


from Costa Rica. East German advisers assist the security police on how to use psychology, fear, and interrogation tactics, says Pastora. The P.L.O. is involved with Nicaragua's Air Force, and "Cuban advisers are found at all levels of the Nicaraguan Army."

In addition to military support for insurgency groups in Central America, the Soviet Union and its satellites have set up propaganda fronts, notably the Mexican-based World Front for Solidarity with the Salvadoran People. One document explains that this organization, founded in March 1982, is supposed to "coordinate worldwide activity to support the Salvadoran Revolution." Among the members of its permanent bureau was the late Sandy Pollack, a member of the Central Committee of the U.S. Communist Party and a moving force behind CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

The last documentary chapter deals with "the threat within," terrorism in the United States. There have been 19 terrorist bombings in the New York and Washington areas alone since 1982, including attacks by the Armed Resistance Unit (A.R.U.) and the United Freedom Front on the F.B.I. headquarters in New York and the U.S. Attorney's offices in Brooklyn and Manhattan. Central America is currently the main focus for these groups. When the A.R.U. bombed the Capitol in November 1983 after the U.S. mission to Grenada, it declared in its communique that "the U.S. ruling class are war criminals, and they will be held accountable for their crimes." The editor of this section, Paul Joyal, an expert on North American terrorism, warns that if the U.S. military ever intervened in Central America, the level of terrorist violence might escalate.

The Present Danger

A special section of *Hydra of Carnage* deals with response options available to government, the media, and the international community. The suggestions—better counter-intelligence, increased security barriers, international cooperation, retaliatory measures, preemptive strikes

on terrorist installations, and support of anti-Soviet guerrilla groups—are sound, but implementation will require a fundamental rethinking of the nature of the terrorist threat to the West. For any of these options to work, the first step is a deep appreciation by the general public of the immense magnitude of the danger. This book vividly illustrates that danger, exposing the many, connected heads of the hydra of carnage. 

Leftwatch

Destroying Democracy by James T. Bennett and Thomas DiLorenzo (Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, \$11.95).

Reviewed by Robert Rector

In 1984, grantees of the Legal Services Corporation (L.S.C.) were busy shredding documents. These documents recorded an ingenious "survival plan" carried out by L.S.C. employees in the preceding three years. Elements of this plan included use of taxpayer funding to organize a massive lobbying campaign to save the agency from budget cuts and to attack Reagan spending priorities. Employees of the L.S.C. also orchestrated a nationwide campaign to prevent Reagan nominees from taking office on the L.S.C. board, and—as the centerpiece of the entire survival scheme—diverted millions of dollars in tax funds to create an "alternative headquarters" which would continue to run the L.S.C. outside the control of the Reagan Administration during the 1980s. This incident illustrates the audacity of the tax-funded left in the United States—a political movement which is not only disdainful of democratic

ROBERT RECTOR *coordinates The Heritage Foundation's training programs for political appointees in the executive branch.*

processes, but in the long run, threatens electoral accountability for the use of taxpayer funds.

Destroying Democracy, by James T. Bennett and Thomas DiLorenzo, investigates the diversion of tax funds on a massive scale to support political advocacy, including ideological propaganda, lobbying, electoral campaigning, and grass roots organizing. The authors begin their investigation with the words of Thomas Jefferson: "To compel a man to furnish contribution of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical." If Jefferson was correct, there is much that is sinful and tyrannical in the United States today. Nearly all of this kind of tyranny has been perpetrated by liberals and the radical left.

The most common mechanism underlying tax-funded politics is the "grant process." For example, the solar energy bureaucracy in Washington will give grants to political groups who lobby the public and Congress in favor of solar energy. This results in higher funding for the solar energy bureaucracy, and in turn more grants to outside groups to lobby for new increases in funding. In some cases, money is given to partisan organizations for purposes other than simple advocacy; however, once federal funds enter the coffers of ideological organizations, it is virtually impossible to control what they are used for. Millions of dollars given to Jesse Jackson's PUSH/Excel (a program to encourage black youth to get off drugs and stay in school) were quietly funneled into other PUSH activities. Since grants are used to support staff salaries in the recipient organizations, and since there is little accountability over the "product" funded, grants become, in reality, little more than direct subsidies to the organizations involved.

