

SAY NO TO DRAFT REGISTRATION

By Eric Garris

Continuing the wave of militarism that is sweeping the country, Congress has now passed President Carter's draft registration bill. This bill revitalizes the Selective Service System and authorizes the registration of 19 and 20 year old men.

Sometime this summer (probably late July or early August) four million young men will be told to register for the draft, as Carter's war drive goes into high gear.

The new anti-draft movement is gathering its forces, mounting a major campaign to oppose registration as it comes into effect. Regional anti-draft conferences were held recently in Washington and San Francisco to bring together a broad range of anti-draft forces to plan strategy for the weeks of registration and beyond.

But the fledgling anti-draft movement may not be ready to effectively fight back by the time registration is upon us.

President Carter's draft bill passed the Senate by a 58 to 34 margin on June 12 and went back to the House for routine approval of a minor amendment. President Carter is expected to sign the bill as we go to press.

LATE NEWS FLASH! President Carter has announced that registration will be from July 21 to August 2, and the campaign to get four to five million young men to register is on.

The registration bill went through a long tough battle in the House of Representatives but went through the Senate relatively quick and easy. This despite a heroic attempt by Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon) to slow down approval enough to put off registration until the fall. (A fall registration would have given resistance advocates a better opportunity to reach students with the *non-compliance* message.)

Hatfield led a filibuster for seven days, including one 32-hour marathon session. He and other opponents offered 99 amendments of varying degrees of seriousness. One amendment to include women in the registration scheme failed by a vote of 51 to 40. Another amendment would have authorized the drafting of Congressmen.

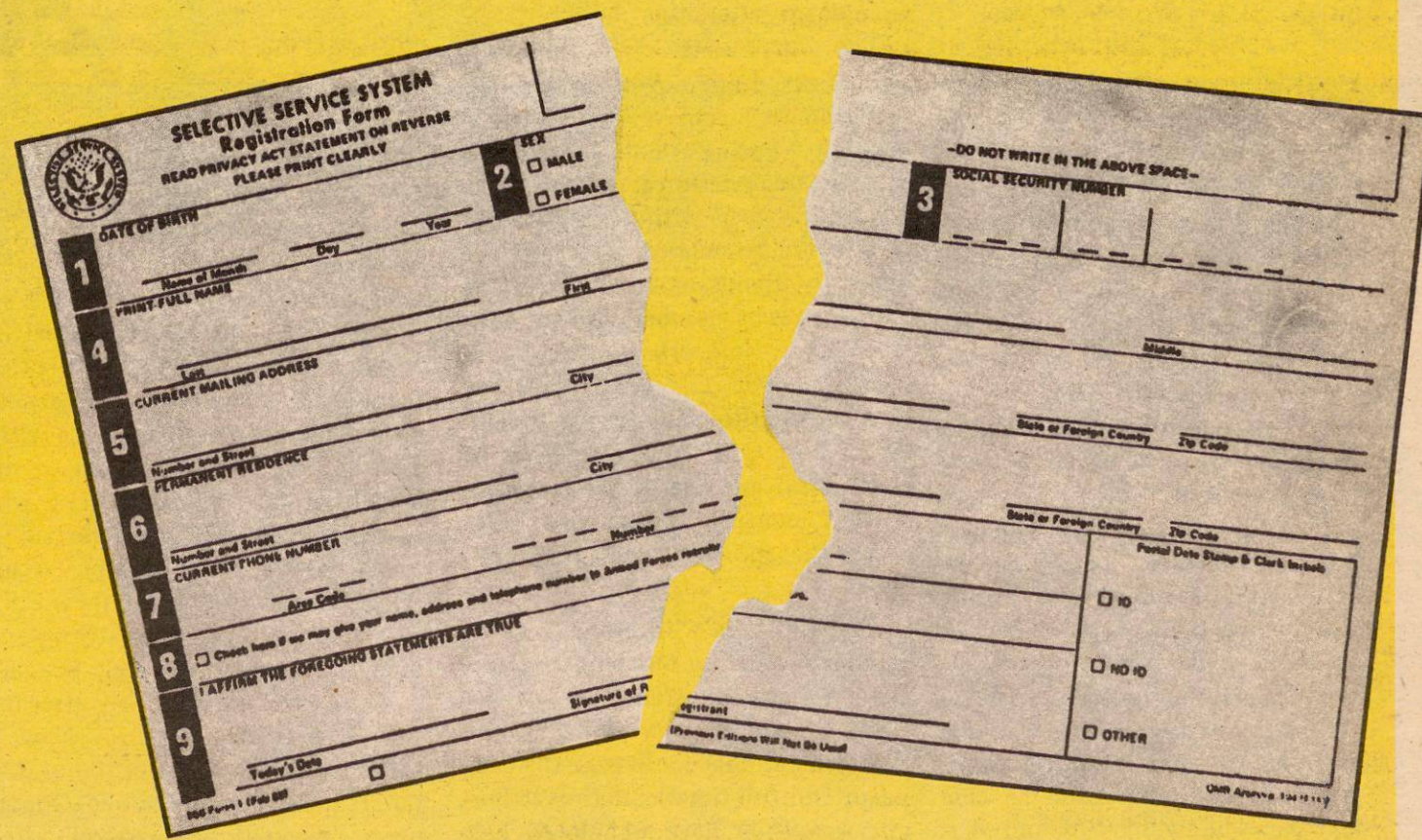
But the end came quicker than most supporters and opponents expected, with cloture passing by a vote of 62 to 32. After a six month long battle with opponents of the draft and militarism, Carter had gotten what he asked for.

THE ANTI-DRAFT CONFERENCES

As lobbying efforts failed and passage of registration became imminent, anti-draft groups issued a call for emergency conferences to plan actions during the registration weeks and beyond on both coasts. Conferences of this type were suggested by the LPRC (in the *Libertarian Vanguard* special anti-draft supplement, March 1980), and LPRC organizers were active in coordinating the West Coast Conference.

The conferences gave anti-draft organizers from around the country a chance to talk to, and learn more about, each other — and about the

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WHY YOU SHOULDN'T REGISTER

Over the next several weeks the federal government is going to attempt one of the most difficult sales jobs ever, on a very modest budget. With only \$13.3 million to spend on the entire registration program, the Selective Service System (SSS) is relying on public service announcements and other free media to con young people into climbing on the pro-war bandwagon. The draft registration bureaucrats face not only a reluctant population, but also the prospect of a well-organized counter-campaign to be waged in the media on behalf of resistance forces.

