

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

EDITED BY
MICHAEL HARRINGTON

Dec. 1981 Vol. IX, No. 10 \$1

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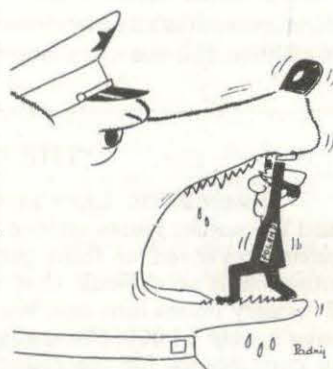
Standing with Solidarity

By Michael Harrington

HOW CAN SOCIALISTS AND THE broad democratic left work in solidarity with Solidarity? How can we challenge the policeman of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, (surely the decisive factor in this outrageous assault upon a revolutionary workers' movement), but challenge that nuclear policeman without running the risk of World War III?

This is an attempt, not to answer these questions, but to outline the beginnings of an answer in a situation so fluid that major developments may intervene between the writing of this article (December 22) and its publication. Our task is further complicated by our distance from Poland, which, in any case, now suffers under the total communications blackout imposed by General Jaruzelski. Still, before trying to suggest effective action, it is important to at least sketch the incredible context: a coup d'état carried out by a Communist army in the name of the proletariat against the overwhelming majority of the proletariat, a sort of proxy invasion of Poland by the Soviet Union in which a "workers' state" rejoices in a repression of workers' rights that bears more than a passing resemblance to Pinochet's overthrow of Allende.

If the Soviet Union did not exist, or if it were located a thousand miles from Poland, the Polish Communist regime would have been overturned by the



“How can we challenge the policeman of Eastern Europe . . . without running the risk of World War III?”

people long ago. It was a classic revolutionary situation, with dual power centers (Solidarity and the government). Had events taken their normal course, the weak, illegitimate, and cynical Communist bureaucracy would have been swept away in August of 1980 (or perhaps in 1970 when demonstrations in the streets forced Gomulka out of office). In a brief visit to Warsaw in 1963, I heard frank admission from Communists themselves of their isolation from the people. "Do you know why we translated *The Other America*?" one official asked me. "Because," he replied to his own question, "if we had said those things about poverty in the United States the people would have dismissed them as Communist lies."

Here was—and is—a regime that exists primarily because of foreign bayonets. That put Solidarity in an intolerable situation in which its revolutionary impulses—and its certain success if only it were let alone—were frustrated by Soviet power. In addition, this was a spontaneous move-

ment of working people, with all of the glories and not a few of the limitations that implies. One DSOC member recently returned from Poland reported that socialists there thought that free elections would give roughly 30 percent of the vote to a broad Catholic party, 30 percent to a broad socialist formation, and divide the remaining 40 percent among regional, peasant, nationalist, and doctrinaire Catholic factions. Xan Smiley, writing in *The New Republic*, gives some greater weight to the "true Poles" in Solidarity, a romantic nationalist wing tinged with anti-Semitism (the Polish Communist party has, of course, long had an anti-Semitic grouping, which was particularly effective in the purges of the late sixties).

There were, and are, "radicals" in Solidarity, the name usually given to the most adamant anti-Soviet tendency, the one that wanted to hold a referendum on the very structure of the society. That tactic was opposed by Lech Walesa and

Jacek Kuron and the recently disbanded Committee for Workers' Defense (KOR), which pushed for a more realistic assessment of the possibilities of change within Poland. (Smiley says that Kuron expressed a changed attitude in private conversations shortly before the Jaruzelski coup but, as is true with regard to so many of these events, it is hard to know how things stood just before the troops moved.)

On the basis of fragmentary reports, I am inclined to think that it was wrong to propose, or think likely, that a ruling class—even a weak, cynical, ruling class supported by a foreign power—would agree to liquidate itself in a referendum vote. In that difficult situation of subjective readiness and the objective, reactionary veto power of the Soviets, I suspect that the most that could be achieved would have been the institutionalization of some measure of workers' power. That, however, is more of an intuition on my part than a judgment. It is clear that the radicals (if the reports about them are correct) did not *cause* the military coup but at the very most provided a *pretext* for a policy which Moscow imposed upon its hapless clients in Warsaw.

It is also necessary to distinguish between our feeling that the Polish workers had to come to tactical terms with the intolerable reality of Soviet power in their own country and the attitude of corporate capital. "Many Western bankers," *Business Week* wrote in the December 28th issue, "privately applauded the move because they believe the army's action will end the political impasse that has developed between the government and Solidarity and that has paralyzed the economy." Those private bankers hold \$11 billion in Polish debts and hope that crushing the workers' movement will provide "a chance for Poland to begin a painful process of economic recovery." Marx, in the closing paragraph of his address to the founding Congress of the First International, commented on "the shameless applause, the feigned sympathy

"THE BEST LAID PLANS . . ."

DEMOCRATIC LEFT readers may have wondered why the November and December issues arrived in January 1982. One word—*money*. A financial crisis prevented us from getting these issues to you on time. Our current situation is so difficult that we have decided to combine the January and February issues into one. We take this step with great reluctance, but it will save nearly \$4,000. Naturally, all subscriptions will be extended by one issue to compensate for the reduction.

DSOC has ambitious plans for 1982. Unity with the New American Movement will bring new resources as well as new opportunities to advance our political program. A special report is now being prepared with a detailed outline of organizational and political plans for the unified organization. It will reach members of both organizations early in February.

The plans are ambitious . . . and they can be realized. But your prompt and generous financial support is an essential, basic requirement for their realization.

DSOC members received a 1982 membership renewal notice recently. Mailing your renewal now will be a great help. It costs time and money to send reminders. The same for subscribers: the early renewal is twice as cost-effective. And for both: an extra contribution enclosed with your membership or subscription renewal mailed *now* will make a real difference in ending the crisis and freeing us to start carrying out our augmented program.

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The Editors

DEMOCRATIC LEFT

Formerly the
Newsletter of the
Democratic Left

Michael Harrington
Editor

Maxine Phillips
Managing Editor

Selma Lenihan
Organizational Director

Ben Tafuya
Political Director

DEMOCRATIC LEFT is published ten times a year (monthly except July and August) by the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 801, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-3270. Subscriptions: \$15 sustaining and institutional; \$8 regular. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors. ISSN 0164-3207.

Second Class Permit Paid at New York, N.Y.

or the idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe watched the assassination of heroic Poland. . . ." *Plus ça change. . .*

Indeed, it is a sign of the times that, while Western bankers privately back the coup, the leader of the Italian Communist party, Enrico Berlinguer, declares that the event marks the end of an epoch, that no one can any longer look East for solutions, that the impulse of the October Revolution is now utterly spent. I date that last moment half a century earlier than Berlinguer, but I welcome his declaration for many reasons, not the least because it shows that only doctrinaire Moscow-oriented Communists (and incurable sectarian "Trotskyists") are capable of defending this outrage.

But we are still left with the most basic question: What are we to do in order to show *effective* solidarity with Solidarity?

No Need for Rhetoric

Ronald Reagan has demonstrated, once again, that for all of the Wild West heroics and the stentorian anti-Communism, nuclear weapons can accomplish nothing in the present situation. Even if we imagine that the president's trillion dollar investment in dubious and/or destabilizing weapons systems had already gone into effect, nothing would change. In 1956, when Dwight Eisenhower watched the Soviet tanks crush the Hungarian Revolution and did nothing, the U.S. was in the golden age of its nuclear and conventional superiority over the Soviets. Then, as now, nuclear power would destroy not only our friends and enemies but a good part of the world as well. And that reinforces the fact that the Geneva negotiations should be continued, not simply because they are in the national interest of the United States (and, not so incidentally, in the interest of the survival of the planet) but because *détente*, for all of its manifest limits, has done more for freedom in Eastern Europe than any escalation of the arms race.

This does not, however, mean that we—and here I mean the democratic left in general and the peace movement in particular—should let the Soviets off, free and clear, in this area. Brezhnev has been wearing his dove costume recently, presenting himself as a man of peace and appealing to the various disarmament movements that have emerged in Europe. For the most part those movements are

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL ON POLISH SITUATION

On December 17th, four days after the Jaruzelski coup against Solidarity, Willy Brandt, Chair of the Socialist International (SI) and Bernt Carlsson, SI General Secretary, issued a statement that, in the immediate aftermath of the event, stressed that caution was necessary if it were not to lead to a big power confrontation.

On December 29, the SI Presidium met in Paris and unanimously adopted an official SI statement on Poland. The French, Swedish, Italian, and Spanish Socialist parties were particularly active in seeking the consensus that was achieved. As we go to press, I have only the German text of the resolution, and there could be some differences in wording between my translation and the SI's English text.