Plans for Economic Disaster

Much of the activity recorded in *Destroying Democracy* represents the coming of age of the anti-Vietnam War radicals of the 1960s. Never great admirers of the etiquette of bourgeois democracy, members of this group have few qualms about

bilking the taxpayers for funds to foster social revolution and pocketing a cozy \$70,000 in salary in the process. Among the hundreds of tax-funded organizations listed in the book are many familiar left-wing stalwarts: Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda's Campaign for Economic Democracy; the Gray Panthers; the

en's" movement. By means of this trick of mirrors, the left appears larger and more influential than it really is.

Political cooperation is possible because these organizations share a single political perspective. For most of the tax-funded left, the ultimate goal is simply socialism: to free

organization to produce grade school readers propounding the virtues of Communist Cuba; the same Marxist group produces classroom materials to cure third graders of "homophobia." *Destroying Democracy* is a tour through an exotic ideological garden; the blooms of this garden could never have flourished outside of the hothouse of tax subsidization.

Legal Services Corporation members estimate that at least half of the L.S.C. money is devoted to various forms of political organizing and to class action suits to restructure society.

Sierra Club; the National Organization for Women; and the Urban Institute. Beyond these is a forest of acronyms: FRAC (Food Research Action Center); ACORN (Association of Communities Organized for Reform Now); PEER (Project on Equal Education Rights); and CLEC (Consumer Labor Energy Coalition), founded by socialist Michael Harrington. Affiliates of the last organization received over \$270 million from the government in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

One of the most interesting aspects of this book is its demonstration of an interlocking network of tax-funded, left-wing organizations comprised of think tanks, training centers for political activists, grass roots lobbying organizations, and labor unions. This network supports disparate causes—consumer protection, labor issues, problems of the elderly, the environment, poverty, energy, civil rights, women's issues, housing, and peace. However, the various components of the network actively support each other. When one segment of the network lobbies on a given issue, it can count on the support of dozens of other organizations, even if they are not directly concerned with that issue. Thus, a single radical coalition moves through a variety of guises, appearing one week as an environment movement, the next as a movement for the elderly, and then as a "wom-

America, in Tom Hayden's words, of "the stench . . . called corporate capitalism." In the interim, they will settle for more modest accomplishments such as wage and price controls, state-owned banks, public holding companies directing major industries, and a redistribution of income both domestically and internationally. Still, the ultimate aim is to eliminate the market and to "politicize production." This vision of replacing the market with the nostrum of "a democratically planned economy," guided by wrangling congressional committees and labor unions, seems almost satirically conceived—a surefire recipe for reverting society to neolithic levels posthaste.

However, the fact that many of their proposals would be economically disastrous is of no concern to much of the tax-funded left, which believes that the United States is simply too rich to begin with. Ralph Nader seeks a more tranquil economy along the lines of the 19th century, and the Friends of the Earth declare, "The only really good technology is no technology at all." Environmentalist Barry Commoner pursues not only socialism, but a constitutional amendment to freeze research and innovation nationwide for two years.

The liberals are active on all fronts. At the Department of Education, the Women's Educational Equity Act Program funded a Marxist

Money for Nothing

Litigation is another fruitful avenue through which the radical left can worm its way into the taxpayer's pockets. There are currently over 100 laws which require the government to pay all of the legal costs for anyone who wishes to sue the government concerning the law's implementation. This principle provided around \$140 million to left-wing attorneys in 1984. The champion in the process of subsidizing political litigation is the Legal Services Corporation, which allocates \$400 million in tax funds to 300 legal aid groups each year.