The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) believes that only massive resistance to registration can stop this war before it starts, and urges all those eligible to stay away from the Post Office during the registration weeks — unless you want to join us for scheduled demonstrations opposing this latest war move.

LOW RISK

During the Vietnam war, it is estimated that nearly one million men failed to register for the draft. Of these, only a few thousand were ever caught. Of those caught, almost all were given the option of registering and having all charges dropped. Only 250 ever served time in jail for refusing to register.

It is very difficult for the SSS to find out who isn't registering. During the Vietnam war, school records were used in some relatively small towns, but almost never in metropolitan areas. And, right now, the SSS hasn't the funding to do any serious checking. Other government records, such

as Social Security records, are protected by the federal Privacy Act. Attempts in Congress to amend the Act in time for draft registration have come up against a brick wall, at least so far.

EXEMPTIONS

During the Vietnam era, less than 10% of those who applied for conscientious objector (CO) status were successful. This time round, it will probably be even harder. Many exemptions have been eliminated or tightened up. An amendment to add a place on the registration card to indicate CO status and family exemptions will be extremely difficult to obtain, and student exemptions will probably be non-existent.

During the Vietnam war, many thousands of CO's went into combat situations (unarmed) and hundreds were killed.

ENLISTMENT

Many young people consider enlisting as an alternative to being drafted, particularly enlisting in a branch other than the Army. As the draft comes closer, the armed forces media campaign is going all-out.

Apparently "truth in advertising" regulations don't apply to government agencies, since many of the "job-training" programs offered by the armed forces exist only in some PR-type's fervid imagination. Being in a branch other than the army does not reduce your chance of becoming directly engaged in combat. During the Vietnam war, even the Coast Guard was used extensively in combat.

OTHER OPTIONS

It is harder to get into Canada, these days — and, in fact, the Canadian government promises stricter enforcement of its immigration laws. If you register and then refuse induction, you will be pursued actively until you are caught, or until the next amnesty. Or, you can register and play Russian Roulette with the lottery.

ADVOCACY

The maximum penalty for advocating resistance is the same as the penalty for the act of resistance: five years and \$10,000.

During the Vietnam war, most people arrested for advocacy were eventually acquitted. The staff of *Libertarian Vanguard* could be arrested for writing and printing this article. We urge our readers — we urge you — to join with us in challenging these oppressive laws. **DISOBEY THE LAW. REFUSE TO REGISTER. TELL EVERYONE YOU KNOW TO RESIST.**

The LPRC is working with various coalitions advocating resistance and working against the draft, such as the Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD), National Resistance Committee (NRC), and the Registration Education Project (REP). They need people to help coordinate these activities in their areas.

For information or to volunteer, contact MAD at 1251 Second Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94122 (phone 415-861-2982); NRC at 1435 Capitol, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (phone 202-547-0650); REP at 1251 Second Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94122 (phone 415-665-6944); or the LPRC, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102 (phone 415-864-0952).

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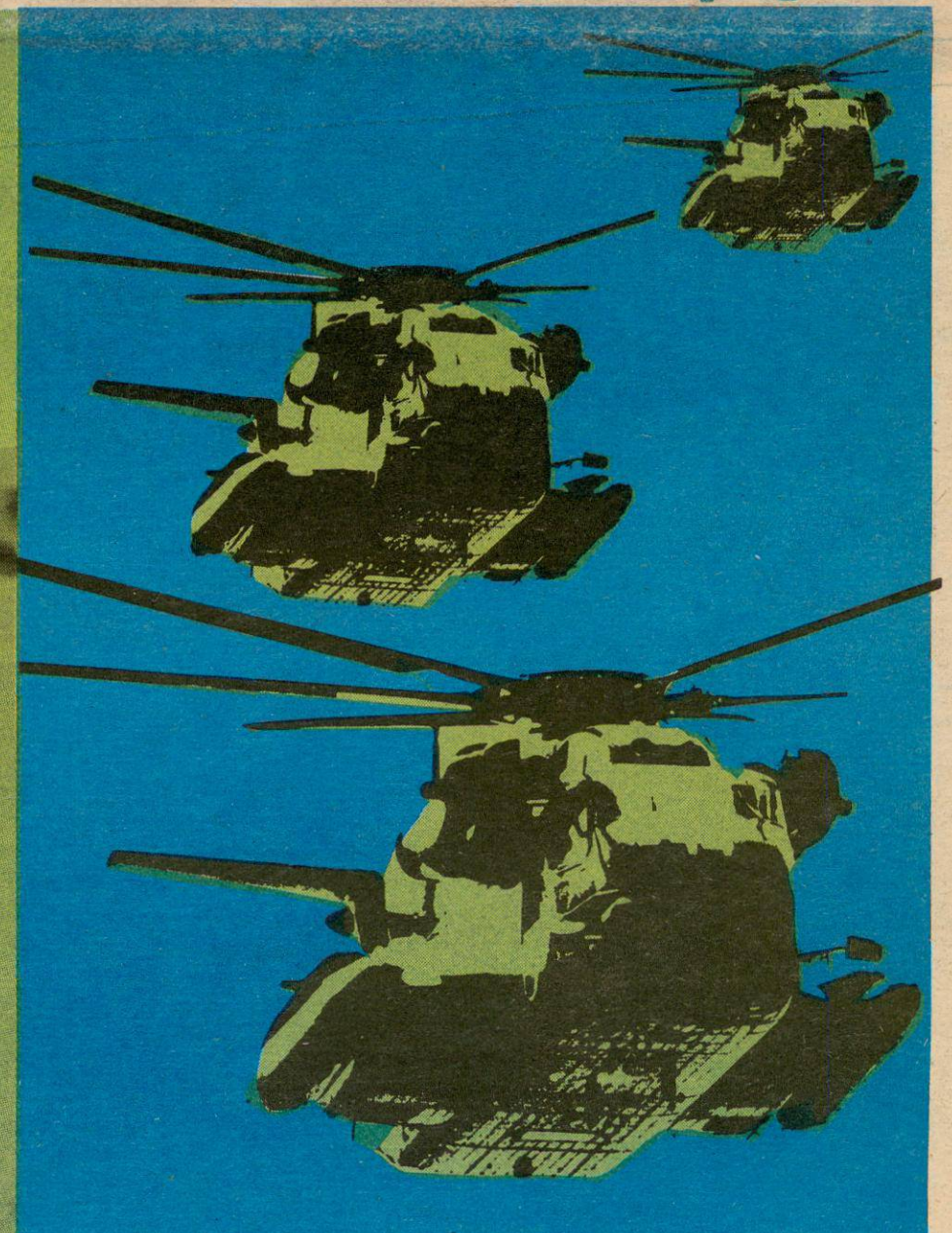
THOUSANDS FLEE CUBAN SOCIALISM

