

PREFACE

The Task Forces of the Democratic Advisory Committee were established to stimulate thought and discussion among Democrats as to what the position of the Democratic Party in California should be on current and emerging state and local problems. Their recommendations will later be presented to the 1968 Platform Committee of the California Democratic Party.

The Task Force on Foreign Affairs was established for a somewhat different purpose. It was composed in order to provide a forum within the Democratic Party for rational and responsible discussion and debate of controversial and complex areas of interest. Its views are strictly its own and not that of the Democratic Party. Some may agree with their comments, some may disagree. But it is hoped that whatever disagreements there may be will be expressed in a constructive and intelligent manner.

That this had to be the approach of the task force is evidenced by the fact that there were at least two views expressed by the members of the task force concerning Vietnam. Both these views are contained in this report.

Probably neither will be accepted by any Democrat as a complete statement of his personal beliefs but if they serve to stimulate rational deliberation then the purpose of the task force will be accomplished.

CHARLES WARREN, Chairman
Democratic State Central Committee

POSITION PAPER
TASK FORCE ON FOREIGN POLICY
DEMOCRATIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE

California Democrats wholeheartedly support the commitment of the Democratic Party to the achievement of a lasting world peace. We support the dedication of the United States, in the words of Secretary of State Rusk, to the establishment of "a world community of independent states, each with its own institutions but cooperating with one another to promote their common interests, a world increasingly subject to the rule of law, a world of freedom and opportunity for the entire human race."

We believe that these goals can only be achieved by the fullest cooperation among all the nations of the world. History has taught us, and the chaotic conditions in the world today underscore, that a peaceful world community can never be achieved by conflict, combat or conquest. We reject any theory that military conflict and war are desirable instruments of national policy, or that the goals of the United States can be achieved only by victory in such conflict.

The major powers of the world, have too long blunted their long range purpose of peace and stability by their short range insistence upon seeking military solutions to immediate problems. Too long have the major powers determined their policies only by the view that world politics is simply a continual East-West confrontation, in an arena where the conflict can end only in victory for one set of combatants and annihilation for the other, and in which a nation's only choice may be between victory and annihilation.

Driven too long and too rapidly by facile notions of confrontation, conflict and "victory", the major nations of the world have spent their energies and their committed military power to a futile and suicidal race for world dominance. But no power commitment by any nation, however powerful the nation or enormous its commitment, can possibly make the purposes of its user unilaterally prevail, because in a nuclear age no nation dares to push its national power to an ultimate military solution. Even the victor in such an ultimate confrontation would savor only the taste of ashes.

We support the aim and commitment of the Johnson Administration that the United States shall so assert and govern its policies and actions as to prevent, and not to precipitate, this ultimate holocaust.

The California Democratic party is determined to assert positive aims, to the end that nations of the world shall not race each other to their death. We propose to our National Party that we forcefully set forth that it is our policy that international cooperation must replace international conflict; and that international disputes must be resolved under rules of law before international tribunals, and not by unilateral resort to military adventures. We reject any effort to proliferate a multitude of wrongs into a single right.

We adhere enthusiastically to the commitment for the United States enunciated by John F. Kennedy: "We seek to strengthen the United Nations, to help solve its financial problems, to make it a more effective instrument for peace, to develop it into a genuine security system -- capable of resolving disputes on the basis of law, of insuring the security of

the large and the small, and of creating conditions under which arms can finally be abolished." We support the efforts of President Johnson to translate that statement of purpose into positive achievement.

The California Democratic Party further recognizes that peace and stability will be of little value to the people of the world if they cannot also be assured that their children will survive to enjoy them. Vast portions of the world are beset by the evils of hunger, disease, illiteracy and the other grim partners of poverty. In our own self-interest, we propose that our economic power, our resources and our technology be applied to the eradication of these evils. We believe that we can, and that we should use our power to heal and not to injure, to build and not to destroy, to teach and not to dominate, and to protect life, not to deal death. In these efforts we propose to join with other nations as a full participating partner, and not as a paternalistic sovereign. In helping to secure for others the benefits of peace, freedom and plenty, we shall insure their preservation also for ourselves.

To the advancement of these aims and the achievement of these goals, we make the following specific proposals in the following areas:

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VIETNAM POSITION I

No discussion or analysis of American foreign policy in the light of current circumstances can start other than with a review of our posture in Vietnam; and no proposals for a comprehensive approach to American foreign policy can be meaningful unless they include and proceed from a concrete program for action in respect to the problem of Vietnam.