"The Socialist International condemns the military seizure of power in Poland," the Presidium declared, *"as well as the brutal repression of civil rights which followed from it. The SI demands the immediate release of all imprisoned and detained people, and demands their unhindered activity on behalf of the independent trade union, Solidarity, as well as an end to repression and martial law."*

"The SI stands for the right of the Polish people to solve their problems free from foreign interference. It reminds all concerned states of the principle of non intervention as it is found in the final resolution of the Helsinki conference."

"The SI believes that the democratic development which has taken place in Poland has given rise to great hopes for Poland and the whole world. We cannot accept that a people's movement be destroyed by force."

"Democracy and socialism cannot be based upon dictatorial decrees from above nor upon a return to the injustice and oligarchies of the past. Both democracy and socialism require independent popular movements, economic and social justice as well as the right to national independence."

"These principles apply to Poland as well as to Turkey, Afghanistan and El Salvador, to cite but a few examples. The systematic violation of human and trade union rights concerns us all."

"It is in the interests of everyone that the national dialogue in Poland between Solidarity, the Catholic Church and the regime must be taken up again."

*"The SI asks that all concerned parties not use the Polish crisis as a pretext for lessening the efforts for *détente* [Entspannung] and arms control nor as an alibi for any intervention in other parts of the world. We note with great concern the dangers for the progress of *détente* which exist in the events in Poland. The Communist leadership must be conscious of this responsibility."*

"Our solidarity belongs to the Polish people. We ask our member parties to explore economic and financial aid for Poland in the light of further developments as well as concrete measures for the amelioration of the suffering of the Polish people, particularly with regard to food and medical care."

M.H.

not Communist, and most of their leaders make their demands upon Moscow as well as Washington. All of us should now say to Brezhnev: You have just struck a mighty blow for the Cold War by your active complicity in the repression of Solidarity. We will continue to push for negotiations, but we put you on notice that you have undermined your credibility as even a *Realpolitiker* of peace, which is the most we ever thought you might be.

Secondly, the United States and

Western Europe should freeze all transfers of technology to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, pending steps toward the liberation of the imprisoned workers in Poland.

Thirdly, the United States should commit itself to the cause of trade union rights *everywhere* in the world if it wants to be seen as sincere in regard to Poland. Let Reagan also demand that Brazil free "Lula," the workers' leader convicted of nothing more than militancy. Let Gen-

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Supply Side Slippage

By Mark Levinson

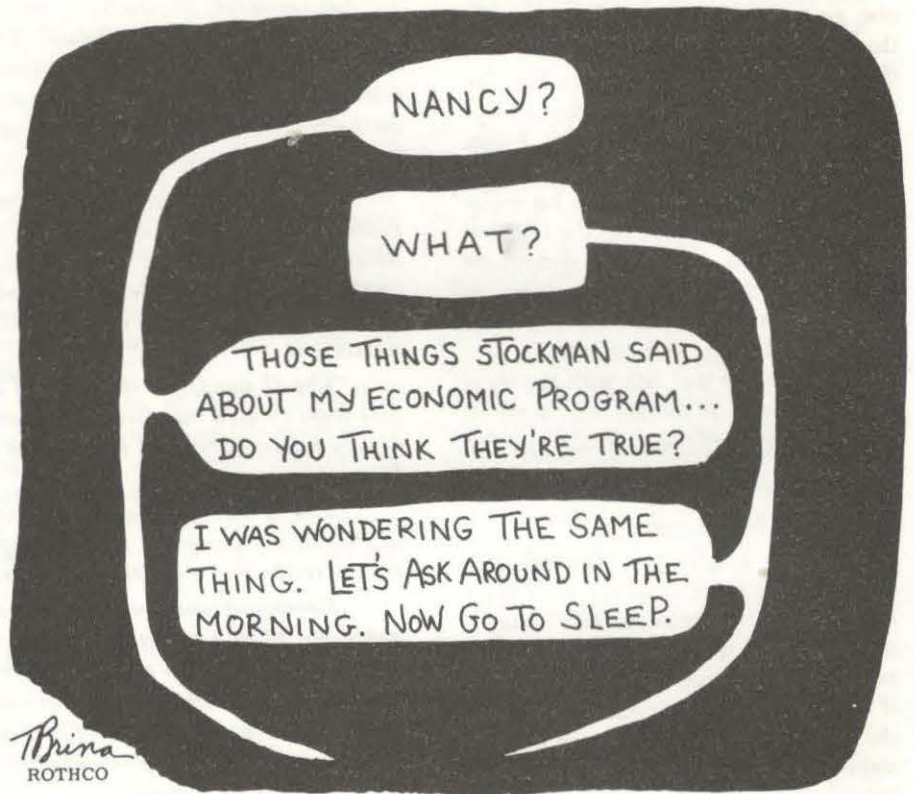
RONALD REAGAN'S ECONOMIC "revolution" is falling apart sooner than the most outspoken critics of the administration thought it would. As I write in mid-December, the official unemployment rate of 8.4 percent is at its highest level in six years and the recession we were promised would not come has arrived.

Nevertheless, the president and such stalwart supply siders as Representative Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) have not lost the supply-side faith, but the once-converted, or previously lukewarm supporters among traditional conservatives are backsliding. Thus we were treated in December to news accounts of the warfare among the president's staff as stories were leaked hinting at tax increases, only to be followed by presidential assertions that there would be no tax increases, not now, anyway.

When budget director David Stockman went public in the *Atlantic* with his doubts about the supply-side program of tax cuts, which in his view were not being coupled with drastic enough spending cuts, he was angrily attacked by the supply siders for abandoning the faith. Controversy prevails. Recently, as deficit estimates climbed skyward (between \$100 and \$200 billion for 1984), William Niskanen, a member of the Council of Economic Advisers, was heard to say that deficits didn't really matter, heresy to Ronald Reagan and most Republicans, who have always blamed inflation on deficit spending.

To understand the divisions wracking the administration, it will be useful to review Reagan's first year in office. It is a story of commitment to and disenchantment with a faith called supply-side economics; a story of an outmoded ideology running up against political and economic realities.

The 1980 election was an episode of role reversal. Jimmy Carter fought for a balanced budget, resisted a tax cut and encouraged the Federal Reserve to pursue a tight money policy. Ronald Reagan



toured the country quoting Franklin Roosevelt, generating excitement and support by promising to cut taxes so that the economy could, in the words of the *Wall Street Journal*, "produce its way out of stagflation." He championed a new approach, known as supply-side economics, that would, he claimed, make it possible to reduce inflation without increasing unemployment.

According to supply-side economics, the increasingly large role the government plays in the economy has worsened economic problems rather than solved them. Supply siders argue that taxes stifle production more than government spending stimulates it. This analysis leads to their main policy proposals—tax cuts. Tax cuts, they believe, will lead people to work more because after-tax pay rates would be higher, so there would be a greater monetary reward for an additional hour of work. Similarly, people would save more, thanks to higher after-tax income from interest and dividends. And, most importantly, companies would produce and invest more because after-

tax profit rates would be higher. This glowing picture is further enhanced by their argument that a cut in tax rates would not lower tax revenues because the tax cuts would stimulate the economy, eventually creating more government revenue. Everyone's tax bill would be lower, unemployment would decrease, increased productivity would slow inflation and (this is what temporarily mollified the traditional conservatives) deficits would decrease because the lower tax rates would lead to higher tax revenues.

There are many problems with this theory (see DL, March 1981). There is little evidence to show that lower tax rates result in the growth of productivity and investment. It is a fundamental truth of capitalism that private entrepreneurs will not produce unless they can make a profit. If profitable investment outlets do not exist, tax cuts and other handouts to the corporate rich will simply redistribute wealth upwards. As Jeff Faux and Gar Alperovitz have pointed out, there is really nothing new in the supply-side approach. Their policy prescriptions "are

an odd mixture of conservative tax subsidies which serve business and the upper income classes, and conventional liberal deficit spending to maintain demand."

From the beginning, tension in the Reagan camp and inconsistencies in his program were ignored. Reagan included among his advisers a number of different kinds of conservatives. In addition to supply siders, there were the traditional conservatives (who are most concerned with budget deficits) and monetarists (who don't trust fiscal policy and advocate a fixed rate of monetary growth in order to squeeze inflation out of the system). Many people in the Reagan administration now claim that they never really believed that unemployment would be slashed, productivity increased, and inflation dampened, simply by cutting taxes. Yet they went along because the supply-side theory was the new idea that provided the political support for the conservative program and gave legitimacy to traditional conservative measures.