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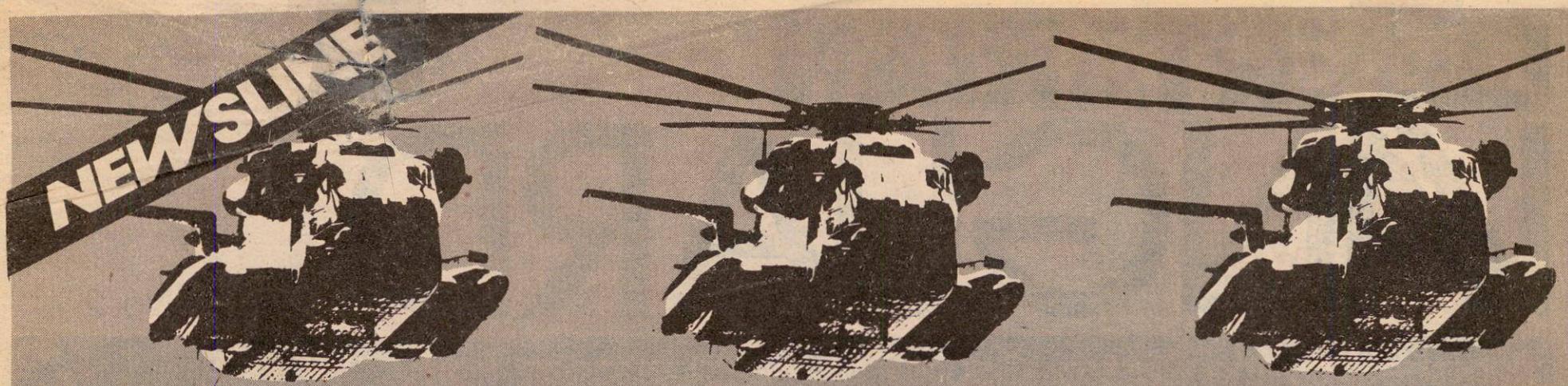
COP TERROR SPARKS RIOT

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THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

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THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

On Friday, April 25, the first eight Americans to die in a war for Middle Eastern oil fell in the sands of the Dasht-i-Kavir desert, near the Iranian village of Tabas.

Although the U.S. special "Blue Light" task force's mission was dubbed, in the wake of failure, a "humanitarian" act, the American peace movement was quick to call it an act of war. The Tabas incident has generated political shockwaves from one end of the globe to the other — and may have unleashed forces which must almost inevitably bring super-power contention in the Middle Eastern "crisis crescent" beyond the point of no return.

THE U.S. "RESCUE PLAN"

As the details of the U.S. "rescue mission" are being made public, the intricacy of Carter's escapade begins to achieve truly novelistic proportions. The one key element in the whole fantastic tale — the obvious availability of U.S. operatives within Iran, essential to what we are told was an attempt to rescue the 53 American hostages — is only one factor among others which points to the real intent of this "humanitarian" deed: a failed *coup d'etat*.

The very structure of the U.S. "anti-terrorist" operation, its very intricacy, reveals the politics of the whole operation — and, incidentally, a complete indifference to the fate of the hostages. For example, U.S. forces did not even bother to maintain radio silence — and thus gave away the details of the operation while it was in progress. According to reports in the *Los Angeles Times*, a Tel Aviv journalist monitoring foreign broadcasts plugged into the right radio frequency — and learned about the U.S. military operation first-hand. Israeli television broadcast the news almost immediately. Iranian monitors could have been alerted to the presence of the task force at any time. If the purpose of the force was to actually rescue the hostages, and if the safety of the hostages was the real focus of the mission, then why weren't even the most elementary precautions taken?

But that is nothing compared to the absolutely wild "rescue plan" itself. If U.S. units had not collided in mid-air, and if technical problems hadn't crippled two RH53D Sea Stallion helicopters, the following *Mission Impossible* script would have been acted out in real life.

After six C-130 transport planes

take off from a base in Egypt, and fly to an undisclosed airfield on the Western side of the Persian Gulf, the planes take off again — this time, headed for Tabas. Simultaneously — at twilight, on Thursday, April 24 — eight copters take off from the USS Nimitz in the Arabian Sea, also headed for Tabas. The whole world knows, by now, what happened then. Suddenly, helicopters which had never malfunctioned, went on the blink. According to several reports, the trouble started the minute U.S. forces entered Iranian air space: the helicopters encountered the only active sandstorm in Iran at the time. Here, perhaps, the U.S. military is getting a taste of things to come if Carter continues on his present political trajectory.

After copters and transports completed their rendezvous, the mission was minus a copter — but the plan allowed for two malfunctions, and so the operation continued. After refueling, yet another copter developed hydraulic problems. At this point, the raid was called off by order of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Carter.

How close the U.S. came to an outright, upfront assault on Iranian oil fields is indicated in what might have happened had Carter's Bay of Peanuts

gone much further. According to top U.S. officials: after refueling, the copters were to go to a base just outside of Teheran, with the transport planes dropping the "Blue Light" commandos to a third base in an undisclosed location. Apparently the "Blue Light" brigade was slated to meet up with operatives within Iran. Speculation that this may include elements of the politically and militarily disoriented Iranian Army is

After uniting with the Iranian fifth column, in a Teheran suburb, they were to spend an entire day hiding. This is one aspect of the alleged rescue plan that even the most uncritical supporters of the U.S. attack — the Israelis, the architects of Entebbe — have wondered aloud about. "Having it drawn out over two nights, this is incredible," said one Israeli military expert. "It is non-professional. The basis of every clandestine operation is to move swiftly, and strike by surprise."

