Peace is Subversive continued

Yet the warmongers' rallying cry to workers is: "Jobs, jobs, jobs! You want jobs? We got 'em, baby. Just keep the bucks flowing our way." But the unemployed steel, auto, and construction workers from the Midwest and East who keep straggling into San Diego in search of these jobs are finding nothing but watered down soup and an occasional bed at the San Diego Rescue Mission. The average age of those served at the Rescue Mission has dropped from 56 ten years ago to 26 today.

For the truth is that the bulk of the billions invested in the war economy goes toward expensive technology, highly skilled technicians, and a lot of administrators. Studies by SANE economist Seymour Melman and Marion Anderson of Michigan's Employment Research Associates have concluded that military spending actually produces a net loss of jobs in th economy. They estimate that 10,000 potential jobs are lost in the rest of the economy for every $1 billion spent in the military economy.

Their reasoning is that the same $1 billion, if used by other sectors of the economy, could create a much higher number of jobs than the same amount of money used by the capital intensive, highly specialized, and administrator bloated defense sector. And everyone knows that even the record $239 billion military allocation for this year will actually rise substantially due to government guaranteed subsidy of defense contractor overruns. Thus, if this economic analysis is correct, there will be a net loss of 2,900,000 jobs in the next year. When a multiplier effect is used to take into consideration jobs in related businesses that disappear, the net loss is doubled.

Where Will Economic Conversion Come From?

So the arms race depletes our vital resources, destroys jobs and industries, and concentrates command in a remote elite. Will the future bring a supersonic spaceship of state with power-mad imbeciles at the controls, streaking off into the cosmos, leaving its unfortunate masses behind to twist desperately in the nuclear winds of its blast off?

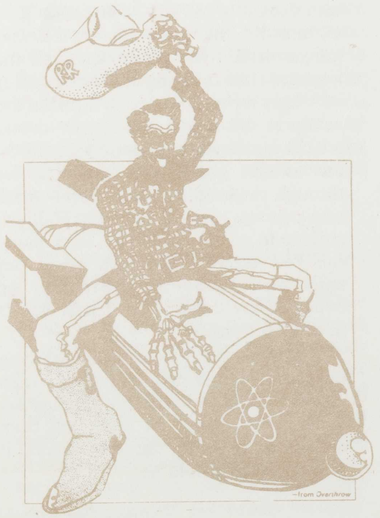
Melman, Anderson and other peace activists have developed a solution that is based on an economic conversion that would shift military money towards revitalization of neglected sectors of the economy. But this strategy assumes a political sanity in Washington and a social movement in the US that at present do not exist. Furthermore, it is founded on a belief that the US political system really is democratic.

When will they ever learn?

Today the only real threat to militarism comes from those who are directly fighting it. Those who blockade the gates of Livermore, who attack US military installations in Europe, who pour blood on the Pentagon and Trident submarines, and who battle US trained and equipped forces in Central America and the Middle East—all have a common link. They are all directly confronting a world based on war, hatred, and oppression in order to destroy it and create instead one of love, peace, and justice. And, beyond all the reactionary lies and revolutionary ideologies in the world, this is something truly subversive.

At present only a miniscule number in the USA are carrying out such protests, although millions will vote in favor of a nuclear freeze initiative. Many more people, and rightly so, are much more concerned with their own hard times. As economic deterioration and impoverishment continues, millions may also come to realize that the military is taking away their jobs, and that our economic system is just as bankrupt as our political one. Reagan, after all, is only amplifying Pentagon policies that Carter inherited from Nixon.

If this new consciousness is to be nurtured and to grow, social activists must promote its whys and wherefores in their words and actions. Moral outrage over nuclear megatonnage is a privilege not granted to those who are hustling up the next meal for themselves or their families. Solidarity between those who yearn for a just world without war and those who just want enough to eat must be developed if there is to be a chance for peace. For hunger, whether for food or for freedom, is the most subversive force of all.



Peace Movement continued

advanced implements of collective suicide: the university-defense industry-military complex. We have south and southeast San Diego—our very own colony within our border; and we have Mexico—one of our many corporate holdings beyond our border. A little to the north, we have Silicon Valley specializing in information-processing technology to keep everything on course.

Why, then, do so many of us continue to insist on trying to create peace with superficial, piecemeal approaches such as "No Nukes" and "No Draft, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador"? Many respond that we have to work where we can and generate as much support for "our issue" as possible so as to eventually awaken people to the "bigger picture." Or that we must prepare the objective conditions for fundamental change. Yet, who has the time to attend ten different rallies on ten different falsely isolated issues? Who would want to? And how far would that get us?

The answer does not lie in the Leviathan multi-issue coalition where each single-issue group is expected to continue their single-issue work but come together to support a series of more general or composite demands, (not to mention trying to do this on a national level). There we may have the illusion of power, but the reality is one of wasted energy—or worse yet, what amounts to tedious legwork for the Democratic Party.