No issue in modern times has ever divided the American people as has the Vietnam war. No military action ever undertaken by the United States has been either directly opposed or tepidly supported by so large a proportion of our citizenry. The division and conflict, at least as they presently exist, relate primarily to methods and not to goals; since the American people are generally in agreement upon our ultimate goals in this arena. We all regret the loss of life, both American and Vietnamese, occasioned by the conflict. We all deplore the cost to the United States, not only of such loss to our youth in dead and wounded; but also in terms of the resultant enormous financial depletion, necessary sacrifice of domestic programs, and distressing growth of disunity and increasingly irreconcilable division among the American people. Virtually all of us want to end this unfortunate war as quickly as possible and to withdraw our troops as rapidly as is consistent with our moral obligations and our security. We disagree among ourselves primarily in respect to how we shall go about the achievement of our agreed goals.

This Task Force has carefully considered and reviewed each of the various positions possible in respect to our procedure in Vietnam, and has analyzed in detail the arguments in favor of each. We have reviewed the four positions which have been most readily identifiable and have found each of them wanting in respect to our ultimate goals. We have, however, discerned and delineated yet a fifth position, roughly at the center of the spectrum of views; which is receiving increasing support and adherence among Americans, and which has gained enhanced credence particularly in the light of the most recent developments in our circuitous communication with Hanoi.

From our review and analysis, a majority of the Task Force has determined upon the following recommendations relative to Vietnam:

We believe the stated goals of the Johnson Administration concerning our nation's involvement in Vietnam are within reach. These goals include an end to hostilities, a substitution of economic for military aid and a negotiated settlement among all parties to the conflict which can result in a stable, neutral South Vietnam, capable of self-determination.

Furthermore, we believe our nation, its allies and its antagonists share certain overriding motivations to achieve these stated goals for reasons of both self-interest and moral judgment.

Therefore, as a logical extension of past efforts toward achieving these goals, and to help meet the realistic requirement for a negotiated settlement, we propose at this time an immediate halt, without conditions,

to the bombing of North Vietnam.

We believe the primary responsibility and major role in the combat phases of conflict in South Vietnam should be returned to the armed forces of South Vietnam now that the newly-elected constitutional government has been installed.

Negotiations should be inaugurated involving the National Liberation Front and the governments of North and South Vietnam with a view to arranging for cessation of hostilities and for planning, under international auspices, (a) processes of self-determination in South Vietnam which include participation of all its people, (b) arrangements for the neutralization of Southeast Asia and (c) phased withdrawal from South Vietnam of both North Vietnamese and United States military forces.

Finally, we believe we have a continuing obligation to provide economic assistance to both South And North Vietnam for the purpose of rebuilding these countries and of maintaining the peaceful, stable, neutral conditions achieved.

VIETNAM POSITION II

Vietnam represents one of the most complex issues to confront the United States in the postwar era. The stakes in the Vietnam conflict now go far beyond South Vietnam. At issue is the fate of many other peoples as well.

To accept a communist victory in Vietnam would serve as a major encouragement to those forces in the world opposing peaceful coexistence, to those elements committed to the thesis that violence is the best means of affecting change. It would gravely jeopardize the possibilities of a political equilibrium in Asia, seriously damage our credibility, deeply affect the morale-and policies -- of our Asian allies and the neutrals. These are not developments conducive to a long-range peace. They are more likely to prove precursors to larger, more costly wars. Thereby, the hopes expressed in the preamble of the Foreign Policy Task Force statement would be negated.

If American withdrawal from Vietnam under conditions of communist victory would be disastrous for us and for free people everywhere, an escalation of this war into a regional or global conflict involving major stakes would be equally ruinous. Vietnam, indeed, is a crucial test of whether we can stay the course with a limited war involving extremely important but limited objectives. It is a part of the broader test of whether in this nuclear age, we have the wisdom, maturity and patience to avoid totalistic policies.

At this juncture, innovation of a de-escalatory nature is strongly needed with respect to Vietnam. Such a step, or steps need not -- indeed, should not -- be massive, moreover, they should be experimental in character, subject themselves to alterations if necessary. We believe that it is unwise to assume at this point that our objectives and those of our adversaries are similar or easily capable of reconciliation. Hanoi's words -- and actions -- should be tested at every possible juncture. But we must not assume that initiatives for peace lie solely with us.

Meanwhile, it remains true that in many respects, the war in Vietnam will be determined by developments in the South -- political and economic as well as military. We believe that we should push forward vigorously measures conducive to organizational effectiveness and popular support. The strengthening of the South Vietnamese military and police forces must receive top priority. The peasant must be given the type of reforms essential to his livelihood, at the same time as security against Viet Cong terrorism is strengthened. Land reform, credit facilities, educational opportunities are all essential if he is to have a stake in a non-totalitarian future. Corruption must be rigorously attacked.