The dramatic high point of this made-for-TV movie scenario is undoubtedly the part where "Charlie's Angels" — the name is the company's "tribute" to veteran centurion Col. Charles Beckwith, who wanted to do to Iran what he did to Vietnam — (continued on page 5)

WORLDVIEW



NICARAGUA: SOMOCISTA WITHOUT SOMOZA

Vanguard: 8/79) an attempt to restore Somozaism without Somoza, led by leftist elements in the *Frente Sandinista*, is meeting fierce opposition.

The most burning question in this troubled Central American country is the land question — an issue which is the key to the future of liberty in the Third World. Prior to the revolution, the Somoza family used the state apparatus to control 60% of the land. Instead of turning that land over to individual peasants, the *Frente* leadership has created a bureaucratic monstrosity called INRA — the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform, headed by Marxist Jaime Wheelock — to oversee vast state-owned farms. In effect, the *Somocista* land monopoly remains unbroken — the big farms remain intact, and the people have merely exchanged masters. Although INRA had initially attempted to buy off small landowners by offering subsidies and mythical "technical assistance", the new leftist drive to seize state power led, on March 2, to the de facto nationalization of all land in Nicaragua. This has led to widespread discontent and intimations of revolt — especially in light of the fact that the INRA

farms cannot even pay their workers a decent, living wage. Since private farms are virtually forbidden, these unemployed agricultural workers are flooding the already overcrowded cities.

RED FASCISM?

The strategy of leftist elements in the FSLN to consolidate their power — a two-pronged attack on both economic and civil liberties — may restore authoritarianism in Nicaragua. In addition to nationalizing most of the land, banks, insurance companies, mines, and health care facilities have been taken over by the government. Simultaneously, opposition newspapers — like the pro-private sector *La Prensa*, and the Maoist *El Pueblo* — have been either harassed out of existence by government-controlled fake-unions or else simply banned. The much-heralded elections — promised to the people before the revolution — have failed to materialize. The plan to turn the Council of State into the legislative branch of a republic was sabotaged by the *Frente*-dominated junta when, suddenly, it was announced that the Council was to be expanded from 37 to 43 mem- (continued on page 12)

LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

Libertarian Vanguard is published ten times a year by the Central Committee of the Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus). The views expressed here do not necessarily reflect the views of the *Libertarian Party*. Views expressed in signed articles are those of the writer; unsigned articles present the majority viewpoint of the LPRC Central Committee. Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome, and will be carefully considered. All material submitted must be typed, doubled-spaced, and accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Illegible Xerox copies are unacceptable. Address all correspondence to: 1800 Market St., SF CA 94102.

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WE MOVED!
SUBSCRIBERS AND LPRC MEMBERS PLEASE NOTE: We have moved. Our new mailing address is: 1800 Market St., SF CA 94102.

DRAFT

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and who doesn't.) It is important to work with draft counselors to make sure that they promote resistance as a viable alternative as much as possible. And as the different programs are promoted, we can expect to win over many to our point of view. In many areas, it is probably best to work within two coalitions; one that openly advocates resistance and one that doesn't.

COUNTER-MEDIA CAMPAIGN

Sometime in late July, every major media outlet in the country will be running announcements for the government telling young people that they must register and where and how they can do so. Each one will carry a reminder of the penalties for not registering. Most newspaper articles on the draft over the next few months will talk about the penalties for non-compliance. The government will be going for broke; they must show overwhelming support for and compliance with the program. Although many young people will fail to register anyway, many will also have to be told that an option exists.

An effective counter-media campaign can and will be organized to reach millions of young people with the message: *don't register!* A national network is now being set up to get public service announcements, free speech messages, news stories, talk shows, letters to the editor, etc. on as many media outlets as possible to advocate outright resistance, or at least the "consideration of alternatives to registration." (Obviously there is only ONE alternative to registration, but this ad is toned down enough for the straighter media.)

Despite the fact that advocating

resistance is technically illegal, (and in many cases because of that fact) we expect that most media outlets that are approached will carry some sort of alternative messages. The Counter-Media Campaign of the LPRC has already gotten commitments from many media outlets to carry the resistance message.

It is also essential that volunteers in the anti-draft movement organize leafleting at as many Post Offices as possible — during as much of the two weeks of registration as possible. One-on-one contact with young people who come to register can convince many thousands more to resist. The LPRC urges its members and supporters to take time off from work and school, as well as devote all their free time during those two weeks to leaflet at Post Offices. These weeks of registration are one of the most important confrontations with state power that modern Libertarians have faced.

The LPRC is working with other groups advocating resistance, such as the National Resistance Committee (NRC). The NRC is working to coordinate a national counter-media campaign and full-time leafleting at Post Offices. They need people to help coordinate these activities in their areas.

For information or to volunteer contact the National Resistance Committee-East, c/o Alex Reyes, 1435 Capitol, S.E., Washington, D.C., 20003 (phone 202-547-0650) or NRC-West, P.O. Box 42488, San Francisco, CA 94101 (phone 415-781-5839). For more information on the LPRC Counter-Media Campaign contact LPRC, 1800 Market St., San Francisco, CA 94102 (phone 415-864-0952). □

THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

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gains of anti-colonialist revolutions all over the world, while maintaining that the betrayal of these authentic forces (by Islamic fundamentalists in Iran, by the left-wing of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua) is a crisis of revolutionary leadership.

As the crisis of the Iranian state deepens — as the central government loses its already loose grip on the "provinces" — Brzezinski and his gang look long and hard for a possible opening. For, in their view, everything must be interpreted in terms of "Soviet threat"; a "divided" Iran, they argue, would be unable to resist (apparently inevitable) Soviet aggression. And, of course, the hardliners

undoubtedly see the revolutionary movements for autonomy in Iran as Communist-inspired, a view shared by Khomeini and Bani-Sadr. (The Shah found the Kurdish insistence on autonomy similarly distasteful.) If the Iranian crisis leads to a major military conflict in Iran, it is very likely to be over this issue of autonomy — especially in regard to Azerbaijan, which borders the Soviet Union. That is why, as we said in the January *Libertarian Vanguard*:

In the struggle between the Ayatollah in Qum and the President in Washington — in the rush to choose sides between Khomeini and Carter — radical Libertarians choose the side of the Kurds, the Azerbaijanis, the Baluchis, the Turkomans, and all the oppressed peoples of Iran. The fight for autonomy in Iran is the key to the radical Libertarian position on the Iranian crisis — as well as the key to the future of a free Iran. □

ORANGE COUNTY LPRC CHAPTER FORMING: Yes, we have established an LPRC affiliate in that bastion of both rightwing opportunism and Konkinite sectarianism. Write the National Office for details.

