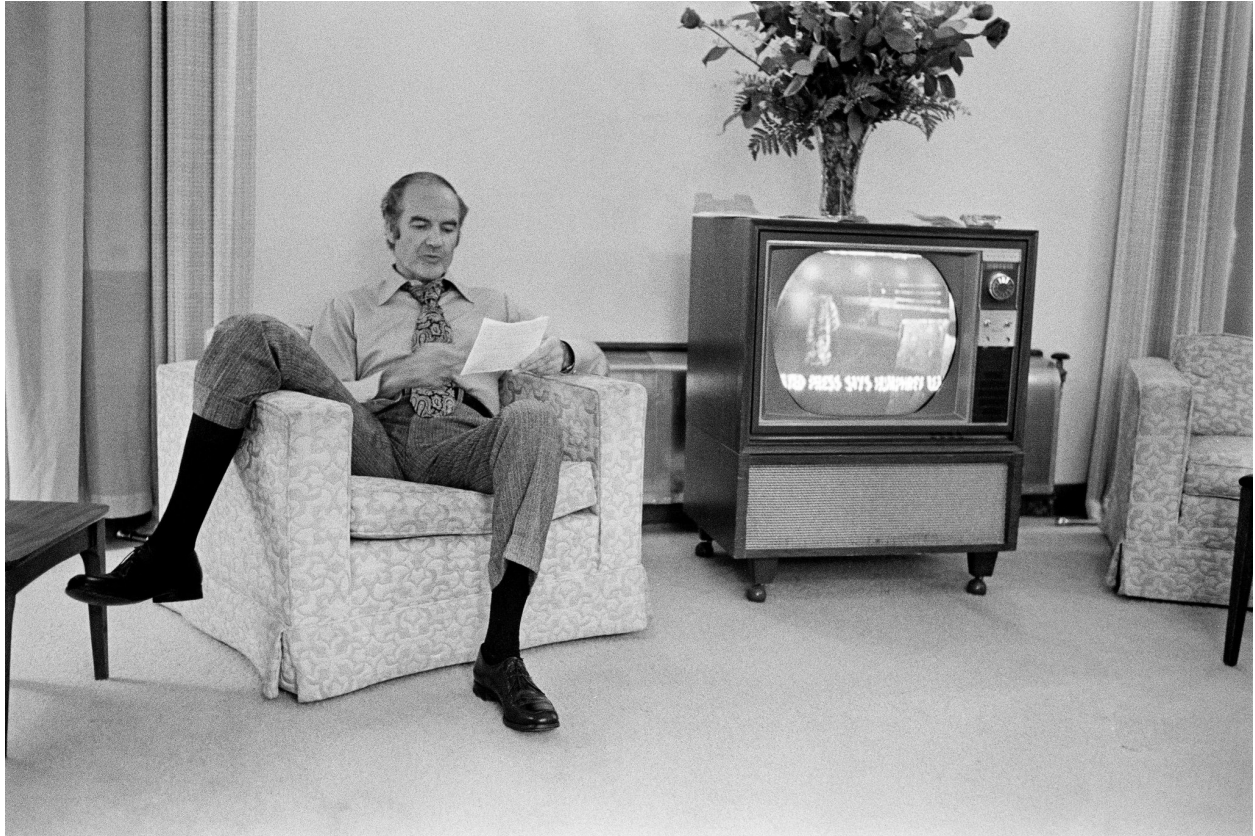
- Creation of a conversion trust fund to be built up from a portion of profits earned on the military and other contracts. This fund will support conversion programs and employee benefits.
- A system of tax rebate incentives to encourage industry to plan for the transition of its workers and its facilities to peacetime production.
- The creation of a National Commission of Peacetime Transition to assist industry during the period of conversion
- Immediate benefits for workers and communities that are affected by cut-backs in arms and aerospace spending.
- The establishment of a system of income support benefits coupled with educational and training incentives for all workers who feel the impact of changing job requirements.
- Regulations to allow military contractors to write the costs of conversion planning into their contracts.

General Economics

"Why don't they go out there and clean our dirty streets or something?!"

"Oh, I agree."

- George McGovern and an employee on the factory floor, August, 1972.



Background:

Assembled here are simply an amalgamation of other economic programs that don't fall under any of the above categories and as such require little introduction. It is worth noting that McGovern spent the late 1960's and early 1970's authoring, sponsoring, and co-sponsoring nearly every single major economic reform legislation targeting wealth centralization and rampant inflation.


Proposals:

- Federally guaranteed job to every American, man or woman, who desires it. Those who are willing to work and choose not to pursue private or state employment are subject to welfare benefit restrictions.
- Cooperation with private industry to meet national needs for housing, public transit, and environmental needs through the creation of advisory committees and councils.
- Utilization of public service employment to assure the full use of professional and non-professional workers.
- An orderly reduction of the national debt.
- Extension of low-cost credit to new homebuyers and developing small businesses.
- Foster good trade policy, combined with inflation controls, to avoid fruitless trade wars and increase foreign outlets for American goods.
- Close tax loopholes.
- Impose price increase limits on large corporations.
- Prioritization of economically underdeveloped regions of the United States such as the upper Great Lakes, the rural South, and the Great Plains states.
- Revitalize the rail system for commercial and public use, including, if necessary, the nationalization of the rail service.

Education

"Everywhere we are told that education is the key to our national future, the repository of our civilization, the only route to full realization of our individual and collective potential. Everywhere the praises of education are sung. Everywhere, that is, except in the dry pages of the budget of the United States government."

- George McGovern, October 24, 1969



What will you do when you graduate?

Every month the government tells us about unemployment—and under the Nixon Administration it's been scandalously high.
But what it doesn't tell us about is underemployment.
People who work hard for four years to get a college degree, and then can't use it.

Teachers who can't find jobs teaching.
Engineers who can't find jobs in their profession.
Liberal arts graduates who can't find jobs doing anything.
It's all a part of the great economic slump of the Nixon Administration.
But this year you can do something about it . . . if you register to vote.

Register and Vote!

