

Defense Establishment and
Foreign Policy.

MINORITY REPORT.

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The legitimate functions of government in the sphere of international activities and relations are limited to military protection of its citizens, within its borders and in international territory, from infringement of their rights by foreign persons and governments (including such domestic policies as are necessary to that function), and to such diplomatic agreements and cooperation with foreign governments as are necessary to the overall protection of their rights (e.g. extradition of criminals, mutual contract law agreements for international trade, etc.) Any extension of government activity in the international sphere (or of the domestic activities of its defense establishment) beyond these functions necessarily involves the violation of the rights of either foreign peoples or its own citizens, or both, and ultimately weakens its ability to fulfill its legitimate function. This necessarily endangers the freedom and very survival of its citizens. We therefore advocate the following positions.

Defense Establishment.

1. Requirements of Effective Armed Forces. In accordance with our position against involuntary servitude, and with principles of efficient and effective organization and operation, we advocate the immediate reorganization of the armed forces of the United States into a professionally motivated volunteer defense establishment by greatly increasing its ability to attract and retain competent and skilled personnel by economically competitive pay scales and benefits, and with high esprit de corps.

Toward this end we advocate a review and reform of military enlistment and contractual standards (terms of service), and of officer selection and rating criteria (efficiency reports, etc.)

We particularly advocate a complete review and reform of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, to guarantee equal protection of rights under the Constitution and Federal statute

law to all members of the United States Armed Forces—with administrative provisions to accomodate the peculiar conditions of military operations at war and at sea—and to further promote thereby the morale, dignity, and sense of justice and honor within the military which are indispensable to its efficient and effective operation.

2. Civilian Control and Military Accountability. We strongly oppose and deplore the recent trend toward relaxation of civilian control of the military establishment, and especially of the military's accountability to Congress and Executive agencies for its operations and its relationship to industrial concerns filling military contracts. ~~military-industrial complex~~
We maintain that the current level of defense spending far exceeds that necessary for effective and efficient military capability and national security, and that the military is acquiring a dangerous autonomy in many areas of its operations, which jeopardizes not only the economy but our liberty and national security, as well. We therefore advocate an immediate and complete Congressional review of the civilian-military relationship and of operations and organization of the military establishment in all relevant areas of operation, and legislation to re-establish complete accountability to and control by Congress and the proper Executive agencies.

Military Policy.

1. Capability. We advocate the maintenance at all times of sufficient military capability to defend the United States, and its citizens in international territory, against any form of aggression, and in particular the maintenance of sufficient nuclear capability to deter any potential aggressor from launching a nuclear first strike against the United States. In accordance, however, with the increase in efficiency called for in our two preceding points, and with reduction of U.S. world military involvement called for below, we believe a reduction in conventional defense capabilities and spending, and possibly in nuclear capability, to be in order.

2. Alliances. We maintain that the United States should

enter into only such foreign military alliances and commitments as are indispensable to the protection of its own borders, and its citizens in international territory, against foreign aggression. Thus, the United States should offer the protection of its nuclear capacity only to countries whose continued free existence is vital to the protection of the freedom of the citizens of the United States, but who cannot provide themselves such protection; and such allies should provide their full share of the cost and manpower of all conventional military treaty forces. We firmly advocate the withdrawal with all possible speed from any alliances with any despotic form or institution of government, or with any country not meeting the criteria for de jure recognition as set forth below; no such alliance can serve the long-range defense interests of the American people. We further advocate ~~the~~ amendment of the United States Constitution to prohibit the United States from entering into any treaty, alliance, agreement, or organization under which it would relinquish or impair any aspect of its sovereignty.

3. Commitment of Military Forces to Foreign Soil or Combat.

We advocate amendment of the United States Constitution to prohibit the commitment of any U.S. military force to combat, or a combat zone, or foreign soil, except upon prior authorization by the Senate, by two-thirds of Senators present in a quorum; with the exception that in situations imposing such grave and immediate ~~military~~ danger to the security of the United States as to admit of no delay in response, the President shall be empowered to commit such forces as are necessary to meet that danger, subject to veto and recall by the Senate should two-thirds not concur in such action at the earliest possible quorum; and the President shall be bound by the Senate's action, and subject to impeachment if he shall fail to comply.