Although the problems could be ignored at the beginning, now the tensions are surfacing. William Greider's fascinating article in the December issue of the *Atlantic*, "The Education of David Stockman" chronicles Stockman's struggle to reconcile his newfound faith in supply-side economics with his traditional economic world view (balance the budget).

As the cuts raced through Congress, Stockman continued to testify to congressional committees that the deficit would shrink and the economy expand. Privately, he was telling Greider that the opposite was happening, and admitted that he simply reprogrammed the computer to make the numbers come out right.

Reagan had campaigned on the promise to get the budget in order by eliminating "waste, fraud and mismanagement." But Stockman soon ran into the reality of the American welfare state. He discovered that it was not the bloated, generous, wasteful system of rightwing imagination. Rather, compared to the rest of the industrialized world, our welfare state is small and stingy. He tried to convince Reagan to go beyond "waste, fraud and mismanagement" and begin to confront "the real dimensions of budget reductions," by which, I suppose, he meant to eliminate rather than cut back the welfare state. Reagan initially showed some interest, but in May, when he pro-

How's That Again?

"I do believe in supply-side economics."

Ronald Reagan

N.Y. Times, February 3, 1981

"We know now that inflation results from all that deficit spending."

Ronald Reagan

N.Y. Times, February 5, 1981

posed cuts in Social Security, he was severely rebuffed and settled for piecemeal reductions.

Stockman (and perhaps Reagan) presents himself as a conservative ideologue who had a vision of the role of government in society—minimize it. He didn't just want to attack "weak clients," but also the "weak claims" of powerful clients. Thus, along with his attack on social programs, Stockman also wanted to cut back Export-Import Bank subsidies for IBM and Lockheed, the oil depletion allowance and so on. But political realities intervened and these tax loopholes for the wealthy were never closed, thus enlarging the budget deficit even further.

Stockman soon learned an important lesson. "... there are no real conservatives in Congress. . . . The power of these client groups (the business interests) turned out to be stronger than I realized. The client groups know how to make themselves heard. The problem is unorganized groups can't play in this game."

Raw, naked, political power won out. The world didn't work quite the way Stockman thought it did. And although Reaganomics was exposed from the inside for what it really is—a defense of those who have and damn the rest of us—it shouldn't make us feel any better. Stockman and his cohorts continue on their merry way.

Three years remain in Reagan's term. What can we expect? He is clearly in a bind. To trim the deficits, he will have to cut defense spending, and, as Stockman and chief of staff James Baker advocate, impose a windfall profits tax on natural gas, impose higher excise taxes, and close tax loopholes for the corporate rich. Failing that, Reagan will either have to accept the deficits (embarrassing for a Republican) or increase income taxes. That, of course, would be equivalent to saying that the supply-side theory that helped usher him into office was wrong.

What Reagan decides will also have an impact on the struggle for leadership

in the Republican party. If the traditionalists win out, and cutting the deficit becomes Reagan's first priority, then George Bush (who as a candidate for the presidential nomination called supply-side economics "voodoo economics") could well emerge as the leading presidential candidate in 1984. If the supply siders prevail, look for Jack Kemp to assume the mantle.

Reagan sold the public on his program by promising growth, price stability, and employment. Because it has failed (and is currently making matters much worse), we are forced to recognize again that the government has no choice but to intervene in the economy. The inescapable trend of capitalism is towards planning. Sophisticated corporate opinion knows this, and the planning we are likely to see will be a planned capitalism, a business-government partnership along the lines proposed by investment banker Felix Rohatyn, who has been counseling Democratic hopefuls. In the short term, economist Robert Lekachman may be proved right in his prediction that Reagan will be forced, over all his ideological convictions, to introduce controls. If it seems farfetched now, the severity of the economic crisis may make it happen. ■

Mark Levinson is a doctoral candidate in economics at the New School for Social Research in New York City, and serves on the DSOC National Executive Committee.

If you WILL . . . you can . . .

You can make a lasting contribution to democratic socialism—at least one that is sure to outlast your lifetime. You can, that is, if you make out your will or change your present one to make democratic socialism a beneficiary.

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If you are interested in the tax implications of such a bequest for your estate; or in the exact wording required to assure the legality of your testamentary gift, write: *DSOC, Suite 801, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.*

Defending Sane Defense

By Bogdan Denitch

AFTER MONTHS OF BELLICOSE rhetoric and relentless pressure towards an across-the-board arms buildup, the Reagan administration has taken some steps toward arms negotiations with the Soviet Union. The administration's present stand is a slanted version of a "zero option" that offers not to deploy medium range nuclear missiles in Europe if the Soviets dismantle their SS-20s and aging SS-4s and 5s. It doesn't touch on existing U.S. nuclear-armed submarines or the thousands of battlefield nuclear weapons now stationed in Europe, but is a response to the massive growth of a new peace movement in Western Europe and the increasing unease of previously solid NATO allies. This unease has been fueled by what appears to be a move away from "deterrence" to a limited nuclear war doctrine on the part of the United States.

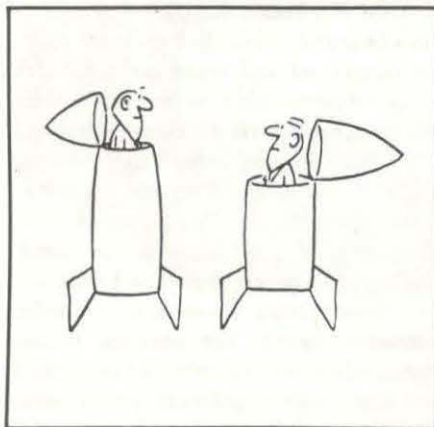
Medium range missiles can target Western Europe and the Soviet Union, but not the United States. Emphasis on theater nuclear weapons, short or medium range, makes sense only if it is assumed that the "West" needs such weapons to respond to a conventional attack by the U.S.S.R. It was a "cheap" option, a substitute for a more effective conventional force in Western Europe, failing major mutual arms reduction in conventional as well as atomic weapons. A local deterrent made some sense in the period of clear U.S. superiority over the Soviets. It has lost whatever logic it did have in a period of relative equality of the two superpowers. A theater nuclear conflict in Europe would be not only a nightmare for all Europeans, but would certainly escalate to include both superpowers.

Today a nuclear free Europe is not only possible—it is the logical place to start cutting back the immense arsenals directly confronting each bloc as in no other part of the globe. It is not enough, however, to support the West European movement for nuclear disarmament. Socialists have to begin taking the defense debate seriously. They must propose not only major budget cutting proposals and

attack individual weapons systems such as the MX and the B-1 bomber (still popularly known by that name, but now resurrected as the B-1B), but put forward a positive view of what a defense policy should be.

This outline of a socialist defense policy is based on a mix of general and very specific assumptions: First, some general points:

- NATO and the Warsaw Pact alliances are not symmetrical. One includes the parliamentary democracies of Western Europe, whose position is clearly defensive, as well as the U.S., which, while



“No sane defense policy can exist without a democratic foreign policy.”

obviously a more democratic society than the Soviet Union, is more prone to military adventures and reliance on military rather than political means in peripheral areas of superpower conflict, i.e. the third world. The U.S. tends to ally itself with unpopular conservative regimes that are vulnerable to popular revolts, and seems unable or unwilling to ally itself with popular forces (such as those in South West Africa, South Africa, Angola, Ethiopia, and Latin America, where it relies on direct or indirect force). Thus, while the Soviet regime is infinitely more repressive, the U.S. is more reckless, if for no other reason than its inability to see itself winning the *political* struggle in

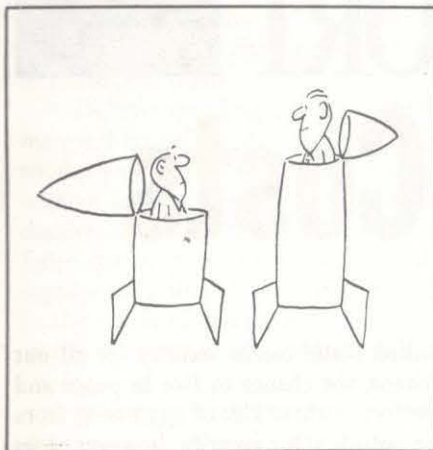
a period of mutual equivalence of forces.

- Socialists, therefore, must keep emphasizing that no sane defense policy can exist without a democratic foreign policy. A nonimperialist U.S. that could ally itself with democratic struggles for self-determination and popular rule would need a different defense policy.

- Short of general disarmament, however, any U.S. government—even a socialist one—would need some defense capacity. We must talk about two types of defense policy: one for a U.S. that would follow a democratic foreign policy and one for the here and now. The here and now requires that we deal with the specifics of the present military establishment and that we be able to justify the major cutbacks we propose that would still assure a lean, adequate defense. We must also favor major rollbacks and negotiations aimed not only at arms reductions across the board but against the massive arms trade burdening the world economy and escalating the danger of local wars.

