

THE ISSUES 1968

... I am hopeful that my challenge may alleviate the sense of political helplessness and restore to many people a belief in the processes of American politics and American government. It may counter the growing sense of alienation from politics which is currently reflected in a tendency to withdraw in either frustration or cynicism, to talk of non-participation and to make threats of support for a third or fourth party or other irregular movements.... It is within this context that I intend to take the case to the people of the United States.

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THE ISSUES OF 1968

This concise paper has been specifically prepared for the Members of the California Democratic State Central Committee, meeting in Convention at Sacramento this weekend, to provide a means of reference for the issues confronting the United States. The language contained in these pages is the language of SENATOR EUGENE J. McCARTHY and has been culled from his writings, speeches and position papers. This compendium is offered in the hope that it will adequately present the man, the reasons for his candidacy and the issues facing us all.

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Hans Schiller

VIETNAM

The most fundamental thing I said about the Vietnam war was that it was immoral. I thought it was politically reckless and militarily unsound, but these reasons may not have been cause enough to put one's career on the line. There were some in the Congress who were just as persuaded as I that we were engaged in an immoral venture in Vietnam, but they were immobilized by the old 'politics being the art of the possible' adage. The conviction that it was immoral, however, meant that I had no choice but to step forward in opposition to the war - no matter what the political consequences might turn out to be for me personally.

THE EQUAL SOCIETY AND RACISM

ALL MEN MUST CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY. Man is not ~~designed~~ simply to work and produce..he is morally responsible; therefore, he should have control over the conditions and the nature of the work he performs.

We have a kind of colonialism in the United States. Almost twenty million black Americans are trapped in a cultural and economic ghetto, captive citizens of a distinct environment with different standards, different expectations. The black American and every member of every minority group must be allowed his full citizenship. The rights of citizenship are not merely the rights to cast a ballot or voice an opinion. My goal is to make every member of every minority group a full and equal partner in America. Having secured the constitutionally guaranteed legal civil rights, we must now move to establish a whole NEW SET OF CIVIL RIGHTS:

- * First among these is the right to a decent job becoming the dignity of a man, a job which returns an income with which he can support his family in dignity and decency. I propose that the federal government determine a minimum income which it will assure for all Americans.
- * The second is the right to adequate health care, without regard to income or without regard to race. We must have a federally subsidized insurance program to assure that no citizen will be deprived of health care for a lack of funds.
- * Third, every American must now be accorded the right to that kind of education and that amount of education which is necessary to develop his full potential. This for the most talented among us, for the least gifted, and for those of average gift. We must have a massive program to upgrade the education of our adults who have been trapped in the poverty syndrome.
- * The final civil right is the right to a decent house; not just a house in isolation, not a house in a ghetto, but a house in a neighborhood which is part

of a community which must be a part of the United States of America. A massive building program must be initiated which will bring within reach of low and moderate income families six million housing units within the next five years.

Meeting the crisis of the cities requires a great moral resolve on the part of all Americans to practice what we preach, not only in our churches and synagogues, but in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and in our Fourth of July oratory. The urban problem, like the Vietnam problem, is inescapably a moral problem.

There are more things possible on this earth than many politicians dare to dream. In any case, whatever is morally necessary must be made politically possible, and the death of racism is a moral necessity of the greatest urgency. Politicians come and go, but moral law remains.

We need imaginative and practical programs to respond to the cries of the ghettos, something more creative than orders to shoot to kill or maim, something more lasting, substantial and productive than vague promises. The real issue is that white racism is the cancer eating away at our society...that, above everything else, is why people should support everything that promises to undo it. The black man's claims should be upheld, not because there are votes in Harlem, or in Watts, or on the west side of Chicago, but because the black man's cause is just. His claim on our conscience is justified. The battle for conscience began in New Hampshire. It is now centered in the cities, which have been called upon to take the first steps in righting the racist wrongs against one tenth of our population, wrongs for which all Americans bear a crushing share of responsibility. There is, I believe, a consistency in the moral approach. It does not allow us to indulge in 'art of the possible' thinking when crucial questions of wrong and right are at stake, as they are in both Vietnam and Harlem.

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE INSTITUTIONS

I chose to run for President last November because I believed that the old politics were already giving way to the new. We are engaged in an effort to affirm democracy and restore the government of the United States to the people on behalf of whom it governs. The office of the presidency in the new politics must bring to the people confidence in their own ability to lead, their own capacity to improve the quality of American life, to increase opportunities for justice among all citizens. We should not expect the President to forfeit the exercise of power. But we must look to him to take leadership in liberating the initiative of the people.