Register by Oct. 6, Vote Nov. 7
Here's how:

McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT
1001 BURK BURNETT BLDG.
335-6762
FORT WORTH, TEXAS 76102

Paid for by the Texas McGovern-Shriver Committee, Bob Armstrong and John White, Co-Chairmen
State Headquarters: 1221 W. 8th St., Austin, Texas 78703, Telephone 512/474-5841

Background:

McGovern's legislative record on education is exemplified by the Fogarty-McGovern Act of 1958 which established federal grants dedicated to training assistants and teachers to aid the mentally disabled. The legislation created jobs through federal investment while compassionately seeking to solve a social problem-- this is a consistent legislative philosophy. McGovern viewed the GI Bill in extremely high regard as a blueprint for incentivizing service (In 1980, 71% of entry-level members of the military reported their enlistment stemmed from the benefits of the GI Bill). Moreover, McGovern was a key architect and ardent supporter of Head Start.

Proposals:

- Support the establishment of a National Foundation for Post-Secondary Education (Designed in Senate Bill 659, to be passed without amendment.)
- Funds and federal programs aimed at improving early childhood education.
- Increased funds for National Defense Student Loans.
- Expansion of the system of vocational schools and junior colleges.
- Creation of national endowments for the arts, the humanities, and the social sciences.
- Taking \$1 billion from the federal budget to offer scholarships for 200,000 students at \$5,000 each.
- Funding for research in the education of mentally disabled and exceptional children.
- Increased educational benefits for veterans and scholarships for the children of veterans.
- Increased funding for federally impacted areas in which local tax bases are depleted because of the presence of federal installations.
- Furthered tax deductions and support for teachers' educational expenses.
- Work programs for secondary school students in search of employment, and aid for children lacking parental support

National Program

- The United States should undertake a greatly expanded national program for elementary and secondary education with the following major elements;
 - The federal government should supply at least one-third of the total costs of public elementary and secondary education. Based on contemporary expenditure that would amount to about \$15 billion per year. To achieve reasonable improvements in educational quality, it would reach \$24 billion by 1976;
 - Three-fourths of the funds committed under this program would be allocated to the states on the basis of educational need (including

numbers of students in average daily attendance, and special conditions which increase per-pupil costs) and the capability to raise revenue for education within the state.

- The remaining one-fourth should be allocated among the states under an incentive program designed to achieve fair administration of the state and local tax structure. Funds would be used to encourage such steps as publication of property valuations, uniform statewide property assessment, simplified procedure for citizen action to assure equitable tax enforcement, and the elimination of special tax privileges, in line with earlier recommendations on revenue sharing.
 - The funds allocated to each state would be distributed under a formula designed to equalize educational opportunity by achieving minimum standards of educational quality in all school districts from the combination of federal funds, state aid, and uniform local tax effort.

Health

"I know one woman that paid \$39,000 in medical bills when her husband died from cancer-- that was what that terminal illness cost her. Now she paid that, but it broke her. It took her home, it took her life savings, it took everything she owned. Under national health insurance, the bill wouldn't have been any higher, but it would've been balanced out over the whole economy and I think that's what we oughta do."

- George McGovern, August, 1972.



Background:

McGovern was a leading advocate of improved health care for all Americans, calling for money and manpower in both research and healthcare delivery. His Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs focused national attention on the problems of environmental health. McGovern believed firmly in the national government's role in providing care in the vein of Henry Wallace and Ted Kennedy.

Proposals:

- A federally funded national health care plan, which would provide adequate health care to all Americans.
- Substantial reorganization of the federal effort to achieve adequate emergency health care for all American citizens.
 - A program to include minimum training standards for ambulance attendants.
 - Assurance, through federal funding, of accessibility by all Americans to emergency vehicles designed according to federal standards
 - Federal funds to support residencies in emergency medicine in medical centers
 - Expansion of community health facilities
 - Nationwide implementation of "911" as the uniform emergency phone number.
- Increased experimentation in the training of ancillary personnel to extend the reach of physicians, dentists, and other basic healthcare personnel.
- The development of a corps of personnel to serve as communicators between medical centers and the public.
- Training for qualified members of minority groups who previously have been denied a place in health services (in 1970, only 2.2% of medical students were Black).
- The expansion of efforts to provide medical care for people who are physically or culturally isolated from present medical facilities.
- Improvement of care and treatment of the mentally challenged.
- Medical study of malnutrition.
- Protection of children from aspirin overdoses by control of package size.
- Federal aid to research, personnel, and practice in the field of family planning.
- An intensive program of research and treatment of dread diseases.
- The creation of a National Information and Resources Center for the Handicapped.
- Inclusion of prescription drugs and out-of-hospital medical treatment in the Medicare program.
- Removal of discriminatory barriers against admission of women to medical schools.

Nutrition

"We all have an obligation to live up to our promises to end hunger in America. Nothing less than this nation's human dignity is at stake. The time is long past to make good our promises to America's hungry poor. We need only the will to end hunger -- the resources are obvious. We had the will to go to the Moon and we did. We had the will to sponsor great strides forward in all walks of civilization, and we did. How can we be satisfied to go just halfway toward ending hunger? Would we have been satisfied to go halfway to the moon? Will we be satisfied in finding half a cure for cancer?"

- George McGovern, May 5, 1971.



Background:

McGovern provided positive leadership for the nation's efforts to end hunger at home and abroad. In 1961, he served as the first director of President Kennedy's Food for Peace' program which initiated the development of modern American food relief programs for the world's hungry. As chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, McGovern worked to strengthen existing legislation and to institute new and expanded programs to combat the physical, mental, and social ills which follow in its wake. His efforts were chiefly responsible for a fivefold increase in food assistance program between 1973-1975.

Proposals:

- Emergency food programs in areas without previous food assistance.
- Preservation and continued support for the Emergency Food and Medical Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity.
- Initiation and expansion of federal support of family planning, being vital to the task of balancing food production and population growth.
- Consolidation of the school lunch and school breakfast programs, providing two meals each day for pre-school and school age children.
- A change in proposed work requirements to permit children to receive food stamps even if their parents refuse to work.
- Liberalization of the use of food stamps by the elderly.
- Legislation to set a goal and provide what is necessary to end hunger in America by the following year.

Political Reform

"I opened the doors of the Democratic Party and twenty million people walked out."