I believe that today there is very roughly a military balance between the superpowers. They have different mixes of weapons systems based on divergent assumptions of what their respective needs are. Thus, for example, the U.S. has a Marine Corps of some 120,000 men and women while the U.S.S.R. has no more than 12,000 marine infantry. On the other hand, because of tradition and the fact that they are a land power facing a possible two-front war (China and Western Europe) the U.S.S.R. has many more tanks and a more massive reserve system than the western alliance. The U.S. and NATO, ignoring the fact that NATO is a much more substantial alliance than the Warsaw Pact, have a major advantage in naval forces, technology, field atomic weapons, and aircraft. They also have a far more efficient civilian economy to back up the military one than the Soviets do. However, the Soviet military establishment has no civilian and popular constraints to directly affect the budgetary debate over armaments.

Given a general military balance, some assumptions follow. To begin with,



neither superpower is directly threatened by the other and could with reasonable safety move towards mutual balanced cutbacks while maintaining a rough equivalence. That is, neither can "win" a direct confrontation with the other and the conflicts that will occur are likely to do so in the areas of peripheral interest, i.e. dependent allies. The conflicts will therefore probably be on a relatively low level—aimed at avoiding direct involvement of the other superpower—the examples of Vietnam and Korea come to mind. If one superpower is involved indirectly, the other will give aid to "its" side but stay out as far as its own armed forces are involved. A direct conflict in Europe is all but inconceivable either as a "limited" atomic conflict or through massive use of conventional armies. The stakes for both powers are simply too great, and the amount of present hardware, both conventional and nuclear, makes any quick local "victory" impossible. These assumptions argue that the superpowers will maintain their deterrents, possibly on lower levels; conflicts are likely to be brush fire local ones; and Western Europe should maintain a conventional force adequate to discourage any idea of quick military adventures in the future. They also argue that morale—economic conditions, and social policy are major "defense" factors for Western Europe.

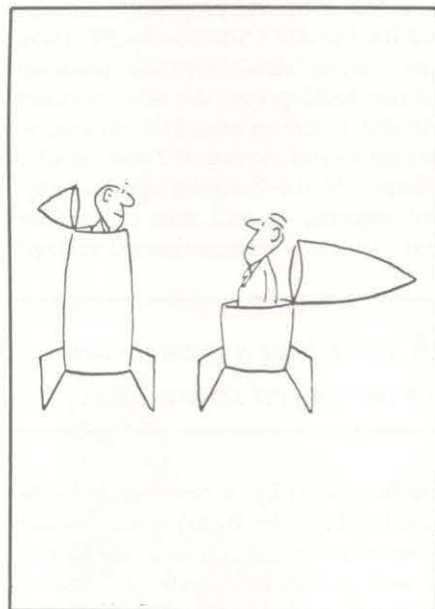
Immediate Steps

This discussion leaves American socialists and antiwar activists with an unsolved problem of what to propose here and now as a realistic and reasonable defense policy for the U.S. A few considerations that could begin to shape such a policy are:

- Although socialists should be uneasy with the concept of a "voluntary,"

i.e., professional army, the draft, if reintroduced, would be bound to be unfair. Universal military service (male and female) would produce far too many recruits for any reasonable needs of the armed forces. Thus, democratizing the armed forces and making them more subject to civilian norms while providing decent inducements to keep professionals and technicians seems to make sense.

- A massive cutback in the arms budget is clearly called for. The figure that comes to mind is roughly 30 percent. This includes not only bloated contracts, but entire weapons systems. I would chop out the B-1 bomber and the Stealth bomber, neither of which is needed, eliminate the MX missile, mothball five to six aircraft carriers (those are usable



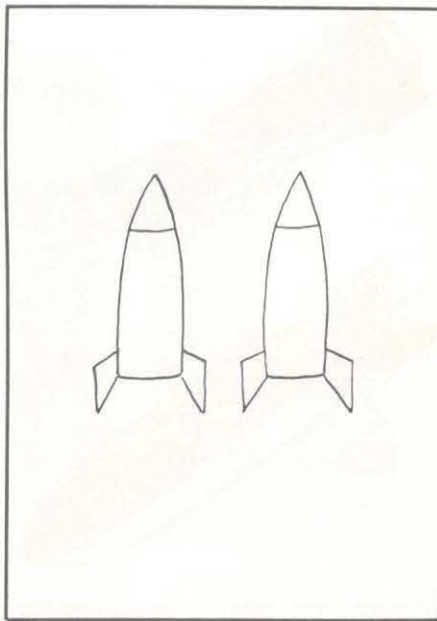
against small powers, but useless for defense), eliminate the new Abrams Battle Tank—a 50-ton monster good only for Chrysler, stop developments on the cruise missile, which is inherently a destabilizing system since it cannot be inspected, and forget about the Rapid Deployment Force, which does poorly what the Marines are designed for. Obviously, I oppose stationing the new Pershing intermediate missiles in Western Europe. There is a need for some improvement of light, portable, antitank weapons, spare parts procurement, and medium size troop carriers for NATO. Major immediate savings can also be made by eliminating some of the new fighter and fighter-bomber planes now on order. Major savings can also be made towards some real standardization of weapon systems and parts with NATO.

- After these unilateral initiatives, the U.S. would still have its strategic deterrence "Triad" in place, with land, sub and airplane-based nuclear weapons and a military establishment adequate both for defense of the U.S. and aid to any possible danger in Western Europe. The problem of "security" in the Gulf, i.e. access to oil supplies, is primarily political and lies more in the realm of a sane energy policy than among problems of defense. In any case, *nothing* that either Reagan or Carter before him has proposed could have provided adequate military security for U.S. and western interests in the Gulf failing a Middle East settlement.

Once taken, these initiatives would set the stage for major negotiations with the Soviets and other powers to: drastically cut back the ceilings of nuclear weapons now available (probably no more than 200 nuclear missiles on both sides are needed to assure deterrence); work out an agreement against war in space to assure continued aerial inspection; more cutbacks in conventional armies; and negotiate an agreement against weapon transfers and sales in the third world.

The immediate steps I propose are what we socialists can and should defend within the broad democratic left and among liberal and progressive forces in our society. They are based neither on a pacifist rejection of all armed defense nor on the assumption that only the United States represents a danger to world peace. On the contrary, these meas-

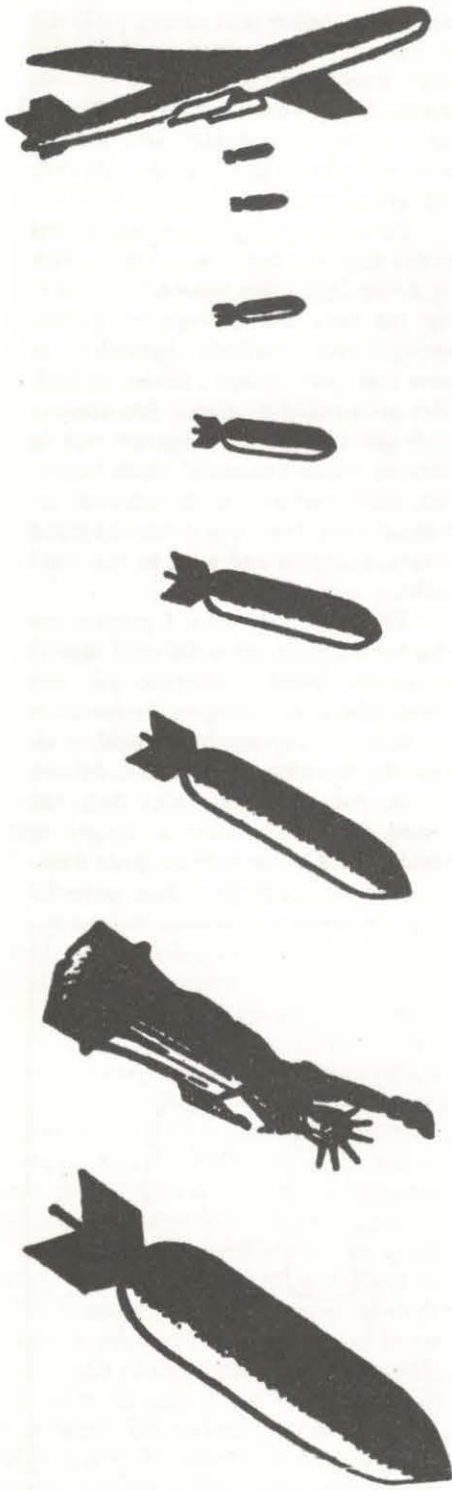
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A SPECIAL REPORT