I have made no deals in this campaign; I am in the battle for the Presidency of the United States until the end, until I win or lose.

I think there are three agencies in government that need to be altered somewhat. They become more or less independent sources of decision in power almost beyond both executive and congressional control. One is the Central Intelligence Agency and the second is the FBI and the third is the Draft Board. Since this is a partisan government of men as well as laws, I have in mind to make some changes. The CIA is getting out of hand. Wrapped in its cloak of secrecy, the CIA modestly hints it has overthrown foreign governments, admits that it violates international law, and doesn't deny that one of its exploits wrecked a summit conference. The CIA, in short, is making foreign policy and, in so doing, is assuming the roles of the President and the Congress. It has taken the character of an invisible government answering only to itself.

I believe the only means of keeping the CIA within its proper limits without jeopardizing its need for secrecy is a congressional watchdog committee.

I call for the replacement of J. Edgar Hoover. Any police agency in a democracy ought not to be kept under the control largely of one man to a point where it develops to a kind of fief.

Clearly a country which proclaims its democratic institutions to the world cannot continue to ignore basic draft reform. Here is where new leadership might begin a reconsideration of the entire draft procedure. Under new leadership men like General Hershey must be replaced by administrators who understand that the object of the draft is to defend democracy, not to suppress free speech.

POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION

This need not be an America which is on the edge of despair. It can, again, be an America of confidence. This need not be an America in which fear seems to hang as a cloud. It can be an America which is characterized by an openness and by a hope. It need not be an America which seems to be guided by a kind of narrow expediency. It can, I think, be an America which pursues and which follows our traditional principles. It need not be an America which seems to be dominated by military considerations. It can be an America which responds in the fullest of our past, and also, in the fullness of our potential to the future. Not just an example to the world, but a genuine help to the world.

We are talking then in 1968 about a politics for new and different times - for times of change. We are talking about a new constituency, a constituency of concerned individuals, a constituency of committed persons, a constituency which comes to be a nation which has trust in itself and trust in the future and one which is prepared to apply knowledge and reason to the problem of life and history: And this is what we have begun to do - to present to the people a chance to exercise that kind of judgment and to determine what policy they want for this country.

FOREIGN POLICY

We must reassess our role in the world today. Our foreign policy should be more restrained and more closely in keeping with the movement of history. Many of our problems today are the result of our unwillingness or inability in the past to anticipate what might be the shape of the world twenty years in the future. We must set priorities and continue to seek, with other nations, a broader and more realistic distribution of responsibility for this world.

In general practical conclusions are:

- * The United States should be more ready than it has in the past to use international or multi-national agencies to show more certainly our 'decent respect to the opinions of mankind.'
- * Our use of instrumentalities and devices such as the Central Intelligence Agency and of military influence established through the distribution and sale of arms should be restricted and more carefully controlled;
- * The Senate, principally through the Foreign Relations Committee, should more competently, conscientiously and effectively exercise its constitutional responsibility in the formulation and conduct of the foreign policy.

- * In building world peace, we must work in concert with other nations and in world organizations, such as the United Nations.

CHINA's desire to eliminate United States power and influence from the Asian mainland, while it conforms to communist ideological opposition to democratic philosophy, is basically nationalistic, and there is little reason to believe that a non-communist Chinese government would welcome a United States presence on the Asian mainland any more than the present government in Peking does. We must begin now the adjustments or attitude which will be necessary if we are to reduce or liquidate our commitments in Asia. If the administration wishes to give us some assurance that they would like to change policy, and do it through negotiations, the best token of that would be the resignation of the Secretary of State. In his mind, the United States must maintain an anti-communist bastion in South Vietnam as a part of the over-all strategy of containing China through encirclement. All of this bears quite directly on our national interest, if not our survival. The containment theory is close to the most irrational policy our nation ever announced.

MEXICO and CANADA are neighbors with whom we have thousands of miles of common border. There is no need to place their citizens who wish to emigrate to the United States under a general quota limitation. THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS was, above all else, a recognition that people everywhere who live in poverty and ignorance belong to the 20th Century as much as we do, and that it belongs to them also.

CUBA should be offered the chance to return into the family of nations to which CUBA belongs.

We must adjust to the change of Soviet strategy in EUROPE and therefore, recognize that reducing tensions in Europe may eventually open the way to a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact nations.