- *George McGovern, undated.*



Background:

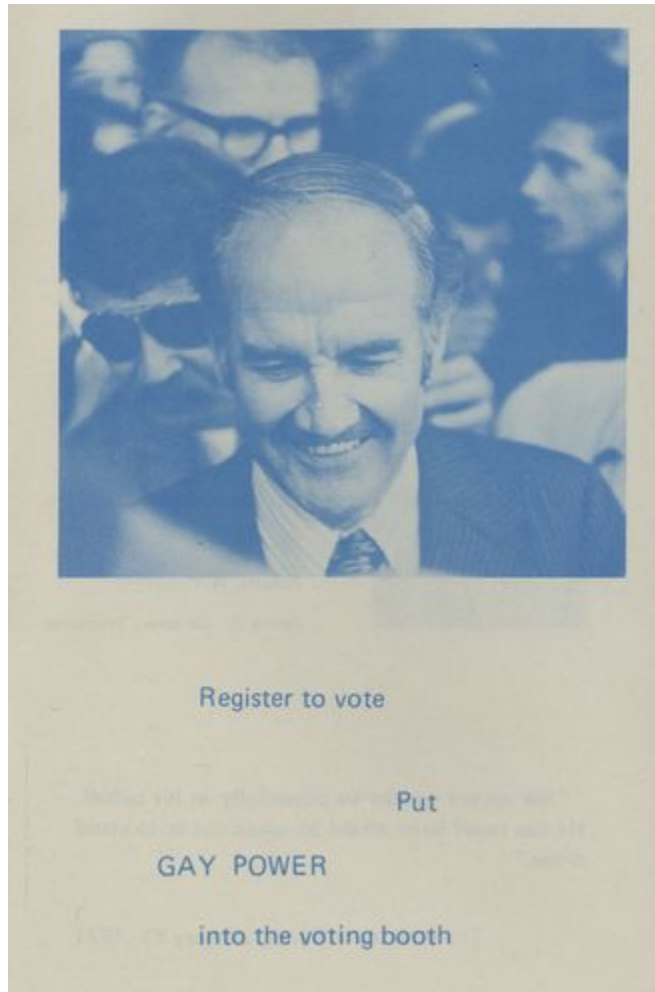
McGovern's background in- in effect- establishing the Democratic Party in South Dakota from the ground-up provides a basis for his masterful understanding and limitless curiosity of the mundane procedures of party structure. Awarded the chairmanship of the reform committee by Hubert Humphrey after the proceedings of the 1968 Democratic Convention inspired significant unrest, McGovern implemented several reforms aimed at expanding participation of previously excluded groups like young people, women, and racial minorities. Those reforms specific to the Democratic Party will not be included below in the proposal section as those are obviously not applicable to a presidential federal agenda.

Proposals:

- Establish requirements for candidate financial disclosure to prevent conflicts of interest and expand voter understanding of candidates (McGovern was the first candidate to fully disclose his finances and contributions during the 1972 campaign).
- Regulations and fairness standards for candidate use of television advertisements.
- Public financing as a portion of campaign expenses.
- Full presidential and Congressional voting power for the District of Columbia including representation in the electoral college and standard representation in the House and Senate proportional to population.
- Regulation and restriction of "unfair campaign practices.

Minority Rights

"I hope for the day when we do not need to specify that 'Liberty and Justice for all,' includes Blacks, [Mexican-Americans], American Indians, women, Homosexuals, any other group. All means all."
- George McGovern, February 2, 1972.



Background:

As a Senator, McGovern co-sponsored every major piece of civil rights legislation enacted between 1962-1972. He was the only Senator and the only Presidential candidate to fully endorse the demands of the Congressional Black Caucus. He served as chairman of the Indian Affairs Sub committee, where he led the fight to return the sacred Blue Lake to the Taos Indians in New Mexico. McGovern gave full support to Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers in his efforts to ensure fair income for migrant workers and promised that as President he would name African Americans and Spanish speaking minority group members to the Supreme Court and to his Cabinet. He was among the first Senate to announce opposition to the nominations of Haynsworth, Carswell and Rehnquist. McGovern was the chief sponsor of the Congressional move to block "termination," a policy that would have ended America's payment of debts to the Indian people. He has also led in the fight to ensure that the Alaskan Native claims receive full recognition by the government. Moreover, McGovern was the first Presidential candidate to endorse the gay rights movement and to provide a comprehensive plan to support the community.

Proposals:

- An American Indian Development Bank, providing over \$320 million capital loans to Native groups, Native tribes, and individual Native American citizens to aid in economic development.
 - The establishment of Native corporate entities to aid in economic development.
- Self-determination in the development of programs affecting Native groups.
- Self-help rather than solely outside intervention in the implementation of programs.
- Adequate funding of programs to relieve the social ills afflicting Native Americans.
- The settlement of Alaskan native land claims by confirming title to sixty million acres of land in the native villages and regions. and by payment of \$500 million in federally appropriated funds and a two percent share in future revenues derived from public lands in Alaska.
 - The establishment of a five member commission containing three Alaska natives that will, among other things, prepare a final membership role for the natives.
- Fair settlement of Native American land claims based on early treaties.
- Home Rule for the District of Columbia
- Targeting of housing, health care and taxation reform proposals to benefit disadvantaged minority groups, eliminating racial barriers to access.
- Equal representation for Spanish speaking Americans on all levels of government as well as full and equal employment for all.
- Establish a Commission of Afro-American History and Culture.
- Designate Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday as a national holiday.
- Full Congressional investigation of the F.B.I. and the resignation of J. Edgar Hoover.
- Require that, within five years, the federal rate of employment should reflect the percentage of persons with Spanish surnames in the population.

- Sexual orientation or preference should cease to be a criterion for employment by all public and governmental agencies, in work under Federal contract, for service in the United States armed forces, and for licensing in government regulated occupations and professions.
- Sexual orientation should cease to be a criterion for immigration into the United States.
- Government and private investigatory agencies should cease to collect data on the sexual preferences of individuals.
- Sexual orientation should cease to be a criterion for obtaining housing, insurance, or bonding.
- Individuals previously given less-than-honorable military discharges solely for sexual relations between consenting adults or for allegations relating to sexual orientation should have the character of those discharges changed to honorable.
- Federal sponsorship of educational programs which will foster further understanding of both professional people and the general public on these issues.
- Seek release of all persons incarcerated in prisons and mental institutions for victimless sex acts.
- Urge the repeal of state laws that prohibit private actions between consenting adults regarding voluntary sex acts and a review of laws regarding attire used to target gay men.
- Increased federal funding into the research of the nature of all human sexuality.