The ostensible purpose of this funding is to provide routine legal services to poor persons who cannot otherwise afford them. However, L.S.C. board members estimate that at least half of the L.S.C. money is devoted to various forms of political organizing and to class action suits to restructure society. Among notable L.S.C. efforts, paid for by our tax dollars, are suits to: require state disability payments for homosexuals; force state governments to use tax funds to pay for sex change operations; establish the constitutional right to free public education for illegal aliens; prevent the use of literacy tests as prerequisites to high school graduation; require local school boards to integrate "Black English" in curricula; block research on labor-saving agricultural machinery; make school expulsion subject to racial quotas; and return two-thirds of the state of Maine to a tribe of Indians.

A startling fact brought to light in *Destroying Democracy* is the vast sum of money involved in these activities. The authors have made only a partial list of left-wing, tax-funded groups and they have dealt only with

federal money. Still, annual taxpayer funding to left-wing groups and activities identified in the book exceeds total contributions expended in all Presidential, Senate, and House election campaigns in 1980. Bennett and DiLorenzo are unable to determine what percentage of the government money flowing to these groups is used for political advocacy, but the potential for sums of this magnitude to distort the democratic process is clear. It is ironic that while liberals have sought to limit the sums which private individuals could voluntarily contribute to election campaigns, they have—at the same time—been quietly extracting millions from the public involuntarily through taxation and surreptitiously injecting those funds into the public policy arena to support left-wing causes.

Unfortunately, due to the limits of the data available, the authors surveyed grantmaking only through 1982. Since then, the Reagan Administration has attempted to reform the grants process, placing tighter controls on the way in which grant money can be spent. It is unlikely, however, that much has changed. Most grant programs have survived; the L.S.C., for example, is currently receiving its highest funding ever. Under the Reagan Administration, left-wing grantees may have put on ties or shaved their legs, but the radical network still exists and is still well funded.


Bennett and DiLorenzo also devote some time to a discussion of tax-funded advocacy by the right, which they find is minuscule in comparison with funding of the left, but equally reprehensible on moral grounds. In principle, such a conclusion is correct; I am certain it would be accepted by most Reagan officials criticized in the book. However, two caveats should be added. First, in most of the cases of “funding of the right wing,” the Reagan appointees in charge have sought to abolish their programs year by year since 1981. Congress has refused. Bennett and DiLorenzo do not fully acknowledge this crucial distinction.

Second, the authors advocate that conservative appointees encharged with disbursing grant monies which may be used in support of advocacy should simply refuse to spend the funds. Unfortunately, in the topsyturvy world of Washington, there is no greater crime then “impoundment”—or the large-scale refusal to spend funds Congress has authorized—no matter how trivial or deplorable the intent of the spending. “Impoundment” would not result in revenue saved, but would almost certainly put the political appointees in jail.

Thus, conservative appointees are stuck with programs and money they have not asked for but must spend—and a liberal constituency outside the door clamoring for funding as usual. In these cases, some ap-

pointees have attempted to apply balance to their programs by assuring that at least part of the money goes to mainstream or conservative groups. Bestowing a few pennies on the right inevitably sends the *Washington Post* and other liberal oracles into paroxysmal terror for the future safety of the Republic. For example, the *Washington Post* has recently called for the abolition of the Office of Juvenile Justice, an office that the Reagan Administration had sought to eliminate throughout the first term.

This fact has led many Reagan appointees to conclude that the best way to defund advocacy-related grant programs is to assure that a portion of the money goes to the right. Thus, although all conservatives can agree with the desirability of ending tax-funded politics, they may disagree with Bennett and DiLorenzo over which tactics are most likely to bring about that end.

Destroying Democracy is a vivid depiction of the process of tax-funded politics and the ideology of the radical left. The authors acknowledge that they have touched only the tip of the iceberg. Their book sets the stage for future research on this issue: in particular, on the question of the full scope of government funding of political advocacy and partisan “social science research” and the long run impact of that funding on public opinion and policymaking. 

DEPARTMENT OF DISINFORMATION

Phyllis Schlafly, Secretary Of Defense

Women are not going to understand throwweights or what is happening in Afghanistan . . . your readers for the most part if you took a poll . . . would rather read the human interest stuff of what happened.