After Vietnam what? Those Americans advocating "Win and get out" are as misguided in our opinion as those urging immediate withdrawal. Southeast Asia will need various forms of assistance from the advanced world for a considerable period. But it is not too early to espouse radically

new forms of assistance for such regions. "Aid" should be replaced by a concept of mutual development. Regional cooperation and multilateral programs are also crucial. Problems of security and defense require equally imaginative reappraisal. We should welcome the neutralization of certain areas within Southeast Asia if it is the desire of the people involved, and if suitable multilateral guarantees for its maintenance can be attained.

Indeed we have repeatedly made it clear that the United States has no desire for permanent bases or a permanent disposition of troops in this region, and those positions should be reiterated. At some point, the internal defenses -- military, political and economic -- of this region must be sufficiently developed so that our role is that of ultimate resort rather than that of first -line defense.

The challenge confronting us today is, to learn how to live with complex problems, both at home and abroad, without succumbing to panic or extremism.

The opponents of democracy count upon our impatience, our impetuousness, our immaturity. They must be proven wrong.

CHINA

China poses a great problem for United States policy and for international relations generally. We believe that we must avoid doing anything which might support Chinese aggressive views, but at the same time work to bring China into the international community as a peaceful and cooperative nation.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The peace and prosperity of the Middle East is inextricably linked to the independence and security of a democratic Israel. The United States cannot tolerate any effective threat to that independence. Closely allied with those needs is the requirement that access to the seas of commerce and travel must be freely available to all nations. Until such free access is assured, to Israel, peace and stability in the Middle East will remain tenuous and ephemeral. We therefore propose that the United States seek with the Soviet Union and other nations, an agreement for joint action in persuading the Arab nations to guarantee to Israel free access and passage for its shipping through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran. Further we urge the United States to seek an agreement with the Soviet Union and other nations for a limitation on the sale and supply of arms to other countries in this highly volatile area of the globe. We propose that we urge restraint on both Israelis and Arabs, and the immediate commencement of direct Israeli-Arab negotiations leading to the peaceful settlement of their existing disputes, the establishment of realistic national borders and mutual guarantees of the inviolability of the borders so established and the humane solution of the refugee problem.

The following sections, along with a separate section on Europe, were submitted to the Task Force by the subcommittee assigned thereto. Due to lack of time they have been partially considered by the Task Force, but no action has been taken thereon. They are herewith submitted for information only

MOBILIZATION OF U.S. RESOURCES

FOR THE WAR ON HUNGER

It has now become apparent to the leadership of both the developed and less developed countries, that world famine is threatening the human race in the very near future. The dimensions of this potential calamity constitute as grave a threat to the survival of man as does the proliferation of the hydrogen bomb. Experts in the field of food production and population growth estimate that this famine will be causing substantial starvation by 1975 and that by 1980 great numbers of people in Asia and Latin America and Africa will be dying of hunger.

Thus far, the political leaders and peoples of the world have been too preoccupied with day to day crises to focus on this approaching global disaster, and have failed to mobilize human, technical and financial resources to mount a world wide program to increase food production. Because of the time lag involved in needed research and in the transfer of agricultural technology to the less developed nations, we are already too late to avert the early stages of this famine. The surplus food nations no longer have a surplus in terms of global food needs. There is no possibility of averting mass starvation by transferring food from the surplus nations to the food deficit nations.

Therefore, we urgently recommend that the U.S. Government take the leadership in mobilizing the resources of private enterprises and of the Government, the universities, the foundations, and the agricultural cooperatives, in a massive cooperative investment program in agricultural production, distribution, food processing, and basic research. We further recommend that the A.I.D. program be substantially modified and expanded to stimulate and support the flow of private investment into food production in the disadvantaged countries. Inasmuch as the required technology largely lies in the private sector of the developed countries and can be effectively transferred only within the framework of a private investment program, supported and assisted by public and quasi-public institutions of the developed world, such a new policy must be instituted without delay under the leadership of the executive branch of the United States government; recognizing, however, that, because of the shortage of American resources, both financial and manpower, such a global food program must be so oriented that it will necessarily become multi-national in scope after its initiation by the United States.

THE UNITED NATIONS

We recognize that the peace and stability of the world and the independence of all nations can be permanently assured only by a vital and effective United Nations. We recognize, as well, however, that modifications and revisions of the Charter and procedures of the United Nations

are necessary in order that it may more fully meet the needs and goals for which it was created and for which we support it.

We propose, therefore, that the Charter of the United Nations be revised, and that the United States support the necessary action, to accomplish the following:

1. Removal of the inhibiting power of the veto; and revision of voting procedures, so that the voting strength of each nation may be more nearly consonant with its world responsibility, population and productive resources.