A positive American policy in the MIDDLE EAST, in my judgment, should look toward several objectives:

- * First, we should again work to assure that the right to life and existence of Israel is recognized by all nations.
- * Second, we should affirm unequivocally the international character of the waters of the Gulf of Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran, and we should assert, support and assure the right of all nations to the use of the Suez Canal.
- * Third, we should use our influence to bring about a moratorium or limitation on the influx of arms into the Middle East.
- * Fourth, we should work with new vigor for a solution to the Arab refugee problem.
- * Fifth, we should support, with other nations if possible, the border adjustments necessary to assure to Israel the security to which that nation has the right, and also to give assurance and stability to those Arab nations that have shown an interest in peace and order. We should be prepared to guarantee these borders, preferably by treaty with other powers and with the support of the United Nations.

YOUTH, EDUCATION AND THE DRAFT

Young people are sharing in the responsibilities of democratic society. They should have the right to participate in the basic process of democratic government. I support lowering the voting age to eighteen.

Young people today are angry. They are aware of the disparity between the theories of democracy, as laid down in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, and the realities of democracy today. They are demanding clear answers to fundamental questions, and they are not getting such answers from the present Administration. The young-whose moral vision is generally clearer than ours - were willing to stand beside me and help me bring the case to the people.

Among the young people of our urban ghettos the rates of joblessness are increasingly disturbing. I am not satisfied when one out of every four young Negro Americans is without employment. I am not satisfied when one out of ten white young Americans is without employment. The way to relieve desperation and to create opportunity is by giving young people a chance to learn the skills which can make them productive members of society. Along with this must come a far larger and more imaginative program of education. It is important, of course, to improve the quality of our public schools. But the real future for education in the cities may well be outside the formal school system. For example, special training programs and shops can be established in community centers and churches. Apprenticeship programs should be developed. There is room for a host of educational institutions outside the historic system - and ones that can more directly prepare young men and women for fruitful labor. Our schools of education are plentiful with new ideas of this kind. All that we need is the will and purpose to carry them forward. We need programs for the young, middle-aged and elderly to retrain them for a modern America. We need not only Head-Start programs, but Late-Starts, Middle-Starts and Better-Starts.

What the Administration has done, is put the moral burden of this war on the shoulders of our youth. We should not have let things degenerate to the point where heroic virtue becomes necessary. I have proposed many times that the draft laws be changed to permit young men who are opposed to the war to be exempt from combat duty. The present regulation that permits deferments is unconstitutional, because it calls for a religious test. The main test for exemption should not depend on belief in religion, but on belief - or lack of belief - in the war.

So long as the draft continues, legal options must be provided for those who are morally opposed to a particular war. I firmly believe that, although the decision to make war is the prerogative of the government, the citizen is still individually responsible for his moral judgments on matters of public policy. We may not abdicate his conscience to the government. Our draft laws must recognize and accommodate this basic truth. I have worked in the past and will continue to work for legislation designed to help men of **conscience** live within the law by establishing legal channels for alternative service on the basis of individual moral judgments. Surely, if defending our country in time of war is a duty, it falls on all economic classes, regardless of education. When the risk involved is the risk of death, the process of selection should not discriminate against the poor.

There is a significant number of young Americans who have fled to foreign **countries** rather than serve in what they consider an unjust, immoral, pointless and destructive war. It is no small thing to lose one's country forever on the basis of a decision made at the age of eighteen. I think that, when we have created a fair and equitable draft law, we ought to offer these young men a chance to abide by it. Let them re-

turn, not as lawbreakers, but as young citizens who must abide by the same law as everyone else. If our draft law is truly fair, I believe that most young Americans will stand by it. For the young men of our country, this is a matter of life or death. If we wish to honor their commitment, we can do no less.

ECONOMY, FARM POLICY AND RECONVERSION

America is not a poor country. We have the means to build a society in which there is hope rather than fear, optimism rather than frustration. We have the means to create communities which are free from poverty. There has never been a time in our history when the coordination of fiscal and military policy was so important. The administration has either failed to understand this relationship during the last two years, or has misread the signs, or has been afraid to make necessary decisions.

With the rising economic growth and reasonable control of inflation, we can, if the right policies are followed, assure that the principal burden of the Vietnam war shall not rest upon the poor and least gifted in our society: first, as soldiers; second, as the principal victims of inflation; and third, as being denied the good that would come from the improvement of programs in this country designed to help them achieve a proper place in American life.

A second area of major failure on the part of the United States Government has been in dealing with the balance of payments problem. The balance of payments deficit of the United States has been widely interpreted as a sign of weakness on the part of our economy, and the continuance of the deficit has undermined confidence in the dollar.