National Security Costs

By Gordon Adams



WINS/APS/cpf

NOT SINCE THE KOREAN WAR has the U.S. government proposed a military buildup on the scale of that of the Reagan administration. The Department of Defense has requested military spending authority of \$220 billion for fiscal year 1982 and proposes to increase that level to \$367.5 billion by FY 1986. The Reagan administration's proposed military buildup over the next five years will cost taxpayers over \$1.5 trillion, an average annual increase of 7 percent after inflation. If the Congress approves current requests, we will start to purchase next year a new intercontinental strategic

United States means security for all our citizens, the chance to live in peace and comfort, without risk of aggression from the outside. Our security, however, goes deeper than any fears we may have of outside threats. Although national security includes the physical defense of all citizens, it cannot be understood strictly in military terms. If we have a strong military, but the economy is weakened, wracked with inflation and outdistanced overseas, we cannot feel secure. If our tax dollars go to buy excessive military capabilities, some of which cannot function or are actually wasteful, we cannot feel secure. If we are excluded from the government's definition of national priorities

“If we have a strong military, but the economy is weakened . . . we cannot feel secure.”

missile (the MX), a new manned strategic bomber (the B-1B), more nuclear cruise missiles and Trident submarines, as well as fighter aircraft, M-1 tanks, cargo planes and new aircraft carriers. All this, we are told, is vital to our national security.

To fund this “rearmament” program, the administration has undertaken a wholesale reduction of social legislation and programs affecting all Americans. For the first time, it is coming home to all of us that military spending has a direct impact on our future wellbeing. Guns or butter is now really at issue for every stratum in society. To put the military program in its broader context and to define national security in a way that meets all our needs, we need to clarify the impact the Reagan defense program will have on our economy, our expectations as taxpayers, and our rights as citizens.

At first glance, the connection between military spending and national security appears obvious—a militarily secure

because of the closed, powerful fraternity that decides on defense policies, we cannot feel secure. Finally, if we see that a narrow assertion of military goals saps our economic future, but our efforts to change that balance are criticized as unpatriotic, we are denied our right as citizens to participate in defining the meaning of national security. The sudden boost of military spending proposed by the Reagan administration will actually reduce our security by weakening the economy, wasting taxpayer dollars, closing us out of the policy process, and reinforcing a narrow and dangerous meaning to the term patriotism.

Economic Security

Our economic security requires an economy with minimal inflation, full employment, growing productivity and capital investment, and adequate incomes. While the Reagan budget ostensibly promises all of this, the unprecedented increase in military spending puts these objectives in doubt by increasing infla-

tionary pressures and by depriving the economy of the capital investment and technology it needs.

Defense spending contributes to the marginal rate of inflation because it adds to demand in the American economy without adding significantly to our productive capacity. Put another way, defense spending is a demand-side, not a supply-side policy. It does put resources in the hands of companies and workers in the defense sector. Unfortunately, as

“ Put another way, defense spending is a demand-side, not a supply-side policy.”

the then chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Murray Weidenbaum pointed out in a May 1968 article in *American Economics*:

To a considerable degree, the major defense companies rarely risk large amounts of their own resources in new undertakings but primarily respond to the initiatives of the government customer. This course of action may be a valid profit maximizing solution for these companies, but it hardly promotes the risk bearing and entrepreneurship which is characteristic of private enterprise.

Defense products do not enter the economy as new goods. They are taken by the Department of Defense, leaving the economy with more dollars but fewer goods. Defense spending is different, in this respect, from other forms of public capital spending. A road, for instance, provides a route over which goods are shipped and people move to jobs. An aircraft, by contrast, makes at best a marginal contribution to production or productive capabilities. Defense spending, in other words, tends to be more inflationary than other forms of public spending, and depletes the nation's supply of capital goods.

More directly, today's military spending will push up prices in the manufacturing sector. Defense dollars create a demand for productive capacity, raw materials, labor, and machinery in the manufacturing sector, where these key elements of production are already in short supply. As former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Jacques Gansler has noted, the defense subcontracting base

has grown thin since the end of the Vietnam conflict. Key components such as fasteners and forgings are made by fewer suppliers than ten years ago. Certain critical raw materials, such as cobalt, chromium, and titanium, are in high demand and already high in price. Skilled machinists and engineers are not as numerous as they were ten years ago. Machinery needed for military production now has long lead times before delivery. As defense demand increases, it will either command these resources over other, commercial buyers, or it will bid up their prices to the same end. Price increases for all manufactured goods will follow and will be passed on to the consumer, adding to inflation.

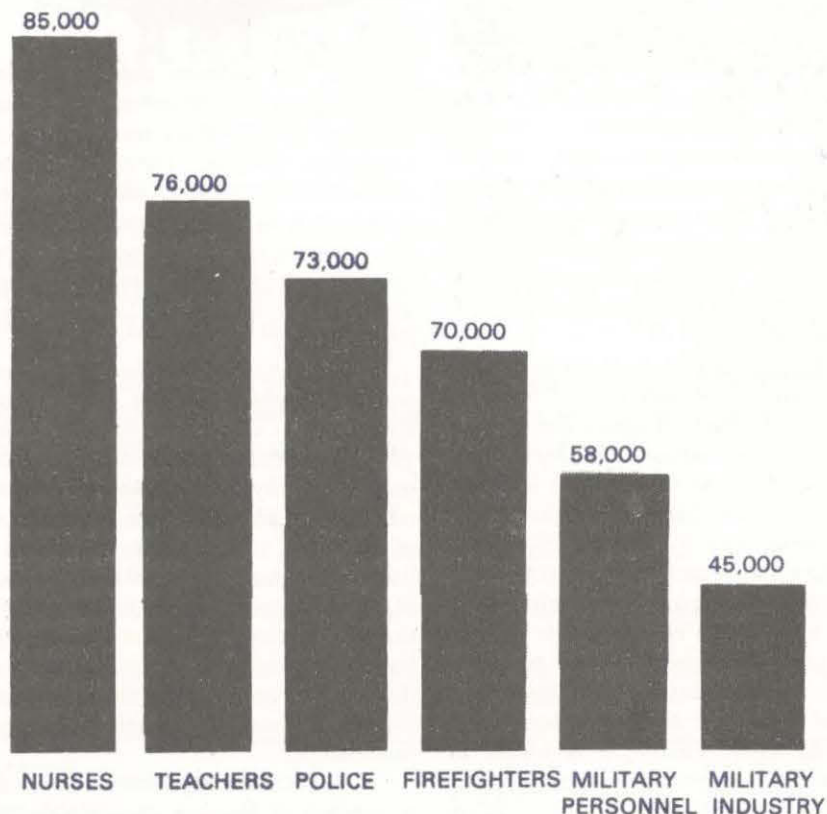
Second, the increase in military spending, funded by growing budget deficits, contradicts the administration's objective of strengthening productivity by increasing the supply of capital and technology to the private sector. Although the administration has trimmed the budget to the bone to finance the military, it

ca avoid that tried and true instrument of all administrations—deficit financing—to make up missing funds. Federal deficits are funded by borrowing in the private capital market, which means interest rates remain high, and federal borrowing competes with private borrowers. A Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. survey quoted in the June 20, 1981 *National Journal* noted that “military expenditures may be viewed, in a sense, as a leakage from the national consumption investment stream.”

The defense budget will specifically limit the availability of technology needed to increase productivity. A 1980 Battelle Memorial Institute survey noted that 65 percent of our public investment in research and development is devoted to national defense—the DoD, NASA, and nuclear weapons programs of the Department of Energy.

A significant proportion of public sector investment in research, in other words, goes for technologies that do not contribute to the restructuring of the auto

Jobs Created by \$1 Billion of Spending



Source: *The Empty Porkbarrel*, Anderson, 1978.

industry, the health of the nation's steel industry, high technology industries of the future, new machinery, etc. Instead, it is devoted to military research, which is increasingly too sophisticated and too expensive to spin off into commercial use.

In the end, the decline in the technology base erodes the ability even of private capital to compete in international markets. The Japanese and West Germans, who devote a far lower proportion of their Gross National Product and public sector research investment to defense, are outstripping us in markets U.S. firms once dominated.

The military spending increase, then, threatens our economic growth. As we acquire more guns, it may be to defend a shrinking supply of butter. Moreover, if the administration's low inflation forecasts are wrong, the problem will grow worse. More funds will be required to produce the promised weapons with an even more severe economic impact.