2. Establishment of a permanent United Nations peace force, under the direction of the Secretary-General and subject to the authority and supervision of the Security Council; supported by compulsory, universal assessment of proportionate provision from all nations of necessary personnel and financial contributions; and operating under the mandate of pre-set rules of procedure which will preclude uneven response to specific crises according to the individual interests or short-range purposes of any member nation.

3. Expansion of the sources and availability of revenue for the operation of the United Nations and strengthening the provisions for mandatory contribution from all member nations; so that the United Nations shall not again be subjected to the crippling effects of constantly recurring financial crises, and so that no nation may use the payment or withholding of its financial commitment as a means of influencing or coercing policy decisions.

4. Placing within the jurisdiction of the United Nations the duty and mandate of promoting, encouraging and achieving international accord upon prevention of nuclear weapons development by presently non-nuclear nations, control of such development by nations presently possessing nuclear capability, and reduction and limitation of conventional arms build up and international traffic in such arms.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND LAW

The achievement of the rule of law to replace the convention of force in international affairs must be recognized as the paramount objective of American foreign policy, for it alone offers a real alternative to a world engulfed in fear, hate and the ever imminent threat of cataclysmic destruction.

To the ultimate establishment of permanent peace under international law, we propose:

1. The United States repeal the Connally Amendment to our reservation to the declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

2. The United States take the initiative and dedicate its efforts to the establishment of and world-wide adherence to an effective nuclear non-proliferation treaty; and a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, covering, air, surface and sub-surface testing, adequately verified by resort to recent improvements in national detection systems as a substitute for excessive numbers of on-site inspections.

3. The United States join with the other major arms-producing powers in an agreement to refrain from the sale or supply of sophisticated missile and delivery systems and other non-conventional weapons to the smaller, less-developed nations; to reduce and drastically curtail shipments of conventional arms to these nations; and to remove the necessity and justification for arms build-up by such smaller nations, by providing them with meaningful, mutual guarantees of their security and independence.

4. The United States sponsor the establishment, within the United nations, of permanent staffs of trained fact-finders and mediators, responsible directly to the Security Council who shall be available to aid in and direct the solution of international disputes.

HUMAN RIGHTS, CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND POPULATION

In this all-important field of the rights, privileges, aspirations and basic needs of the peoples of the world, we propose the following actions be taken with all deliberate speed:

1. The United States Senate immediately ratify the United Nations conventions presently before it, on Genocide, Slavery, Forced Labor and the Political Rights of Women.

2. The International Convention on elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination be forthwith submitted to and be promptly ratified by the United States Senate.

3. The United States support the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, with the appropriate authority, staff and financial capability to review, investigate and to make necessary recommendations as to the practices of all nations as they affect adherence to each of the above-mentioned conventions.

4. The United States devise and promote and seek to secure the participation of all other nations in a concrete and comprehensive program of cultural exchange and encouragement of cultural growth and development in all fields of education, music, fine arts, theatre and dance, literature, and science and technology.

5. The United States expand its conduct, support and encouragement of research into population growth, particularly as related to economic development; and that it vigorously pursue the promotion and dissemination of information upon techniques of family planning, and encourage and assist widespread availability of family planning services and guidance.

6. The United States support and encourage the wider dissemination and increased utilization in the less developed nations, of the population-related services of the World Health Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund, and the United Nations Development Program.

WORLD RESOURCES, ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT, FOREIGN TRADE

The utilization of the world's physical, economic and human resources and their application to the advancement of general progress and prosperity for all nations, under programs that will insure that none of these resources lies unused while less fortunate nations desperately need the benefit of their use, is an imperative necessity to insure the permanent peace and stability of a prosperous and progressive world. To that end, we propose:

1. The United States support and encourage, through the carefully administered grant of direct subsidies and tax incentives, the participation of American business enterprises in a comprehensive program of on-the-job training operations for the people of underdeveloped nations; with a view toward both the employment of such persons by the training companies, and the availability of the trainees to meet the general needs of the host nations. The number of persons to be served by such training programs should be such as to exceed the absorptive capacity of the training companies, so as to insure that the latter need is met; and the training programs should be so oriented as to make possible the free exchange of trained manpower, between nations possessing a surplus thereof and other nations having an unfilled need for such manpower.
2. The United States assume its position of rightful leadership in obtaining general, meaningful, mutual, across-the-board reductions of international tariff barriers through the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations.
3. We reassert our faith in the constitutional mandate that foreign affairs shall be conducted by the national executive with the advice and consent of Congress; by discouraging the practices and policies of State and local governments which discriminate against imported goods in the marketplace, and by vigorously opposing the vigilante-like tactics of private action groups who seek to enforce nonpurchase of goods imported from nations with whose policies they disagree.