Farmers have given parity of effort and parity of investment and parity of production certainly. All they ask is a kind of parity in terms of income and education and housing and participation in the good life of America. We must strengthen the collective bargaining position of farmers outside government as an integral part of the effort to secure parity income and to preserve the family farm as the great American institution that it is. Therefore, I propose:

- * A voluntary dairy program with direct payments to producers who agree to increase, maintain or reduce their marketings in order to keep a balance between supply and demand.
- * Enactment of a strategic reserve for basic commodities such as wheat, feed grains, soybeans and cotton. And these reserves, which are in the national interest, should be insulated from the market and not permitted to be dumped on the market when prices are already depressed.'
- * Legislation to give farmers more strength in collective bargaining. Several of us joined in introducing a bill to establish a National Agricultural Board and to authorize the producers of any agricultural commodity to form a market order.

In 1968, America has the skill and foresight to complete a conversion to a peacetime economy which will maintain prosperity and allow us to turn to our pressing domestic needs. Such an effort will require a sense of true priorities of peacetime development.

The first requirement must be a general fiscal policy which maintains high levels of productivity and employment. As war costs drop off we should be able to cancel the

projected tax increase and restore those budget cuts currently being demanded in the Congress. Ultimately, a small tax reduction might be in order. The resources released by the end of the war will allow us to deal with domestic problems too long unattended. We should be able, for example, to meet our obligation to provide six million new houses within the next five years, replace our present welfare system with a comprehensive program of increased social security benefits, minimum wage, family allowance, job training, and other forms of income assurance and to promote conversion of industries now geared to defense to meet our needs at home. Advanced technology, currently occupied by war and defense, should be diverted to development of mass transit systems, new construction techniques, anti-pollution processes, new health equipment, and other initiatives to control and improve the quality of our environment. Such efforts can succeed with capable economic management. For conversion to a peacetime economy does not constitute a serious economic problem for the United States. The need for conversion will not come all at once. It will take two or three years for the economy fully to feel the effects of an end to the war. The final conversion problem, however, will not be economic; it will be moral and political. For three years this country has waged war while neglecting urgent domestic needs.

URBAN BEAUTY, ENVIRONMENT AND CONSERVATION

The problem of the cities is not just the problem of the poor. It is everyone's problem. For everyone must breathe the air, suffer from clogged transportation and inadequate places for recreation. It is the problem of American life. All are damaged when their children cannot find a decent school or even a safe place to play. I do not speak of a cosmetic application to gloss over urban blight, wherein the gravest sores of our civilization would continue to fester: the ghettos of poverty, ignorance and intolerance. I speak of urban beauty as the serenity of environment in which 'the pursuit of happiness' at least stands a chance of achievement. It must be realized that a haphazard approach is no longer adequate, that comprehensive master plans must be developed, coordinated and adjusted on a national basis for the divergent requirements of urban settlement, agrarian productivity, industrial concentration and growth, natural resources, traffic and transportation, power and communications networks, the needs of education, commerce and cultural activity, recreation and relaxation. The historic role of the city as the generative force of culture, as the formative catalyst of society becomes more significant than ever before. An extraordinary effort must be made to recreate a viable metropolis, to weld a cohesive community of purpose and determination. The choice is ours and the time is now. The existing housing programs are too limited, too selective, too dependent on local initiative and resources. Only a complete overhaul of these approaches together with full community participation in both the decision making and executory phases of projects can hope to offer viable solutions. Rapid urbanization is followed by uncontrolled and unplanned sprawl, destruction of the open countryside, pollution of water and air, ravages wrought by industry, waste disposal and decay of our core cities. Much hangs in balance, much has been lost forever. We must therefore recognize the totality of the task. I believe that, like urban beauty, conservation achieves its fullest meaning only in relation to man. Thus unequivocal and unthinking conservation without consideration of the essential needs of the human being tends to be equally detrimental to the healthy development of communities. There is, therefore, an urgent need for a device to adjust the demands of habitation, industry, transportation and the preservation of natural resources. I support the concept of total waste disposal control in air, water and on land. I propose increased federal involvement in the funding of accelerated research leading to the development of promising methods of dealing with this problem. Dumping in open pits and the destructive practice of fill operations in natural assets like the San Francisco Bay must be stopped. A new approach to transportation is another prerequisite for the development of our expanding society. I propose accelerated research and development of alternate methods of propulsion and improvement and expansion of mass rapid transit systems on a vastly enlarged scale. Under new leadership we must approach these problems in terms of a total commitment to create an environment within human control and responsive to human needs.