Agriculture

"I told him, 'Just walk out there and say, "Food is health, strength, hope and family, and the farmers of South Dakota can do more for world peace than any group of Americans. If I'm elected president, I'm going to set up a Food for Peace program and turn our surpluses to move the world ahead into a greater measure of abundance and peace and prosperity.'" He got thunderous applause.

- George McGovern to JFK after a speech in Fort Pierre, South Dakota, 1960



Background:

George McGovern, regarded as the Prairie Statesman, fought relentlessly to assure fair treatment of the nation's rural people. He gave priority to the improvement of life in rural America federally and with a focus on South Dakota, and worked tirelessly to help the American farmer attain a fair and reasonable income. With Bob Dole, McGovern spent much of 1970 working to obtain fair prices for farmers. Throughout the 1970s, McGovern served as Chairman on the Senate Special Committee on Nutrition which was later folded into the Agriculture Committee where he was a ranking member.

Proposals:

- A mechanism to ensure that farmers have the power to bargain for fair prices.
- The provision of adequate capital at a reasonable price for family and young beginning farmers.
- A strengthening of independent competition by providing for competitive enterprise in the retail sale of meat and other food products.
- Prevention of the elimination of the tax exemption on investment in farm equipment.
- Prevention of the use of national reserves as a price-depressing device.
- 100% parity on wheat.
- Establishment of a federal wheat stabilization program (McGovern was the first to advocate this in the Senate).
- Strict enforcement of import limitations on meat, honey, and dairy products.
- Exemption of certain farm vehicles from Part II of the Interstate Commerce Act.
- Improvement of rural telephone and power services, agricultural credit, water resource planning, and rural housing and sanitation.
- Maintain the price support system as is without transferring to the Department of Commerce.
- A restoration of the urban-rural population balance in the United States.
- Coverage of agricultural workers by minimum wage laws.
-

Foreign Aid

"The United States cannot be secure in its prosperity if it is surrounded by a world of poverty and misery. There can be no lasting peace in a world of the hungry, diseased, and the miserable. To whatever extent U.S. efforts can lift standards of living in the great continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, we not only perform an act of mercy, but we also safeguard our own future."

- George McGovern, March, 1966.



Background:

McGovern believed that the United States should provide a reasonable level of foreign assistance to the developing countries of the world. His position on foreign aid always stood as one of compassion for those who are hungry and diseased. But, he cautioned, under no condition should American overseas assistance become a tool to pressure governments into compliance with domestic versions of political philosophy.

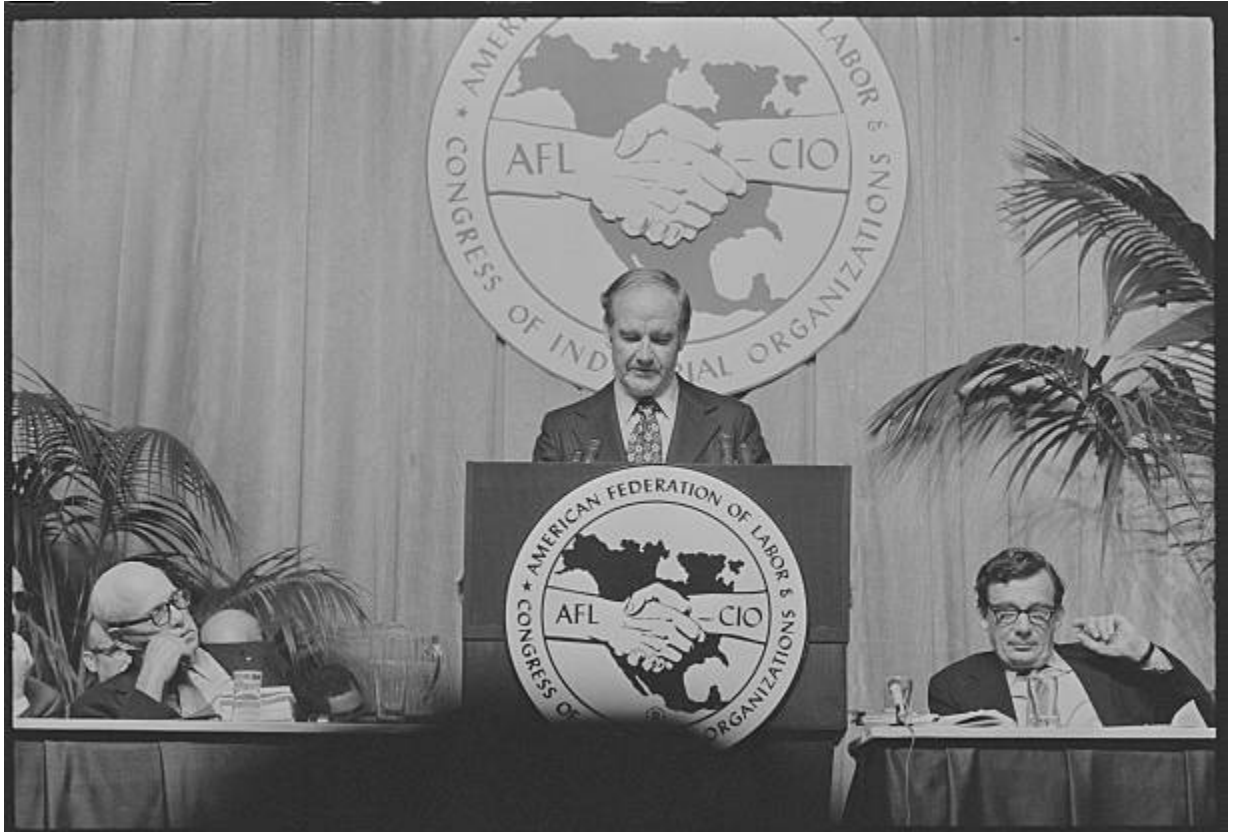
Proposals:

- Concentration of overseas aid on economic and technical development, rather than military development.
- Gearing foreign aid to self-help on the part of the receiving countries so as to stimulate efforts to help foreign nations help themselves.
- Distribution of food and other forms of foreign aid based on need rather than narrow ideological and political considerations
- The channeling of overseas aid through multilateral agencies such as the United Nations wherever possible so as to avoid the danger of misinterpretations of purposes when America handles foreign aid unilaterally.
- Large-scale economic and commodity support for distressed nations in times of natural or civil crises (McGovern called for such aid when disaster hit Peru, Biafra, and twice in East Pakistan).
- Support for legislation which calls for funds to be specifically allocated to the CIA, rather than through other departments and agencies as was the case. This makes public the exact size of requests and allocations for the CIA.