BACK ISSUES OF *LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD*: All issues but #1 and #5 are available. Send \$1.00 plus 25¢ for postage (stamps acceptable) and get five back issues. Write: 1800 Market St., SF CA 94102. Please enclose payemnt.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED FOR LPRC NATIONAL OFFICE: Our new bookstore needs work and we could use a few volunteer office workers, as well as proofreaders. Stop by 1800 Market St. in San Francisco, or call: 864-0952 and ask for Eric.

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WHO WE ARE



The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) (LPRC) was founded in February of 1979, by Libertarian Party (LP) members who saw the need for a radical libertarian cadre organization. The LPRC is a caucus of the LP, firmly committed to building the Party and organizing to roll back the power of government on every level.

The libertarian movement is a new, and diverse, political formation. Standing outside the traditional left/right spectrum — firmly rejecting all forms of statism, and affirming the absolute necessity of laissez-faire — it is precisely this newness which accounts for the organization of the LPRC as an independent political force with its own program and press. The temptation to adapt libertarianism to the distortions and pressures of old-style left/right politics is something which we do not expect all libertarians to resist; and, in fact, some certainly have not resisted it. Thus, the battle is joined between radical libertarianism — which upholds the free market, rejects gradualism, and targets U.S. imperialism as the main danger to peace — and those ex-conservatives (and ex-liberals) who wish to accommodate libertarianism to their prejudices and their idea of "practicality."

The LPRC grew quickly after its founding; we are now a national organization, with chapters from New York to San Francisco. Our newspaper, *Libertarian Vanguard*, is the only serious attempt to bring the radical libertarian message to the public. Our strategic vision is based on a revolutionary perspective with emphasis on cadre-building — and is not limited to electoral politics.

Although our 10-Point program clearly defines us as a distinct tendency within the libertarian movement as a whole, we are firmly committed to building the Libertarian Party — we see our role as a catalyst for action, and a constant reminder that "The Party of Principle" means exactly that.

PEACE MISSION

(continued from page 3)

similar to the bureaucracy headquartered in the Kremlin, with the most advanced productive forces in the world at its disposal — all of these factors combine at a crucial point in history to produce creatures like Zbigniew Brzezinski, the arrogant nonsense known as the "Carter Doctrine", and the threat of World War III.

The intentions of both superpowers — world domination — are identical. However, the ability of the U.S. to implement its imperial policy — as well as its willingness to carry it out in practice — show what the balance of forces in the world really is.

Let Republican militarists like Gerald Ford and Senator John Tower snarl about "sedition" all they want — it is they who have betrayed the original, anti-colonialist ideals of the American Revolution, and it is Ramsey Clark who is now fighting to preserve those ideals.

If this be treason, then let the intellectual and spiritual heirs of King George III make the most of it!

THE RISE OF WAR COLLECTIVISM

A concerted attack by the government on the right to travel, assemble, and speak out is part and parcel of the war collectivist pattern — the same prelude to the same old song. The real face of statism, the truth about "democracy", is revealed once again, during a "crisis." The militarization, not only of the economy, but also every other aspect of life, could conceivably change the American political landscape forever. Decisive changes in the political character of the U.S. — an even more extensive degeneration of the American Revolution, with an even more powerful

bureaucratic elite sitting atop it all — could nip the new, as-yet-embryonic anti-war movement in the bud.

By cracking down hard on "respectable" critics of the Empire, without hesitation — and without significant opposition — Carter hopes to isolate the burgeoning movement against U.S. intervention abroad. The threat to fine and jail Clark and the rest of his delegation is nothing less than the opening shot of Carter's campaign to intimidate all opposition into silence. What we are faced with is the spectacle of a "born again" Richard Nixon.

The anti-war movement cannot allow this to happen without vocal, visible, and viable opposition. If Ramsey Clark — who was sent to Teheran by Carter himself, not long ago, only to be turned away by the Ayatollah — can be prosecuted for speaking about the crimes of America, just try to imagine what they have in store for the new anti-war/anti-draft movement.

The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) calls on the broadest possible forces to unite against the government's attack on the U.S. delegation to the international conference on U.S. intervention in Iran. It is time for the growing anti-draft movement to take on higher tasks, as the struggle against conscription becomes the struggle against a war drive in full swing. The fight to defend Ramsey Clark, Nobel laureate biologist George Wald, WILPF leader Kay Camp, and others from absurd accusations of "treason" will hit the militarists where they live — and will doubtless prove to be an educational experience for the American public in an election year.

Today, they're after Ramsey Clark. Who will it be tomorrow? □

ONE YEAR LATER

I will not register



Over a year after the founding of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus, *Libertarian Vanguard* is alive, and well — and flourishing.

The first issue of this newspaper was written, produced, and distributed by volunteers. This issue of *Libertarian Vanguard* was produced by our paid staff. Not too long ago, the "National Office" of the LPRC consisted of somebody's living room — today, we have a storefront headquarters, which doubles as a bookstore, on one of San Francisco's busiest streets. We have come a long way in just a little over a year. But this is no time to rest on our laurels. The libertarian movement — especially the Libertarian Party — is fast approaching a crisis which it may, or may not, survive as a viable political formation.

The LPRC has been engaged in what amounts to a holding action against opportunism, both left and right. Considering the extent and severity of the problem, we have been surprisingly successful. Most Libertarians are anxious to preserve fundamental principles, and many have been won over to our radical libertarian perspective — or so rising LPRC membership figures indicate.

But the problem of opportunism goes much deeper than anyone in the movement now imagines; all significant variations on the plumbline thrive to the extent that the link between theory and practice is missing. Without a principled strategic vision to guide the movement during the difficult years ahead, the fight against opportunism is futile — because it is lost in advance.