Donald Regan
White House Chief of Staff
Washington Post
November 17, 1985

Twenty years ago, when Donald Regan was working on Wall Street, turning his intelligence to stocks and investments, the first book about "Star Wars" was written—by a woman. In 1965, it was not called that, nor was it called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Phyllis Schlafly, who knew about throwweights, called the plan Nike X.

"It hardly rates the name of a weapon. It is no good at all for killing people. It could not kill a single Viet Cong guerrilla, Red Chinese, or Russian."

Strategic defense was first described in *Strike from Space*, (Pere Marguette Press, 1965), co-authored by Schlafly and Chester Ward, a rear admiral in the U.S. Navy. They wrote: "It is not even any good for destroying property. It is purely defensive. The only thing it can kill is an enemy missile—and only after such missiles have been launched at us through space at speeds up to 18,000 miles an hour."

The first Schlafly-Ward collaboration was *The Gravediggers*, published in 1964. They wrote five books together, over a period of 14 years, until Ward died in 1978. The term "gravediggers" described "the elite group of men, principally in the government, who are working for the unilateral disarmament of the United States despite the growing Soviet weapons threat." The gravediggers were identified by name, in that book and in later ones: they included Robert McNamara, Henry Kissinger, Harold Brown, and Cyrus Vance.

Schlafly and Ward wrote that without Nike X, Americans would die unnecessarily if the enemy launched a surprise attack. With it, the lives of all Americans might be saved—because no enemy would launch an attack against us if we could defend our people and our weapons.

They described Nike X as "not a weapon of war; it is truly a weapon against war. It offers the greatest hope to Americans and free people everywhere."

Schlafly told Carol Felsenthal, who wrote her biography, *The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority* that when *Strike from Space* was published, the Pentagon could not have been less interested. The leaders of the conservative and anti-Communist movements were not influenced either. Cold Warriors in the 1960s believed that the Commu-

nist threat was internal, not external. The Nike X concept was too far out even for the John Birch Society. *American Opinion*, the journal of the Birch Society, gave *Strike from Space* a seven-page review, calling it a "shocking book" and deploring "its possible influence on the politically immature and emotionally suggestible."

The reviewer, Medford Evans, accused Schlafly and Ward of "propagating the myth of Soviet Might," assuring Birch members that "that monster in the sky is pretty hard to locate."


Schlafly told Felsenthal: "I spent many days after that answering letters from conservatives who had been convinced that Soviet ICBMs were a figment of my imagination. . . . However, I knew that our analyses were accurate and that events would, unfortunately, ultimately prove us right." The plans outlined by Schlafly and Ward formed the basis for a cogent Republican platform, at first accepted only by a tiny minority of Republicans. By the time of the 1976 Republican National Convention, this vision of American foreign and military policy was almost victorious.

I attended that convention in Kansas City, in July 1976, as the national president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), in order to support Ford delegates in strategizing, both in the platform committee and on the convention floor, on two feminist issues. NOW wanted to make sure that the Equal Rights Amendment and support for the right of women to choose abortion were not dropped from the Republican platform, as the Reagan forces wished.

But the real battle at that convention between Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan was not over social issues, it was about foreign policy. The real battle was over Nike X. The Reagan forces, many of whom were dressed—cowboy style—in white boots and tall white hats, lost the political battle in 1976, but by only a small margin. They went home, and regrouped, and they won over the Republican Party in 1980.

Anyone who thinks that Ronald Reagan is merely a genial and lucky actor is unfamiliar with contemporary history and his record of political skill and determination. Phyllis Schlafly was instrumental in shaping the President's vision and foreign policy agenda.

Except for the sexism which has kept her from a place in President Reagan's cabinet, Schlafly would be the Secretary of Defense.

She wrote the book. She earned the right to throw her weight around. 

KAREN DECROW, a lawyer in upstate New York, was president of the National Organization for Women from 1974-1977.