Taxpayer Security

Although the military budget absorbs nearly half of our income tax dollars, it is not clear that we are getting our money's worth either in efficient, waste-free government spending or real military security. The administration that calls for an end to waste, fraud, and abuse in federal spending is throwing taxpayer funds at the defense problem rather than seeking savings that could provide increased real security at a lower cost. If our military budget buys the wrong equipment, if we contract wastefully, if we spend vast sums on excess weapons of questionable need, we are sapping our national security, and being over-taxed in the bargain.

Recent research done inside the defense department, summarized in detail by James Fallows, suggests that we are buying the most advanced military equipment our defense industry can imagine, at the same time that the actual usefulness of the equipment is declining. High technology systems such as the F-14, F-15, F-18 and M-1 tank are not only expensive; but tend to be less usable because they are more often in need of repair. It is also more difficult for military personnel to use the equipment because of its complexity. Finally, it is harder to repair such equipment, especially under battlefield conditions.

The defense department's procurement machinery falls far short of what tax-

payers could expect in terms of cost savings and the elimination of waste. The Republican Study Committee, for example, released a report in August of 1980 noting that 43 General Accounting Office reports between January 1979 and July of 1980 had recommended cost savings of over \$16 billion in defense spending but that the defense department had taken no action on these recommendations. In a February 25, 1981 letter to the secretary of defense, Senators Barry Goldwater and Howard Metzenbaum



criticized the defense department for awarding less than 10 percent of its contracts (in dollar value) on the basis of competitive bidding. "These vast expenses have nothing to do with maintaining the strength of our military forces. They are, pure and simple, the result of a system that permits DoD officials to operate as though the public purse has no limits," they charged.

The administration has made proposals to tighten military procurement abuses—the Carlucci reforms of April 1981. Many of these, however, ensure greater security for military contractors, rather than addressing the real sources of excessive cost overruns. The B-1B bomber program is a classic of the reality of military procurement practices—continual cost growth while on the drawing boards, lack of competition in the bidding for subcontracts, and the promise of contractor security through multi-year procurement.

The defense department continues to approve of weapons spending on systems like the B-1B, which add little to American national security and even de-

tract from the military security we now have. The B-1B program will cost taxpayers at least \$30 billion over the next ten years, while the MX could cost well over \$50 billion (not counting operations and maintenance for each system). Yet, the B-1B is obsolete before it is deployed. It will not be able to penetrate Soviet airspace after the late 1980s. Its secondary missions—cruise missile carrier and conventional bomber—are already performed by cheaper existing aircraft. The MX missile program presents even greater security problems. Current American strategic forces provide more than we need for an adequate deterrent. Because it is intended for use as a counterforce weapon, moreover, the MX missile will destabilize rather than stabilize the strategic relationship with the Soviet Union. Cancellation of the MX and B-1B programs would subtract nearly \$5 billion from the military budget for FY 1982.

Citizen Involvement

Despite the negative economic consequences of the arms buildup and the waste of federal funds involved, it has been difficult for the public to enter the national security debate. An "iron triangle" dominates military policymaking and procurement, bringing together three key participants—the Pentagon, the defense industry, and the members of Congress concerned with defense budgets and appropriations. As policymakers move freely between the public and private arenas, debates and procurement decisions are resolved among participants who share common values, interests, and perceptions. Over time, this triangle has become as rigid as iron as participants exert strenuous efforts to keep it isolated and protected from alternatives and outside points of view. A victim of its own isolation, its members believe that they act in the public as well as their own interests, and arrogate to themselves the very definition of national security.

Several activities reinforce the strength and closed quality of the defense policy process:

- Contractors maintain sizable Washington offices for government relations and lobbying purposes. Defense Contract Audit Agency data on five companies—Boeing, General Dynamics, Grumman, Lockheed, and Rockwell International—show that, as of the mid-1970s, each Washington office had an average annual budget of \$1.5 million. Taxpayers pay

the lobbying expenses of defense contractors, since they are charged to government contracts.

● Defense contractors are mobilizing their "grassroots" constituencies—stockholders, employees, communities, and subcontractors—on behalf of their defense contracts. Rockwell International spent \$1.35 million over a two-year period in the 1970s for grassroots lobbying largely for its B-1 bomber programs.

● Contractors maintain the intimacy of the iron triangle through the "revolving door." The leading eight contractors (the five above plus Northrop, McDonnell Douglas and United Technologies) hired from or sent to the federal government 1,942 individuals, many of them in key policy positions, in the 1970s. While many of these transferees may have protected themselves from an actual situation of conflict of interest, the reported data suggest that contractors know the importance of knowledge and friendships in the iron triangle.

● Military contractors operate the largest corporate Political Action Committees (PACs) in America. The eight leading companies made over \$2 million in PAC expenditures in the late 1970s, most of it in the form of contributions to federal candidates. These contributions were concentrated on key members of Congress, especially those sitting on the armed services and appropriations committees, and those from areas where the companies had defense plants.

In this atmosphere of high-powered expensive special interest lobbying, personnel transfers and campaign spending, citizens with alternatives are hard-pressed to gain access to the policy process. As the military budget grows, moreover, critics of spending decisions become suspect. Defenders of the Reagan buildup tend to argue that critics have no commitment to the defense and security of the nation. Broadening the definition of national security does not mean a weakened commitment to military needs, but puts military needs in the context of the wider needs of the American citizenry. If those who raise criticisms of the military budget are backed into a corner, their patriotism questioned, they have lost a freedom which is an integral part of national security itself.

This narrow view of national security threatens the cohesion which is also central to our survival as a nation. Whole groups are scattered by the military juggle-

ment. As one senior citizen put it to me during a radio talk show in Pittsburgh, "What is national security without a decent social security? We invested our lives in this country."

Now is the time to begin to define the alternative vision of national security. The Reagan administration's program could well threaten our economic survival, waste our tax dollars on excessive and unnecessary weapons systems, close citizens out of the policy debate altogether, and threaten personal and political freedoms. The alternative vision needs to set legitimate military security needs in the context of a more comprehensive definition of "national security." A healthy, democratically planned national economy is a central element of that alternative. The structure, size, and impact of the defense sector must be open to debate. An alternative vision needs to incorporate standards of international behavior and foreign policy goals that structure military requirements, rather than allowing the military steamroller to influence for-

eign relations. The defense policy process needs to be opened up to public scrutiny and the debate over defense alternatives broadened. The alternative vision needs to take into account the security fears and needs of citizens, providing a program that meets these needs in the framework of a more democratic United States. ■

Gordon Adams is a military analyst and senior research associate at the Council on Economic Priorities in New York. He holds a doctorate in political science from Columbia University, has written widely on defense policy and economics, and is the author of The Iron Triangle: The Policy of Defense Contracting (N.Y.: Council on Economic Priorities, 1981).

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RESOURCES

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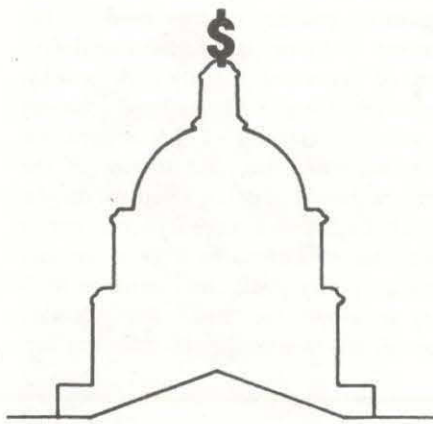
Jersey Campaign Leads Way in Coalition Politics

By Maxine Phillips

IT'S A CLICHÉ ON THE LEFT TO SAY that citizen groups have to form alliances with labor to build broad-based electoral coalitions to fight for progressive programs. Turning the cliché into reality is another matter. Now an ambitious project in New Jersey may be a model for other states.

New Jersey seemed the perfect place to test a statewide citizen-labor electoral coalition built around a broad agenda. It and Virginia were the only two states to hold gubernatorial and state elections last November. There were no national campaigns to divert or divide activists. New Jersey also has one of the strongest tenants' organizations in the country. The New Jersey Tenants Organization (NJTO) had a strong track record of lobbying and winning gains on housing issues. It eventually backed 70 candidates in the election, 55 of whom won. But its members were ready to take the next step and join forces with others to elect candidates who supported its positions. "We invited every labor and citizens group we thought would be interested," recalls DSOCer John Atlas, head of NJTO's Political Action Committee. Although some labor groups, as well as citizen groups worried about their tax exempt status, declined, no group blocked the new coalition's organizing efforts, and a wide variety signed up.

By contributing \$500, and making more than a letterhead commitment to the coalition, a group could be a policy-making member. Among those sitting together at the same table for the first time were Region 9 of the United Automobile Workers, which took the initiative in getting the coalition going, the Communications Workers of America, the International Union of Electrical Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the Industrial Union Council, the



“The Republicans must have outspent the Democrats by twenty-to-one. They were very effective.”