The kind of theoretical work which should have been done before the founding of the LP, in 1972, now cries out for attention. If we are to keep the movement and the Party on the right road, we must present a systematic, radical alternative to the backwardness of "right" opportunism

and the false panaceas of its "left" equivalent. Over the next year, the LPRC will publish a series of pamphlets which address the central issues of our time from a radical libertarian perspective. Many of our readers and supporters have written us to say how glad they are that we have chosen to play the role of "the conscience of the movement." Although we are quite prepared to play such a role, if necessary, we realize that that is not enough: we must do more. We must derive a strategy for liberty from the most basic axioms of libertariansim itself.

In addition to publishing a series of in-depth works, the LPRC will continue to publish *Libertarian Vanguard* — in a considerably upgraded, new format. LPRC members will also receive *Cadre*, our internal bulletin. An aggressive campaign to establish local, active LPRC chapters has already begun; and a promotional drive to substantially increase the circulation of *Libertarian Vanguard* is in the works.

But we cannot do it without your active support. We aren't just hawking newspaper subscriptions — we're building a movement. The scope, and the significance, of our activities is increasing by leaps and bounds — but it can never increase fast enough. The price of liberty is high — indeed, it seems to be galloping ahead of the inflation rate. If you aren't a dues-paying LPRC member as well as a subscriber, then perhaps it is time you paid your dues.

For a year we have struggled to get *Libertarian Vanguard* out on a regular schedule, and, simultaneously, to build a radical libertarian movement on a national scale. In the process, the newspaper has grown — in circulation, in size, in professionalism — and so has the movement.

And that, dear readers, is only the beginning . . . □

The Ten Points of the LPRC

(Adopted by the Central Committee, July, 1979)

The Radical Caucus of the Libertarian Party is dedicated to building the Libertarian Party by emphasizing the following ten points:

- 1. Principled Mass Party** — The Libertarian Party should be a mass-participation party operating in the electoral arena and elsewhere, devoted to consistent libertarian principle, and committed to liberty and justice for all.
- 2. Resistance & the Oppressed** — The Libertarian Party should make a special effort to recruit members from groups most oppressed by the government so that the indignation of those who experience oppression is joined to that of those who oppose oppression in principle. The Libertarian Party should never approve of the initiation of force, nor should it rule out self-defense and resistance to tyranny.
- 3. Anti-State Coalition** — The Radical Caucus agrees to the view, adopted by the Libertarian Party at its 1974 Dallas convention, that for purposes of party programs and activities the issue of the ultimate legitimacy of government per se is not relevant. We oppose all efforts to exclude either anarchists or minimal statist from party life.
- 4. Populism** — The Libertarian Party should trust in and rely on the people to welcome a program of liberty and justice. The Libertarian Party should always aim strategically at convincing the bulk of the people of the soundness of libertarian doctrine.
- 5. No Compromise** — The Radical Caucus insists that all reforms advocated by the Libertarian Party must diminish governmental power and that no such reforms are to contradict the goal of a totally free society. Holding high our principles means avoiding completely the quagmire of self-imposed, oligarchic gradualism: We must avoid the view that, in the name of fairness, abating suffering, or fulfilling expectations, we must temporize and stall on the road to liberty.
- 6. Anti-Imperialism & Centrality of Foreign Policy** — Because the United States government aspires to world-wide control of events, foreign policy is always potentially the most important issue of our time. The Libertarian Party should bring to the public the truth about the U.S. government's major responsibility for the cold war and the continuing threat to world peace posed by U. S. foreign policy. No one should be deceived by the notion that any government, like the American, which has a relatively benign domestic policy, therefore has a relatively benign foreign policy.
Our goal is to build an international revolutionary libertarian movement, and our task is to hold up the banner of liberty so that all the world's peoples and races can rally around it.
- 7. Mutual Disarmament** — The Libertarian Party should support general, joint, and complete disarmament down to police levels. The Libertarian Party should be in the forefront of efforts to end policies that prepare for mass murder.
- 8. Rights Are Primary** — The central commitment of the Libertarian Party must be to individual liberty on the basis of rights and moral principle, and not on the basis of economic cost-benefit estimates.
- 9. Power Elite Analysis** — American society is divided into a government-oppressed class and a government-privileged class and is ruled by a power elite. Libertarian Party strategy and pronouncements should reflect these facts.
- 10. Land Reform** — Because of past land theft and original claims not based on homesteading, many landholdings in America are illegitimate. The Libertarian Party in cases of theft (for example, from the Native Americans and Chicanos) should support restoration to the victims or their heirs and in cases of invalid claims should advocate reopening the land for homesteading.

JARVIS II

(continued from page 13)

tailoring a mass movement instead of leading it — let us now rectify that error by fighting for a principled, radical tax resistance movement with a broader appeal and a less parochial perspective.

BUILD A GRASSROOTS TAX RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

The statist media and the public employee unions are saying that Prop. 9 lost because it was "too extreme", that the tax revolt has run its course, and that Howard Jarvis is finished. In fact, the exact opposite is true: Prop. 9 lost because it didn't go far enough.

When seen in light of the tax revolt's inherent limitations, the reason why Jarvis II lost becomes immediately clear. Since the spontaneous struggle against taxation is presented by its bankrupt leadership as isolated from other struggles against the same enemy, the kind of broad coalition required to achieve victory at the polls — or anywhere else, for that matter — fails to materialize. Thus, we see how the strategic vision of the tax reform movement flows from a faulty analysis — in fact, no analysis — of the objective conditions.

The most powerful weapon Jarvis wielded — mass anger directed against a clearly defined, powerful enemy — boomeranged during the Prop. 9 campaign. Although trying to roll back the power of government at the state level is simply re-enacting the myth of Sisyphus, it is conceivable that local initiatives could make some gains.

If, for example, Jarvis had pushed an initiative mandating a ceiling on the bureaucrat's salaries — he would have reawakened the spirit of Prop. 13.

In the context of gathering war clouds, the tax revolt takes on a new significance. It is clear that the fight against intervention in the economy at home must be linked to the movement against military intervention abroad. The imposition of war collectivism — wage and price controls, the growth of the military-industrial complex, and a concerted attack on the right to dissent — poses the greatest threat to the gains made by the tax revolt. The blindness of Jarvis and his cohorts to anything but narrowly "economic" issues will eventually wipe out the prospects for tax relief in this country — unless Libertarians fight to win the leadership of a movement in crisis.

