

clearly derives both its position and its income from direct reliance on the political means end, while its influence in policy-making is often exaggerated, it does play an active and important role in articulating the policy options available to the ruling class. Although, over time, bureaucracies begin to acquire considerable autonomy and are eventually able to exercise substantial discretion in shaping the form, and occasionally even the substance, of specific policies¹⁰¹, it is only rarely that the government bureaucracy will succeed in actually affecting the parameters of decision-making.

One particular branch of the government bureaucracy deserves special attention: the military. As virtually a state within a state, the military has emerged in the post-World War II period as a key intermediary between the state apparatus and the "private" sector. The sprawling military-industrial complex encompasses a broad range of corporations, and even entire industries, which retain their formal identity as "private" but which in fact are critically dependent on government subsidies and contracts for their continued existence. The influence of the military on ruling class policy-making has often been greatly exaggerated by the Left. While civilian control over the military remains effective, the military resembles any other bureaucracy which seeks to expand its position and it has developed powerful vested interests which it seeks to protect in the policy-making process. Thus, while the military has never successfully challenged the parameters of decision-making elaborated by the ruling class, the military has acquired an influential role in the formulation of specific policies designed to achieve the objectives of the national security paradigm of the ruling class.

To a somewhat lesser degree, the same conclusion regarding measure of influence applies to another sub-group in the political class: the politicians and the individuals who comprise the broad support structure for the politicians within the political parties. The prevailing pluralistic ideology insists that the elected politicians, within the broad constraints imposed by a democratic electorate and the Constitution, have considerable freedom in the formulation of government policy¹⁰². While

there is an element of truth in this myth, it neglects the critical role of funding of both the political parties and specific political campaigns in determining who will get the various nominations and between whom the electorate is then permitted to choose.

While elected politicians have greater leverage in policy formation than the members of the bureaucracy, their success in the electoral arena is usually directly related to their ability to demonstrate at least a close similarity between their own ideology and the ideology of those who are funding their campaigns. Moreover, most politicians draw their policy ideas from the "establishment" policy research associations and universities, and their staffs are populated largely by those who have been trained in these various "think tanks" and who have proven their reliability in the past.

Another sub-group of the political class includes the owners and management of "private" corporations which derive a significant portion of income through reliance on the political means¹⁰³. This reliance may occur in a variety of forms: either through government contracts or subsidies, state-enforced restrictions on competitive practices (tariffs, C.A.B. FTC and FCC regulation, etc.) or through the socialization of costs (government financed R & D, underwriting bankrupt corporations and banks, etc.)

One useful standard which may be employed in isolating and identifying this sub-group is the Calhoun criterion, i.e. determining which corporations are net tax payers and which are net tax consumers¹⁰⁴. However, total reliance on this quantitative standard can be both inadequate and misleading. The criteria should be qualitative as well as quantitative so that instances of marginal assistance from the state may be identified which, although relatively minor in comparison with overall income, nevertheless permit the firm in question to preserve or increase its competitive position on the market¹⁰⁵. Since the criteria are necessarily qualitative as well as quantitative, the unique position of each corporation must be analyzed in detail to ascertain its precise position vis-à-vis the political means.

A further political class sub-group is that of organized labor. These unions critically depend

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Terry C. Jones



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