Committee of Interns and Residents, NJTO, the National Organization for Women, and the Hispanic Political Action Committee. Others who were advisory members included New Jersey SANE, the Senior Citizens Political Action Committee, Right to Choose, the Bergen County Housing Coalition, the Women's Political Caucus, the New Jersey Educational Association, the Environmental Voters Alliance, and the Essex County Housing Coalition. The groups agreed to form the New Jersey Public Interest Political Action Committee, which organized under the name Campaign '81.

The coalition decided to focus only on state races and to target districts that could go for either Democratic or Republican candidates. "We made a chart, and out of forty potential candidates in twenty swing districts, we found four that

every group had endorsed," says Atlas. Because it picked candidates everyone agreed on, no one group had to compromise its principles. Campaign '81 gave the candidates political consultants lent from the unions, three full-time field organizers, phone banks, and volunteers.

Unfortunately, the Republicans also targeted districts and poured money and effort into the campaign, using slick television commercials urging voters to choose Republicans "for a change." "The Republicans must have outspent the Democrats twenty-to-one. They were very effective," fumes UAW District 9 Director Ed Gray. "We need to do much more with fundraising."

Democratic gubernatorial candidate James Florio was uninspiring. In a state where registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans by two-to-one, the top of the ticket could have been expected to help local candidates. Instead, Florio's narrow defeat took down candidates who might have been helped by his victory. Three of Campaign '81's candidates lost. Even so, they outpolled Florio in their own districts, testimony to the coalition's aid.

"You can't fight bad ideas with no ideas," charges Atlas, who notes that Florio, backed by organized labor, publicly denounced the air traffic controllers strike. If the Democrats had offered a credible alternative to the Reagan policies backed by the winning Republican, Thomas Kean, they would have done better, he believes.

Organizers of Campaign '81 are not discouraged. They believe their efforts made the difference in their one winning district. They are pleased that a groundwork has been established. "We have an infrastructure now. Groups that ignored each other in the past are talking together and trading information," says Atlas. "This is a long range strategy. We've

done something that's never been done in this state."

What will happen the next time around? The group has a lot of history to overcome. Citizen organizations, with their committed volunteers, their mailing lists, and their programs, have enormous political potential. Often, though, they lack the political sophistication necessary for such mundane activities as canvassing, fundraising, and running a campaign. They have shied away from electoral politics, preferring to lobby on issues, uncomfortable with the give-and-take needed to push a broad, rather than single issue, agenda. They find many Democratic candidates hard to take. The Democratic party returns the sentiment.

Meanwhile, the Democratic party still doesn't seem to realize why it is losing. It remains bereft of candidates and ideas to fire the voters' imagination. Seeing no alternative, labor leadership remains loyal to the party many union members have written off.

Taking the Next Steps

Now that unions and citizen groups are sitting at the same table, will they be able to find enough in common to keep them there? Immediate plans call for developing a legislative agenda and working on joint lobbying activities that will mobilize more people. Another idea under discussion is to encourage union members to join NJTO and become active on a regular basis, thus extending the network of future campaign volunteers. The same cementing of relationships could occur with other single issue groups. "We enjoyed our experience with Campaign '81," says Ed Gray. "It was an interesting experiment that needs to be greatly expanded."

When the Campaign '81 members met to analyze their activities, they were pleased with the beginning they had made. They agreed that they should have started earlier; they might have picked more winnable races; they might have helped the local candidates more by endorsing the gubernatorial candidate. But learning the lessons that experience teaches is easy compared to the challenges ahead. Can the coalition hammer out a program acceptable to everyone? Will the political realities that require compromises prove unacceptable to some members? Campaign '81 made a start. The campaign in '82 will give some answers. ■

POLAND, from page 3

eral Haig speak out against the murder of trade unionists in Guatemala. Let the American left insist that this country support the right of workers to organize freely in every country, in South Africa as well as Poland.

Fourth, we should seek to see to it that massive shipments of food from the United States to Poland be distributed by Solidarity or by the Catholic Church.

Let me add a sobering thought. In this case, geography is tragic for Americans as well as for Poles. There is not too much that can be done when one is confronted with an intransigent, antiworking class, nuclear superpower like the Soviet Union. It would be well if we express our moral solidarity with Solidarity as clearly as possible and do everything we can to help. But sadly, it is also necessary

to realize the terrible limitations imposed upon our solidarity by the precarious balance of terror in this world. What is needed now is not a show of dramatic, militant, and ineffective gestures in favor of Solidarity, but a policy of imposing the greatest possible political costs upon the Soviets, scandalizing them in the peace movement here and abroad even as one insists upon the continuation of negotiations.

The Sakharovs' daughter-in-law, Yelizaveta Alekseyeva, was allowed to emigrate because of such pressure, and even though this is an infinitely more serious issue from Moscow's point of view, perhaps they can be reached somewhat. Given the intensity of our commitment to Solidarity, we should explore every possibility of solidarity. ■

DEFENSE POLICY, from p. 7

ures would provide for a modern, flexible defense that does not inherently contribute to destabilizing a monstrously overarmed world. However, we must continue to emphasize that even such measures and the adoption of the SALT II agreement can only buy precious time to try to turn the clock back and move to genuine mutual disarmament and the outlawing of all atomic weapons.

Within the peace and antinuclear movements the point has to be stated again and again: essential as an agreement between the two superpowers is to move away from atomic confrontation, that agreement is only a painful step in the direction of a world free of war. So long as imperialist exploitation and hegemonic rule remain characteristic of the relationships of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

towards their respective spheres of domination, there will be resistance and wars. There can be no real peace so long as a major part of humanity is doomed to starvation and oppression. Therefore, a real peace movement must, in the name of simple justice and humanity, be directed against Washington and Moscow. ■

National Executive Committee member Bogdan Denitch is chief executive officer of the graduate department of sociology, City University of New York. His latest book is Democratic Socialism: The Mass Left in Advanced Industrial Societies (Allanheld, Osman & Co.: N.J. 1981). Ed. note The book is available from the Institute for Democratic Socialism Book Service at an \$18 discount price (regular price—\$26).

UNITY MEETING SLATED FOR MARCH

The DSOC and NAM (New American Movement) negotiating committees met on November 21-22 (1981) and successfully concluded negotiations to unify the two organizations. Both committees were extremely pleased with the negotiated agreement and felt that the cooperative and enthusiastic spirit of the weekend meetings bodes well for the future of the unified democratic socialist movement.

The agreement, which is subject to the internal ratification processes of each organization, calls for the unity meeting to occur in Detroit, Michigan March 20-21, 1982. A formal celebration/outreach conference will occur in fall 1982 in the San Francisco Bay Area.

DSOC will ratify the agreement at special convention to be held March 20. The convention will be held at the Book Cadillac Hotel and St. Andrews Church in Detroit. A special report on plans for the unified organization will be mailed to each DSOC member at the end of January.

ON THE LEFT

By Harry Fleischman

THE WESTERN CANADIAN PROVINCE OF MANITOBA has rejoined neighboring Saskatchewan in choosing to live under socialist government after four years of conservative rule. The New Democratic Party, which governed Manitoba for eight years prior to its 1977 defeat, was decisively returned to power with strong labor backing by an electorate the *New York Times* described as "discontented with provincial and national policies that seem unable to prevent Canada from following the United States into a new recession." Led by Howard Pawley, the New Democrats won 34 of the 57 seats in the Manitoba legislature, an increase of 14. The Conservative Party took the remaining 23, a loss of 9. The Liberal Party lost its one seat, as did other minor provincial groups. The Liberals now have no seats west of Ontario.

SOCIALISM IN ONE CITY? Four out of seven city councilors in Santa Cruz, California are DSOC/NAM members. Mike Rotkin is California's only socialist mayor and Bruce Van Allen is a socialist vice-mayor. DSOC members Fran Cooper and Kevin Finney were campaign manager and treasurer for John Laird's campaign. He and progressive Mardi Wormhoudt received more votes than any previous council candidate. They joined Rotkin and Van Allen to form the first progressive council majority in the city's history. . . . Also on the Santa Cruz ballot was an initiative measure to put the city on record against U.S. aid to the government of El Salvador, which passed by more than a 2-1 margin. Members of NAM and DSOC filled most of the key roles in that campaign, with DSOCer Daniel Hersh acting as one of three campaign coordinators. Santa Cruz DSOC and NAM have completed a local merger. . . . Santa Barbara DSOCer John Gilderbloom has written *Rent Control, A Sourcebook*, for tenant activists. It is available at 20 percent off to DSOC members. Send \$7.95 plus \$1 for postage to FNPIC, P.O. Box 3396, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93105.