Labor

"It was the worst advice I ever got. It's the one time I've cast a vote in the Senate that bothered my conscience, and it was a mistake. You always ought to stay with what you believe."

- George McGovern on his vote against cloture to repeal sections of Taft-Hartley, December 3, 1969.



Background:

McGovern was committed to preserving the well-being of the American working man and his family. He was an active proponent of full employment, including the creation of new government-industry contracting to meet the needs of peacetime in the same manner that were contracted for war and aerospace needs. He also advocated manpower legislation to provide public service employment for men and women unable to find work in the private sector. Throughout his career in the Senate, McGovern consistently voted against compulsory arbitration. McGovern did not receive the endorsement of George Meany of the AFL-CIO during the 1972 Presidential campaign, but was nonetheless endorsed by Leonard Woodcock of the UAW, Caesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers, and the majority of unions across the country.

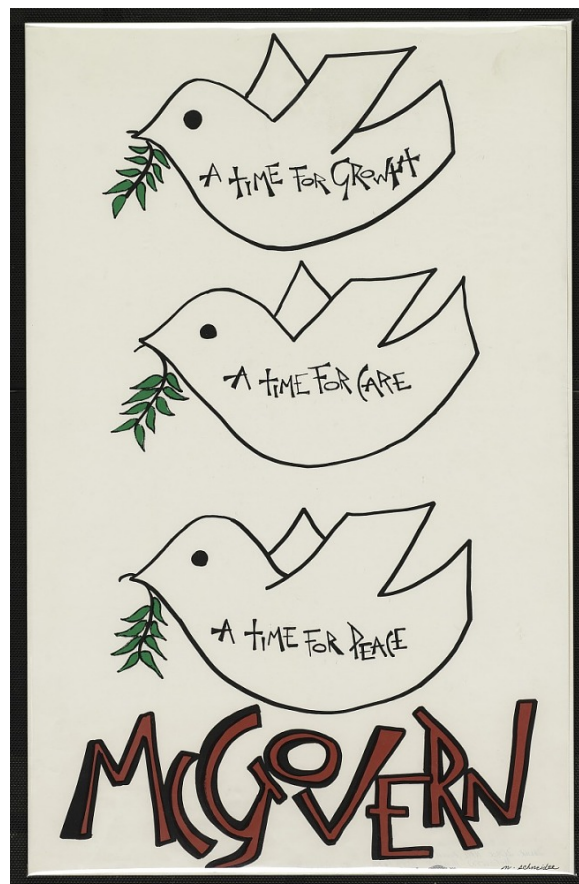
Proposals:

- Income support measures for men and women displaced by changing job requirements and reductions in military and aerospace spending
- Educational and training incentives for those thrown out of work by reduction in military spending.
- Public service employment as a first step to combat high unemployment.
- Federal contracting to develop business and employment in areas of high unemployment.
- Tougher standards to protect miners and industrial workers against accidents and working hazards to health.
- Raise the minimum wage with increased coverage.

Nuclear Disarmament & Arms Limitation

"It's the same old argument, 'the Russians are coming! The Russians are about to jump on us!' You can be very sure the same argument is being made over in the Kremlin...each side arming in the name of defense. Each side piling up more and more of these weapons of destruction at a time when our societies are deteriorating... I think we need a leadership that instead of trying to get the Russians to the bargaining table by a one-and-a-half trillion dollar military build up has the confidence to say, 'we are ready to bargain right now.'"

- George McGovern, February, 1984.



Background:

Senator McGovern was a consistent advocate of nuclear disarmament and conventional weapons control. He was a leading supporter of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Pact. McGovern strongly supported the SALT negotiations and other efforts to eliminate the threat of nuclear weapons.

Proposals:

- Genuine security need as the only basis for further nuclear deployment
- A high priority for further Strategic Arms Limitation Talks aiming toward a mutual freeze on all new deployments.
- Cuts of \$30 billion in the military budget in the next three years through elimination of overruns, overkill, and waste.
- A shift from military to medical, nutritional, and economic aid to developing countries and nations with a large percentage of poor, hungry, and sick citizens.
- Increased cultural exchanges with socialist powers.
- Reduction of American forces in Europe to two divisions.
- Concentration of technology and industry on solving the domestic problems of the United States instead of building questionable new weapons systems.
- An investigation of "cost overruns" in defense contracts.
- Maintenance of research and development at reduced levels, adequate to prevent "technological surprise" and to assist in arms control policing.
- Investigation of the ecological impact of underground nuclear testing. as well as radioactive leakage from atomic energy testing sites.
- Greater reliance on the international community as a mediator for disarmament negotiation.

Rural Development

"There can be no longer any doubt that the continuing neglect of rural America is the single most important factor in the impending crack-up of our cities. The headlong dash to urbanization has drained the countryside only to create an urban hell of overcrowding, pollution, crime, and unending traffic congestion."

- George McGovern, March 23, 1971



Background:

McGovern, a native of rural America and a longtime member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, was deeply committed to solving the problems of rural America. During the 1970's, he served as Chairman of the Democratic Policy Council's Committee on Rural Development.