We maintain that only by such action can the people of the United States ensure against a repetition of the well documented errors and improper executive actions which resulted in our present disastrous involvement in Indochina, and in other recent abuses of U.S. military power.

4. Indochina War. In accordance with the foreign policy herein set forth, we advocate the immediate withdrawal of all

U.S. military forces and other aid of any sort from Indochina, with the exception of those air and naval forces indispensable to any sanctions necessary to obtain release of all U.S. prisoners of war held in Indochina. We advocate the use of any effective diplomatic channel or negotiation that may obtain the release of prisoners on honorable terms, consistent with the policies herein stated.

5. Intelligence and Covert Operations. We advocate immediate Congressional review of all U.S. covert foreign operations (especially those of the CIA), and immediate elimination of those operations not necessary to the collection of defense intelligence and especially of those operations interfering with or violating the sovereignty and rights of foreign peoples.

Economic Policy.

1. Foreign Aid. We advocate the immediate termination of the Federal foreign aid program, and of all similar assistance and information programs including covert ones, inasmuch as it is outside the legitimate defense function of government, and in fact is often detrimental to that function.

We recognize, however, the right of private individuals and groups to give economic and military aid to other peoples, insofar as such action does not aid or abet any government or group declared by Congress to be a physically overt and credible threat to the security of the United States or its allies. We advocate the consistent prohibition of any action of the latter kind, including trade with or support of any such government in any goods or services of potential military or logistical value, or trade or support which may enable the creation of such goods or services in the economies of such countries. We advocate the immediate termination of all other sanctions against relations of private persons and groups with foreign peoples.

2. Foreign Investment. We maintain that all private transactions and investments made within the territorial sovereignty of foreign governments (except those having contract law agreements with the United States for international

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trade) are removed thereby from the legitimate protective functions of the U.S. government; therefore, private persons and groups engaging in such ventures must assume all consequent risk, and we firmly oppose any military or other active intervention by the U.S. government in protection of such ventures.

Diplomatic Policy.

1. Recognition. The formal or de jure recognition of one government by another implies and should be based on the legitimacy of the sovereignty and functions exercised by the government recognized; recognition is thus a formal sanction of such sovereignty and functions, and a recognition (in the case of free countries) of the mutual interests and necessary relationship of both governments, in the international sphere, in defending the freedom of their citizens.

We maintain therefore that the United States should limit its de jure recognition of other governments to those satisfying all the following criteria: (a) regular elections by secret ballot, free and open to all parties and adult citizens, of all legislative and supreme executive offices; (b) absolute freedom of communication and association; and (c) unrestricted emigration; and a permanent diplomatic staff should be installed and maintained only in such countries. Such transactions as are necessary with other countries than these (e.g. extradition, release of POW's, etc.) should be by de facto recognition only, implying no legitimization or sanction of them, nor permanent relations with them.

We maintain that the formal recognition of any country not meeting the above criteria (and especially of totalitarian or other completely tyrannical regimes) can only further the enslavement and oppression of other peoples, and must ultimately jeopardize the security and honor of the United States. We reiterate, however, the right of private persons or groups to engage in such relations as they wish with any foreign peoples, subject to points one and two of the above Economic Policy section.

We also recognize the right of all peoples to secede from existing political units, upon presentation of legitimate cause and providing no valid contract (e.g. constitution) is violated thereby, and to establish new and independent

units with full and rightful territorial sovereignty; we maintain the United States should recognize such new units or governments, providing they meet the above criteria for de jure recognition, are supported by the majority of their adult population, and do not suppress in any way the peaceful dissent of a minority.

2. The United Nations. In accordance with the preceding point, and in the belief that U.S. involvement in the United Nations has failed to serve and cannot serve any legitimate goal or function of U.S. foreign policy and is ultimately destructive of such policy, we advocate the complete withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations, and removal with all possible speed of that organization from U.S. territory, inasmuch as its presence and operations have caused and would continue to cause unrewarded and unjustifiable expense to the United States, and particularly to the City of New York.