Only a radical Libertarian approach to the issue of taxation — only a principled worldview armed with a bold, long range strategic vision — can complete the process begun by Jarvis. Let the tunnel-vision pragmatists walk right over the edge of the cliff; their day is over, anyway. Libertarianism is the wave of the future — if there is to be a future. □

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PEACE MISSION DEFIES CARTER

"I don't think President Carter understands what law is. He's a politician... [Carter] believes in absolute obedience to authority. When the President says 'thou shalt not,' every single American is supposed to stand at attention."

—Ramsey Clark

The visit of ex-U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and nine other Americans to Iran, as delegates to an international conference on U.S. intervention, has challenged Carter's war drive on the most fundamental level — and marks the most significant public opposition to the war hysteria currently sweeping this country since the 50,000-strong March 22 antiwar/anti-draft rally in Washington.

U.S. officials have condemned the trip as a "propaganda circus" and have threatened Clark and his colleagues under the provisions of the 1977 International Emergency Economic Powers Act, which authorizes the President to regulate or prohibit international transactions of any kind. If prosecuted by the Justice Department, and convicted, Clark and the U.S. delegation could face up to ten years in prison and a \$50,000 fine.

Clark has declared: "My defense will be that America was founded on freedom, and that we have a Constitution." After Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti asked the Treasury department to look into the possibility of prosecuting Clark, President Carter himself spoke out on the issue. "My inclination is, within the bounds of the law, to order him prosecuted," Carter stated. "Talking to newsmen aboard Air Force One en route to the recent national conference of mayors, the President condemned Clark for "damaging the nation's foreign policy." Although Carter said that the final decision on whether to prosecute Clark was up to the Attorney General, Carter is very keen on the idea: "My guess would be [Civiletti] would seek civil penalties."

"Well," said Clark in Paris, "I'm saddened by it, a little bit. I love our country and I believe in the presidency, but I don't think President Carter understands what law is. He's a politician... [Carter] believes in absolute obedience to authority. When the President says 'thou shalt not,' every single American is supposed to stand at attention."

"I love my country too much not to confess for U.S. crimes [in Iran] — thus does Ramsey Clark conduct his

defense of a non-interventionist foreign policy in Iran. Sugarcoated with the same patriotic gloss Carter is using to prettify the increasingly ugly situation in Iran, Ramsey Clark is attempting to explain to the American public that what the Iranians call "the crimes of America" is not just Khomeinite propaganda. Of course, by dressing up the truth in the same rhetoric so beloved by Jimmy Carter's speechwriters, Ramsey Clark believes he can beat the Peanut in his own patch. In fact, he is only undercutting his own case. If, like soft-headed liberals everywhere, he thinks he can co-opt the militarist vocabulary he is in for a sad awakening — and so are his soft-headed liberal friends.

"We owe [the Iranians] an apology," said Clark, in one of his terse public statements. "We have supported the

This turn of events signals an escalation of the internal strife within the Islamic regime. According to widely-published reports, the grouping gathered around newly-elected Iranian President Bani-Sadr is seeking a rapprochement with the U.S., and is reportedly ready to abandon the demand for the return of the shah — in return for a U.S. admission of past interventions. The Bani-Sadr plan also allegedly contains a three-point proposal including a request for written assurances that the U.S. would cease all intervention in Iranian affairs.

The final document issued by the conference, however, made no mention of such a proposal — nor did it even mention the question of the hostages — and reaffirmed the demand of the militants for the return of the shah. In a gesture which is beginning

danger to world peace. That is the stark reality beneath Clark's smooth rhetorical veneer. Empirically, of course, no one can deny the history of U.S. intervention in Iran — and the pre-eminence of the American Empire that spans the globe. If we turn to history and simply count the number and severity of U.S. military interventions since the end of WWII, we see that the scales tip toward Washington, D.C. rather than the Kremlin.

Although historical evidence is important, in the final analysis it can only have auxiliary significance. The question of which superpower is responsible for the Cold War — and is, therefore, the main danger to liberty everywhere in the world — can only be answered by referring to the political character of the two superpowers.



Members of the American delegation to the International Conference on U.S. Intervention in Iran. From left to right, they are: John Walsh, Mary Anderson, ex-U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Charles Kimball, Nobel Laureate biologist George Wald, the Rev. Paul Washington, Women's International League for Peace & Freedom President Kay Camp, and noted lawyer Leonard Weinglass.

shah and he has brutalized them and he has caused the death of many of them."

The real role Clark intended to play in the increasing "hostage crisis" intrigue is rather murky. In spite of White House spokesman Hodding Carter's assertion that the Clark trip was nothing more than a "propaganda circus", it appears that the Iranians were even less pleased with Mr. Clark's performance. Khomeini's "Revolutionary Guards" cordoned off the Tehran Hilton, where the U.S. delegation was staying, and kept them away from the press. The U.S. delegation — which included Clark, Wald, Kay Camp (president of the Women's International League for Peace & Freedom), Paul M. Washington, a Baptist chaplain at Princeton University, as well as lawyer William Kunstler — refused to discuss their meeting with the militants holding the hostages.

According to a *New York Times* report: "In the final document of the conference, Mr. Clark was denounced as a possible secret agent for President Carter... The Clark mission was further clouded when it was bitterly denounced in the Government-controlled press, and the state radio called Clark the 'vilest agent'."

to sound a bit trite, Clark offered himself in exchange for the hostages — an impulse first expressed, if you remember, by Muhammed Ali.

In spite of Ramsey Clark's more-patriotic-than-thou ploy, his trip to Iran is the first healthy development to come out of the whole, completely phony "hostage crisis." It challenges the entire basis of an imperialist foreign policy — the allegedly unquestionable "right" of the government to monopolize relations with other nation-states. In the case of the Ramsey Clark affair, private citizens are attempting to cut through a government smokescreen in order to get at the truth. From a Libertarian viewpoint, this is a welcome development; judging from the events of the past few weeks, the sooner the fate of the hostages is taken out of Jimmy Carter's hands, the better.