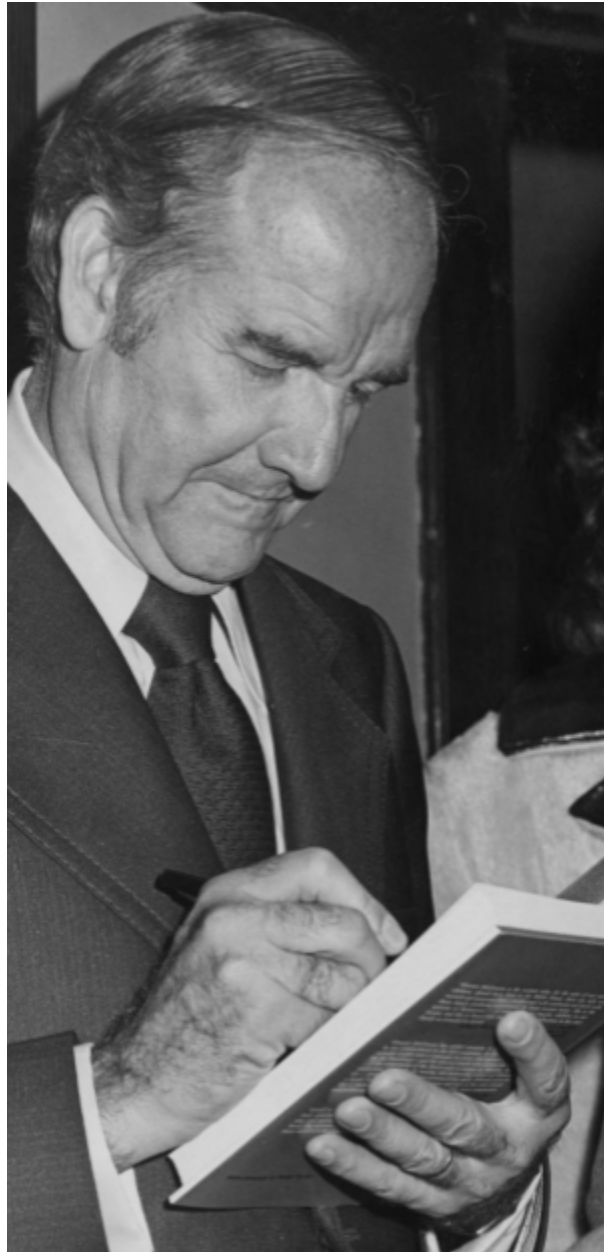
Proposals:

- A Rural Housing Development Administration which would be charged with the responsibility of providing decent housing and sanitation in all towns of 25,000 inhabitants or less, within the next five years.
- Expanding water resource agencies
 - The release of the current \$56 million appropriation for rural water and sewer development.
- Improved rural telephone and power services.
- Increased tax credits for agriculture and rural industry.
- Increased construction of federal facilities in communities with less than 50,000 inhabitants.
- The full reinstatement of programs such as the USDA's Rural Community Development Services and Technical Action Panels, and HUD's non-metropolitan, multi-planning services.
- The coordination of federal and state programs dealing with rural America.
- Procedures to make rural America more attractive so as to check the migratory flow from rural to urban areas.
- An Office of Utility Consumers Counsel, to provide consumer safeguards in farm legislation.
- The development of job-expanding programs and industries in rural areas, which would improve the economic conditions of the non-urban areas without destroying their special beauty and environment.

Science

"The virtual monopoly of many of our nation's best scientists and engineers by the military-industrial complex deprives all Americans of the creative talent needed to build a more humane, people-oriented society."

- George McGovern, January, 1971.



Background:

McGovern was convinced that America's scientific community need not depend upon a massive armaments industry or an ongoing war to find full employment. Long an opponent of excessive military spending and of frivolous aerospace projects, McGovern advocated a period of consolidation of information gathered from the space program thus far for the purposes of expanded application to massive problems on Earth. He linked recent technological advances to the feasibility of international agreements on cessation of nuclear testing and also to the prospects for conversion of excess arms industry capacity to domestic needs. He supported a broadly increased federal research and development budget and would've reformed patent law to benefit independent and unemployed inventors.

Proposals:

- A \$10 billion federal investment in job development programs in areas of great domestic need including;
 - Urban mass transit;
 - Hospital, housing, and school construction;
 - Combating of air and water pollution;
 - Development of cheap and plentiful energy sources;
 - Establishment of traffic safety systems;
 - Industrial accident prevention mechanisms.
- Reform of patent laws to allow use of patents by independent or unemployed inventors who, in the status quo, answered to government or sponsoring business use of the production rights.
- Application to domestic technological needs of \$32.5 billion saved by trimming excess fat from the military budget.
- Establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Science and Technology to coordinate overall budget planning and presentation and to set goals and priorities.
- Greatly expanded allocations for basic research and development, with a minimum share to be guaranteed to smaller enterprises.

Senior Citizens

"You know, someday somebody's going to write the history of these times, and I think it's going to be a pretty sad chapter when they write the story on the way we've treated our older people. There isn't anything that we ought to want for ourselves and for our older people any more than that those later years can be years of confidence and some degree of security and decency and I am going to do everything I can to see that older people are treated decently."

"You will."

"Well I think we're gonna make it, and I hope you'll help me."

"You will, we all will."

- George McGovern and retirees, July, 1972.



Background:

McGovern appreciates that senior citizens have worked, saved, built and invested to keep the nation rich and strong, and thus deserve to be honored and utilized for their experience and wisdom. He would move to provide them with an adequate income, an effective health care program and further opportunity for fulfilling lives. A complete overhaul of the Social Security system would include a 20% increase in benefits, a minimum payment tied to the cost of living index and full benefits available optionally at age 62, while a Health Security program would cover all medical costs of older citizens and would ensure efficient delivery of health care to them.

Proposals:

- A minimum federal standard to eliminate inequities that exist in old-age assistance payments at the state level.
- Reform of federal and local tax provisions which burden retired people.
- Inclusion of out-of-hospital drug costs under present Medicare coverage.
- Expansion of the food stamp program to cover the elderly under a special "prepared meal" provision.
- The Federal Government should assist in the establishment of Retirement Career Guidance Centers.
- Preventive, in addition to purely curative, medical programs
- A \$150 minimum monthly income for social security recipients and the removal of restrictions on outside earnings.
- A higher level of outside earnings to prevent loss of benefits for older citizens who must work to supplement social security payments.
- A cost-of-living escalator in social security benefits.
- Reduced fare for senior citizens on airlines.
- Establish the National Institute of Gerontology

Taxation

"On the issue of tax loopholes, do you think you'd have more influence than our previous executives?"

"If you had a president who was working in the other direction on behalf of ordinary taxpayers, rather than these big corporations, we could have a tax system that's fair."

- Factory worker and George McGovern, August, 1972.



Background:

McGovern was a leading proponent of tax reform. He supported all meaningful efforts to institute an era of tax equity through the elimination of "super tax shelters" which benefited only the rich. As a Senator, McGovern shared the title of "most concerned about how taxpayer dollars are spent" with William Proxmire, as deemed by an impartial survey of economists conducted in 1971.