LONGTIME LABOR TROUBADOR Joe Glazer received the Debs-Thomas award of the *Washington, DC/Maryland* local December 8 at the National Press Club. Glazer was hailed as the "only Debs-Thomas award winner who wrote songs about both Gene Debs and Norman Thomas." . . . Six DSOC members were elected November 3 to the D.C. State Constitutional Convention. . . . Arthur S. Kling, former state secretary of the Socialist Party, died in Louisville, Ky. at the age of 85. He was the founder of the Kentucky Association of Older Persons. . . . In Massachusetts, DSOC member David Sullivan was returned to the Cambridge City Council in the November 3 election, ranking second out of 25 contenders for the nine seats. . . . DSOCer Earl Bourdon of Clairemont, N.H. has been elected president of the New Hampshire Association for the Elderly, a private, nonprofit organization of senior citizens. . . . Michael Manley, the socialist ex-prime minister of Jamaica, spoke at the William Paterson College of New Jersey in Wayne. . . . *Rochester* DSOC is planning a series of educational meetings.

BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE South is the theme of the annual meeting of southern democratic socialists. Scheduled for the weekend of May 29-30, it will be held on the campus of Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn. Major themes will be labor and political organizing in the South. For more information about the more than 21 workshops, contact John Buckley, 2014 East Indianhead Drive, Tallahassee, Florida 32301. A mailing will go out in late February or early March. . . . DSOCer Lou Pettechak coordinated an unusual fundraiser to raise money for a voter registration drive in Champaign County, Ill. The "We Care Work-a-Thon" mobilized 75 volunteers who donated more than 450 hours of labor at seven community agencies. Volunteers got sponsors to contribute money on a per hour basis.

JERRY WURF 1919-1981

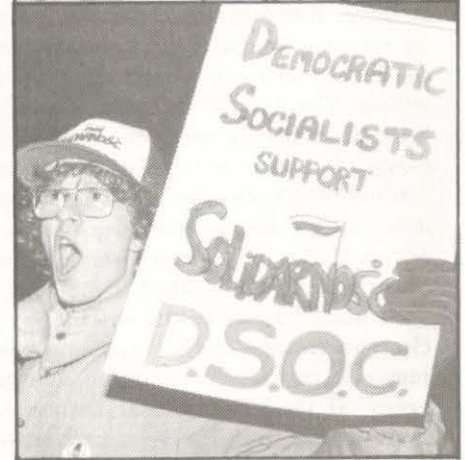
Jerry Wurf, a member of DSOC and its National Advisory Council as well as the International President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, died in December. Jerry was a militant who never forgot his socialist origins and who worked with DSOC from its founding. A tempestuous, man, quick to both anger and enthusiasm, his energy and organizing talent helped make AFSCME one of the major unions in the United States and his principles led him to fight both the CIA in the trade union movement and American intervention in Vietnam. We mourn the death of a comrade—and a friend.

M. H.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

- Title of publication: Democratic Left. A. Publication No.: 01643207.
- Date of filing: October 1, 1981.
- Frequency of issue: monthly except July and August. A. No. of issues published annually: 10. B. Annual subscription price: \$5.00.
- Location of known office of publication: 853 Broadway, Rm. 801, New York, N.Y. 10003.
- Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 853 Broadway, Rm. 801, New York, N.Y. 10003.
- Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003; Editor, Michael Harrington, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003; Managing Editor, Maxine Phillips, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.
- Owner: Name, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Address, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.
- Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None.
- For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates. The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes. Not applicable.
- Extent and nature of circulation:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total no copies printed (Net Press Run)		
B. Paid circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	1,650	3,250
2. Mail subscriptions	5,749	7,089
C. Total paid circulation (sum of 10B1 and 10B2)	7,399	10,339
D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means. Samples, complimentary, and other free copies	850	1,500
E. Total distribution (sum of C and D)	8,249	11,839
F. Copies not distributed		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after mailing	701	3,161
2. Returns from news agents	NONE	NONE
G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)	8,950	15,000
- I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Frank Llewellyn, Business Manager.



More than 225 young people from around the country gathered in New York City December 28-29 for the Fourth Annual DSOC Winter Youth Conference. Above, history professor W. Burghardt Turner talks about rebuilding the civil rights coalition; top right, Youth and Field Organizer Penny Schantz and Youth Section officers Deirdre O'Shea and Jeremy Karpatikin brace for the onslaught at the registration desk; bottom right, one of 150 demonstrators who marched outside the Polish Consulate at the DSOC rally in support of Solidarity held at the end of the conference.

Gretchen Donart

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Editors: Richard J. Bernstein & Mihailo Marković

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Published quarterly in April, July, October and January
 First issue April 1981
 Subscriptions to Volume I
 Individuals \$25.00 (US) \$28.00 (Canada)
 Institutions \$65.00 (US) \$75.00 (Canada)

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JIMMY HIGGINS REPORTS



CONTROLLING THE CONTROLLERS' STRIKE— After an initial spurt of increased travel and higher profits, airline deregulation worked badly for the airlines. Flights weren't full enough to pay; new competition was springing up from cut-rate carriers. For 1979, profits dropped 79 percent; in the first six months of 1980, the airlines lost \$200 million, and major carriers like Pan Am verged on bankruptcy. The strike by the air traffic controllers could have been

a crippling blow. Instead, with a big assist from the Federal Aviation Administration, the strike turned into a bonanza. By reducing schedules, cutting back overcapacity, and giving the airlines a chance to rationalize, the FAA re-regulated the airlines. The PATCO strike may have been the excuse for this FAA effort, but the need for rationalization and curtailing of competition seems to have been the reason. Frederick Thayer outlines the situation leading up to the strike in the December *Atlantic* (the famous Stockman issue); in the December 26 *Nation* Richard Hurd covers some of the same airspace. Both raise questions about whether the FAA and two administrations wanted to avoid the strike. The picture they paint is clear: government-industry planning masquerades as the workings of a market. Unionbusting substitutes for air transport policy. If the Congressional Democrats had either guts or principles, an investigative committee would be empaneled to expose this scandalous abuse of government. Footnote: U.S. officials are now working with Canadian officials to break a threatened controllers' strike north of the border.

A POPULAR PRESIDENT?—We're still hearing that Ronald Reagan's policies must be given a chance because he's such a popular leader. Well, the policies aren't working, and he's not very popular. The December Gallup poll found 49 percent of the public approving of his job performance. At a comparable point in his term, Jimmy Carter had a 57 percent approval rating. Some figure for other recent presidents rounding out their first year in office: Nixon (1969) 63 percent; LBJ 74 percent; JFK 78 percent; and Ike 71 percent. That Reagan still scores high on questions relating to his integrity and personal qualities does not mean much. Carter did well in those categories most of his term. Reagan is losing his mandate and alienating even his own base

of support. With the failure of Trojan Horse economics ever more apparent, his standing will slide even more.

ANOTHER MYTH abounds among Democrats these days. Reform, we hear over and over, has crowded out the pros, party leaders, and elected officials. It has damaged the party's ability to function; so, the reasoning goes, we have to retreat to the smoke-filled rooms. CBS News did an analysis of the delegates attending the 1980 Democratic Convention, a very reformed convention. Fifty-two percent of those attending the convention were party officials; 24 percent of the delegates held public office.

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS show that they're serious about a democratic foreign policy. No country protested more loudly and incessantly, from the highest government councils to the labor rallies in the streets, over the crackdown in Poland. The Socialist government wants the West to be tough with those who are imprisoning and suppressing socialist movement leaders. At the same time, Mitterrand's government gives Reagan no cause for rejoicing. The Nicaraguans, tagged by Washington policymakers for destabilization and possible invasion, just closed an arms deal with the French. Socialists have long called for a third position in world power politics, aligned for democracy and against both imperial blocs; the French are breathing reality into that age-old dream.

QUOTE FROM POLAND—At last fall's Solidarity convention in Gdansk, KOR, the Committee for Workers' Defense, disbanded. The dissident group had helped spur the trade union struggles, and most of its members joined Solidarity. Edward Lipinski, the senior statesman and spiritual father of Polish dissent, spoke to the convention. In these bitter days, his words bear repeating: "I consider myself a socialist. I have been a socialist since 1906. Socialism was to be the solving of the problems of the working class, the liberation of the working class, the creation of conditions in which every person could be fully developed. But the socialism that was created was a socialism of mismanagement and inefficiency that brought an economic catastrophe unequalled in 200 years. It is a socialism of prisons, censorship and police. This socialism has been destroying us for 30 odd years as it has been destroying others. It is this socialism that is antisocialist and antirevolutionary." His words were greeted with thunderous applause.

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