A conscious attempt to influence the Democratic Party is not the solution:

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San Diego's Cruise Missile

San Diego's General Dynamics Convair Division is the center for production of the Cruise Missile. Convair is building the airframes and supplying avionics for all but one version of the missile.

Included in Convair's current production schedule are:

1) Sea Launched Cruise Missiles (SLCMs) for the Navy. These can be launched against vessels or land targets, fired from subs or surface ships, and armed with nuclear or conventional warheads. Convair is working on an $80 million contract awarded last July for 58 of these, 50 of which are scheduled for delivery to the recently recommissioned battleship New Jersey in the next few months. The Navy wants 4000 of these by 1989.

2) Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCMs) for the Air Force, both nuclear and conventional versions, 460 of which are scheduled for deployment in Western Europe in December of this year.

3) Medium Range Air to Surface Cruise Missiles (MRASMs) which the Navy and Air Force plan to put on specially modified B-52s, F-16s and A-6 Intruders in 1985. They can attack airfields, command centers, and missile sites up to 250 miles away.

Convair stands to gain at least $5 billion over the next ten years from the Cruise program. Last year its sales exceeded $600 million, up from $450 million in 1981. This year they expect $700 million. About 3500 of its 9200 workers are employed in the Cruise program.

Recently the Pentagon revealed that two variants of the missile will be delayed due to past Convair inefficiency. These are the SLCM anti-ship and GLCM conventional models. The entire Cruise program will have to be restructured at an additional cost of $256.9 million through Fiscal 1984. However, the nuclear SLCM and GLCM versions, the military's top priorities, are right on schedule.

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Peace Movement continued

present state-empowered decision-making institutions are incapable of functioning in a peace-creating manner. While it is imperative to support what Andre Gorz calls "non-reformist reforms" when they arise, to mislead ourselves and others as to the long-term effectiveness of working solely through such existing institutions would be extremely detrimental to our struggle.

As for Vanguard Parties, praxis by self-appointed proxy is not a fundamentally liberating experience, and, as such, constitutes the antithesis of collective empowerment. As Stanley Aronowitz has pointed out there are three good reasons for radicals to avoid vanguard politics:

> First, the working class in America does not need such a vanguard because it has the objective possibility of comprehending its own experience and leading itself. Second, the left has no credentials for assuming the role even if it were needed; its contributions to working class struggle, however considerable, have never transcended the level of consciousness of the workers themselves, and have often seriously impeded that consciousness. Third, it is not the job of the left to reproduce authoritarian social relations in the workers' movement. Instead, its first responsibility is to create a movement that prefigures a non-authoritarian society—a movement that is aware of the dialectic of domination and subordination within the structure of society as well as the character structure of the workers themselves and tries to transcend these syndromes, even as it simultaneously struggles every day in the workplace against the assault of capital on working conditions.

We encounter a real problem, however, when we try to pigeon-hole the contemporary U.S. working class. Things have changed since Marx defined the nature and historical role of the industrial proletariat. A majority of wage earners, instead of constituting the producers of the material base of our society, are to be found more and more in information processing (which includes many "service industries"); and, in all likelihood, this trend will continue to grow until industrial and agricultural production combined are relegated to 10% or less of total employment—not a very substantial basis for a revolutionary movement. People are being laid off from jobs that will probably never (and probably should never) exist again, in spite of the New Protectionism now taking hold in Congress and Labor Union hierarchies. The nature of U.S. production—and producers—is changing. And we must be prepared to overhaul our working assumptions to contend with the objective and subjective realities we face.

It is not my intention to arrive at specific conclusions about what should be done in San Diego. There are specific organizing problems here, though; and perhaps a brief look at some of them would be helpful to our work.

San Diego's "Shakers and Movers"

The San Diego Peace Movement consists mainly of fairly small groups of "shakers and movers" and limited access of active support. This in itself is a problem: such dichotomies usually indicate either a deficiency of grassroots momentum or a leadership out of touch with its base—or both. Whatever the case, it approaches a state of hierarchies looking for a place to happen.

Some people working on behalf of the Vanguard Parties have recently taken to dabbling in coalition-building. However, the nature of Party hierarchies is such that their motives will become more apparent with time. the Federation for Progress, for example, may have potential *if* rank-and-file members can succeed in wresting cotrol from the CWP organizers, who probably would prefer NO Federatioon to one without their leadership. But the long-term gains from this effort would probably accrue to benefit the Democratic Party (perhaps Si Cassady already realizes this) and the U.S. electoral rollercoaster . . . a far cry from revolution in the '80s.

The various labor/community coalitions springing up around the country are an interesting lot. Locally, however, Joe Francis stands to gain the most from this effort. His plans for a labor candidate "grooming" program indicate his intended direction.

It is quite possible that such coalitions could prefigure worker and community council formations. Again, present leadership structures would have to be swept aside. The most important contributions

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