Proposals:

- A minimum income tax so that the rich could not avoid their share of the tax burden. If an effective minimum tax were applied to those with incomes in excess of \$50,000 a year, at least \$6 billion would be raised in new taxes in the next fiscal year. This would be a transitional measure.
- Support of the Mansfield-Mills Bill to review, and then close, all loopholes in the national tax structure.
- Elimination of the special corporate loopholes that were opened in 1960. These loopholes include accelerated depreciation rates and the investment tax credit. Some \$13 billion would be raised in added taxes by this reform.
- Gift and inheritance taxes should shift from a tax on the estate of the giver to a lifetime cumulative tax on the recipient. All inherited incomes above \$60,000 would be taxed on a graduated level up to a maximum of 773. Wholly-owned family businesses would be excluded when they are small or medium-sized.
- To relieve the property tax burden, a proposal to increase direct federal funding of educational costs and federal incentives to states to use more progressive income taxes for raising revenues. The suggested value added tax is a retreat from the far sounder revenue sharing approach.
- Institute an excess profit tax on windfall profits resulting from wage and price controls.
- Impose a capital equalization tax which would discourage American firms from setting up plants abroad to flood the American market.
- Reduced oil and gas depletion allowances.
- Limitation on state taxes on transfer of corporate securities held by non-residents.

Urban Policy

"We have invested billions in highways, without which the suburbs would not have boomed. We have encouraged suburban land spreads through tax breaks...we have given the individual homeowner tax breaks on the order of \$6 billion annually...and what have we done for the cities?"

- George McGovern, February 11, 1971.



Background:

McGovern recognized the necessity for the nation's urban residents to have more control over the affairs of their own communities and advocated governmental efforts to train local administrators rather than insist upon direct federal administration of urban programs. Charging that the Nixon Administration "abandoned the nation's cities," McGovern criticized existing federal housing and development programs as engines for destroying decent neighborhoods and perpetuating segregation. McGovern sought to revamp the Federal Housing Administration loan system to eliminate discriminatory policies. He would further regulate mortgage banking loan and credit review policies, and would advocate federal assumption of one-third of all elementary and secondary education costs to ensure uniform quality in urban schooling.

Proposals:

- Further effort toward provision of adequate housing for every American, aided by the revamping of federal regulations on FHA loans and on mortgage bank lending and credit policies.
- Review of federal requirements, specifications, aid policies and tax laws affecting small businessmen.
- A system of financial incentives for local jurisdictions which agree to cooperative programs for new recreational facilities, pollution control treatment facilities, day care centers, and neighborhood health clinics.
- Federal assistance for local public service employment programs which will provide jobs and needed service for the residents of the cities and suburbs.
- Urban and inter-urban mass transit systems to break the present traffic and auto pollution mess.
 - Proposed first year budget: \$3 billion.
- Encouragement of resident participation in the planning and implementation of renewal programs.
- Expanded federal programs to improve living conditions in rural America, which will help to slow migration to overcrowded urban centers.
- Federal financing of the entire welfare program and more of the costs of education and health as a workable alternative to the Nixon Administration's revenue sharing proposal. McGovern's plan would avoid confusion of responsibility in revenue collection and disbursement.

International Affairs

"America will exert a far greater impact for peace and freedom in the world, if we rely less on armaments and fear and more on the economic, political, and moral sources of our strength."

- George McGovern, September 24, 1963.



Background:

Senator McGovern was dedicated to redirecting the course of American foreign policy. As the foremost leader of Senate efforts to require total withdrawal of American forces from the disastrous war in Southeast Asia, he took the initiative in reasserting Congressional control over the war-making powers of government. Far from an isolationist, McGovern asserted that America should be an active participant in world affairs and eliminating the great problems of the day through diplomacy. McGovern saw the Cold War as a competition of ideals and didn't take issue with the concept of peaceful coexistence.

Proposals:

- Exhaustive scrutiny of all options before United States armed forces are committed to military action abroad.
- Avoidance by the United States of the role of world policeman.
- Acceptance of the fact that the day of unilateral intervention is over.
- A recognition of the need for more effective international peace-keeping machinery. This would include a greater emphasis on multinational organizations such as the United Nations.
- Placing less emphasis on alliances and arms, and more stress on agreements to control the deployment and use of weapons.
- Movement away from "anti-Communism" as the sole basis of American foreign policy.
- American leadership in solving the problems of world hunger, nutrition, and population problems.
- Rejection of protectionist trade policies.
- Leadership in speaking out for oppressed peoples such as the Jewish community in Soviet Russia.

Veterans

"Every Senator in this chamber is partly responsible for sending 50,000 young Americans to an early grave. This chamber reeks of blood...every Senator here is partly responsible for that human wreckage at Walter Reed and Bethesda Naval and all across our land-young boys without legs, or genitals, or faces, or hopes ... we are responsible for those young men and their lives and their hopes."



Background:

McGovern, as a veteran himself, saw and understood the depravity of war and the effects it suffers on its survivors. The need to care for the nation's volunteers should speak for itself without extensive background establishment.

Proposals:

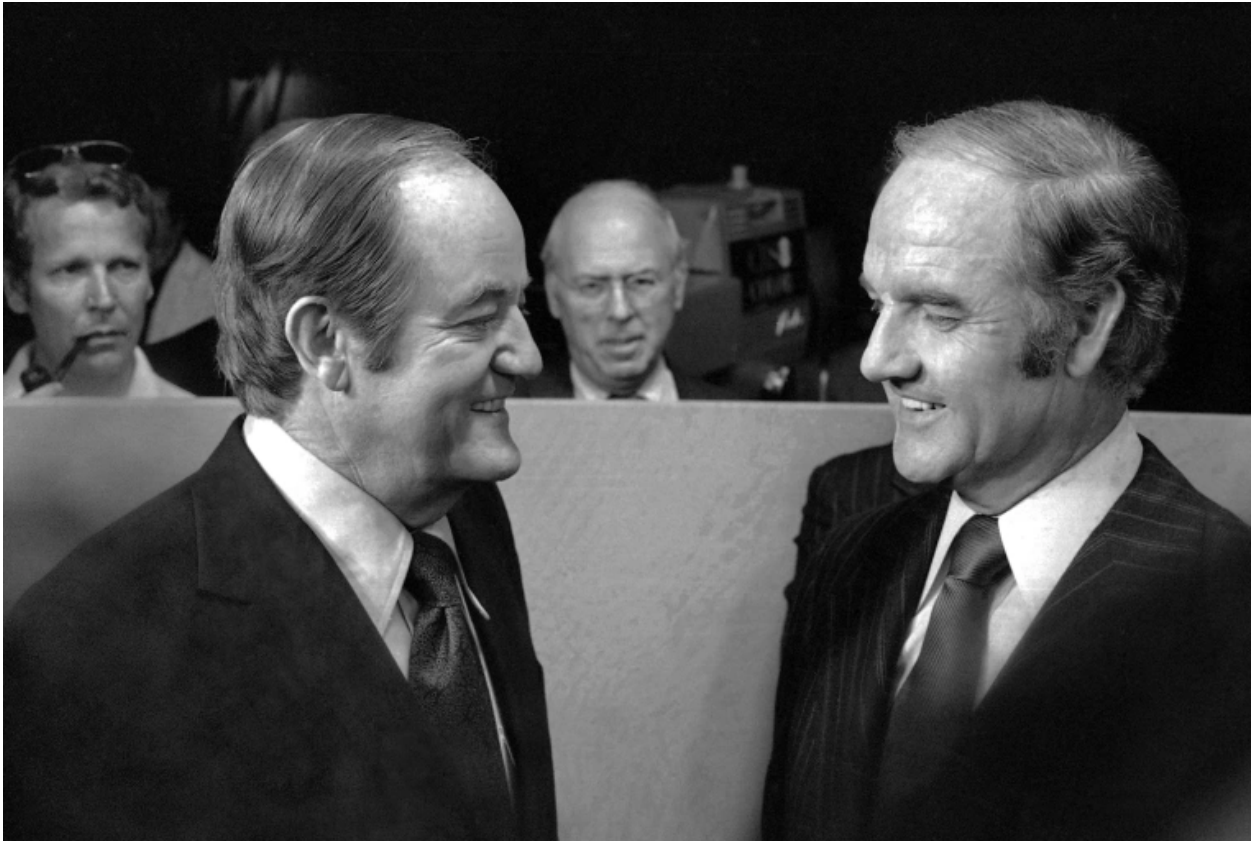
- \$65 million in care for drug and psychiatric problems of returning veterans.
- The establishment of a Standing Senate Committee of Veterans Affairs, to ensure that the unique problems of veterans would receive special, long term, attention.
- Operation of veterans' programs on a local level, contracted by the VA and instituted in the veterans' home community.
- Elimination of the arbitrary distinction between assistance allocations for technical schools and those for colleges.
- Reimbursement of the cost of tuition, lab fees, books and other education expenses up to \$3,000 per academic year.
- Special consideration on the part of private employers and the federal government towards veterans in their search for employment.
- Increased benefits for widows and children of veterans.
- Increased direct housing loans to veterans.
- Establishment of a court of veterans' appeals.
- Creation of an outreach program in which young people and recent veterans could serve to provide counseling, recreation, and therapy for veterans.
- An increase in the assistance benefits for education allotted to veterans to a minimum of \$214 per month.

Welfare Reform

"Senator Humphrey said that under such a plan everyone, 'rich or poor, whether it's Howard Hughes or Joe Smith,' would get the money. He charged that the effect would be to raise the annual taxes of an unmarried secretary making \$8,000 a year by some \$567.

'That simply is not true,' Mr. McGovern interjected.

'Well, it is true,' Mr. Humphrey retorted.'



Background:

Throughout his Congressional career, McGovern worked to ensure decent treatment for America's poor. Through his efforts, the Senate established the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Need to study and recommend ways to solve the problem of hunger and malnutrition. As chairman of the committee, McGovern became the nation's foremost leader in providing food assistance to needy Americans of all ages. Nevertheless, America's welfare system as a whole, in his eyes, proved hopelessly unsatisfactory. It was demeaning to the poor, who were discouraged from seeking work and encouraged to break up their homes, and it was unfair to the working people who must pay the bill. Therefore, McGovern proposed completely scrapping the existing welfare system entirely and replacing it with a personal tax credit that would aid both the poor and middle income Americans and save billions of dollars now wasted in the cumbersome administration of welfare.

Proposal:

- Replacement of the welfare system and the individual income tax exemption with a tax credit for every man, woman, and child in America regardless of income. The exact amount of the credit would vary according to age but would average about \$1,000 per person. The important point is that everyone would be covered by the same system.
- Those below the poverty line would keep all of the credit and would receive it in cash. But, unlike the status-quo welfare payment system, the credit would not be lost when the recipient goes to work. The net amount received would decrease on a gradual scale as total income rises. This would allow low and middle income families to keep part of the credit either as an income supplement or as a tax reduction.
- When a family's income reaches a certain level, federal taxes would negate the credit. The family would "break even." Families with incomes above the break-even level would be taxed in excess of the credit.
- To finance the plan, major loopholes in the federal tax laws would be closed, thus broadening the tax base. This would actually allow lower maximum tax rates than at present. The plan would also replace the \$750 individual income tax exemption, which provides the biggest cash benefits to those with highest incomes.
- The plan would be coupled with a program for full employment. with a federal guarantee of a decent job for every man and woman who wants to work.

Women's Rights

"There's a lot of talk about the women's vote this time around, a lot of talk about whether or not the Democrats should have a female vice presidential candidate. How important is it for women that they have a female vice presidential candidate?"

"I don't think, to women, it's all that important. I think they realize this is a kind of symbolical gesture-- it's a kind of tokenism. Personally, what women are interested in- I think- is equal pay or comparable pay for comparable work, they don't want discrimination in the workplace...they want to be treated as the equal of men, which they should be. They're human beings, equally precious in the eyes of God...I don't think they're gonna be fooled by somebody who says that you can forget about those things but please the women by putting them on the ticket with some man. "

- Interview with George McGovern in Iowa, January, 1984.



Background:

Senator McGovern recognized that women, although comprising 53% of the population, stood far under-represented in the policymaking levels of government, under-employed for the skills they possess, and underpaid for the work they do. He pledged that in his administration women would participate at every decision making level, and he made sure his staff and his delegate slates include a high proportion of women. McGovern was a strong supporter of the Comprehensive Child Development Act, which was vetoed by President Nixon. He proposed no federal legislation concerning abortion, he would continue to leave this matter to the states.

Proposals:

- Appointment of women to the McGovern Cabinet, the National Security Council, the Supreme Court, and to the ambassadorship to the United Nations.
- Enforcement powers for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to ensure the effectiveness of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which forbids discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin or sex.
- Reform of tax laws to allow deduction of child care expenses by working women.
- An equal rights amendment to remove all disruptive barriers between men and women.
- Daycare and general child care programs to allow women to participate in the workforce as mothers while creating employment for caretakers.