That so many prominent U.S. citizens defied Carter's ban on travel to Iran is the first sign that people are beginning to realize the truth about their own country. What is simply an unpleasant fact of reality, as far as the rest of the world is concerned, is finally beginning to dawn on many Americans: the fact that it is the U.S., not the USSR, which is the main

IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST

From a radical Libertarian perspective, the issue must be analyzed in the context of a single given: *socialism doesn't work*. The economic condition of the USSR and its satellites is proof enough of that. In order to survive, Communist regimes have had to water down their economic dogmas — and, in some cases, they have had to make significant concessions to the market economy. Although they would like to achieve world domination, intentions are not enough. *Materially*, the Communist bloc countries can barely keep the leash tied round the necks of their own subject populations, never mind the rest of the world.

The U.S. is a different matter altogether. Although the American Revolution has completely degenerated — and although the political gains made by that first anti-colonialist war of national liberation have been lost —

the U.S. economy is still coasting along on the sheer momentum of the productive power unleashed by that great event. The virtually complete restoration of statism in the U.S., the rise of a U.S. ruling class strikingly

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COP TERROR SPARKS RIOT

"It is like something unbelievable. I feel like I'm nobody. I feel like my family's nobody. I feel like my people are nobody. We despise this verdict, we hate it and it hurts us in our hearts."

—Arthur McDuffie's sister

Less than three hours after an all-white jury acquitted four police officers of the murder of Arthur McDuffie — a 33-year old black insurance executive who was brutally beaten, last December 17, after being arrested for a traffic violation — all hell broke loose in Miami's Liberty City black community. The volcano that erupted on Mount St. Helens paled in the face of the Miami explosion. Fifteen people were killed, most of them black — although the media focused on the whites who had been killed. Hundreds of people were seriously injured, and over \$100 million in damage was inflicted by arsonists and looters. A crowd of 3000 stormed the Metro police headquarters and burned it to the ground.

Florida city officials shut down all public transportation, as well as the public schools. An 8 PM to 6 AM curfew was imposed. The sale of gasoline was restricted, as was the sale of alcohol.

THE CAUSE: POLICE BRUTALITY

The McDuffie verdict was a particularly blatant example of racist "justice". McDuffie was held by police after he had supposedly committed a traffic violation on his motorcycle. He was beaten so badly that the Dade County Deputy Medical Examiner testified in court that the fatal blow was "the equivalent of landing between your eyes from a four story building onto concrete." He further testified that this was the worst beating he had seen in well over three thousand autopsies. In spite of evidence which proved that the four officers under indictment had tampered with police records in an attempt at a cover-up, an all-white, all-male jury found them innocent.

As in the trial of Dan White in San Francisco — see *Libertarian Vanguard* 8/79 — the incredible verdict was made possible by the open collaboration of the District Attorney's office with a police department whitewash. Not only did the DA grant immunity to two officers most involved in the vicious assault on McDuffie (as their testimony revealed) but their stories were completely contradictory — for example, one of them denied that a defendant was even involved in the

beating. Throughout the trial, the conduct of the prosecution made it clear that whatever the DA was after, it wasn't a conviction.

When the illusion of "due process" in a democracy breaks down — when the mirage of an "impartial" state apparatus evaporates — the myth of "blind justice" is swept away in a storm of blind fury.

Word of the verdict spread fast. By 8 PM, on May 17th, seven thousand angry demonstrators had gathered in downtown Miami, in front of the combined police headquarters and courthouse. Although the NAACP had called the demonstration, the hastily-organized action was without any real leadership; shouts of "No white police in black neighborhoods!" and



"Justice, justice, justice!" drowned out the speakers — who couldn't be heard anyway, due to the lack of a sound system. A minister admonished the crowd to pray. "We're tired of praying!" was the nearly unanimous cry. The Florida state flag was torn down, and the black-red-&green colors of the black nationalist movement were run up the flagpole.

At this point, a police car drove directly into the crowd. A young black woman's foot was run over. That was the spark that ignited the blaze. Then, they stormed police headquarters. Soon, the Florida State Office building was on fire. White motorists were stopped, dragged from their cars, and beaten.

Rioting continued throughout northwest Miami all night. Governor Bob Graham brought in the National Guard. At one point, almost 7000 guardsmen and police had been called in to quell the rebellion.

A frightened America is responding to the Miami riots — the worst since the ghetto rebellions of the 60's — with liberal clichés and more of the same racist poison which is the root cause of the problem. The politicians want to buy the people off by throwing Federal money at war-torn Liberty City. The press is touting a Harris poll, which — incredibly — blames it all on the *Cuban refugees* who are,

supposedly, taking jobs away from blacks. This smokescreen is supposed to hide the real, concrete cause of the Miami riot — cop terror in Third World communities. The riot did not erupt in a vacuum. It was the final act of a drama which had been going on in Miami for months, and which ended in tragedy.

In February of last year, the home of a local black teacher was raided by cops who claimed to be looking for drugs. The teacher and his son were beaten by police, and their home was completely ransacked. The police later admitted they had gone to the wrong address — the victims were never compensated.

Twenty-one year old Randy Heath, a black man, was shot in the back by

something they provoked!" — Commissioner Ruth Shack was literally driven to tears. When Commissioner Stephan Clark called for a Commission vote on the tax proposals in an attempt to end the meeting, his voice was drowned out by the chant: "No sales tax! No sales tax!"

Of course, everyone is calling for Federal aid, including black community leaders — but that is treating the symptom with more of the same disease. More and more black people are coming to realize that whatever "aid" is forthcoming bears a heavy price tag — with plenty of strings attached. Bribes in the form of Federal dollars will not eliminate police repression — it will only create a backlash from an already taxed-to-

police as he urinated near a warehouse. The officer involved — who first stated that he thought the youth was a burglary suspect, and then said it had been an accident — has not been prosecuted, or even so much as suspended.

Last year, Highway Patrol officer Willie Jones, a white man, found guilty of sexually molesting an 11 year old black girl, was simply put on probation.

The McDuffie verdict was the final outrage.

THE AFTERMATH

There are two bills in the Florida state legislature which would raise taxes in order to pay for the extensive damage caused by the riot. One proposal would tax all real estate transactions — thus driving up the rents of the Liberty City community the other scheme would add 1¢ to the sales tax on every item valued over \$1000.

That black people are refusing to swallow this typical "liberal" ploy is a tribute to the spirit of Miami's black community. At a Day 30 meeting called by the Dade County Commission, a crowd of over 300 blacks made their position clear. As speaker after speaker blasted the tax proposals — "They want to make us pay for

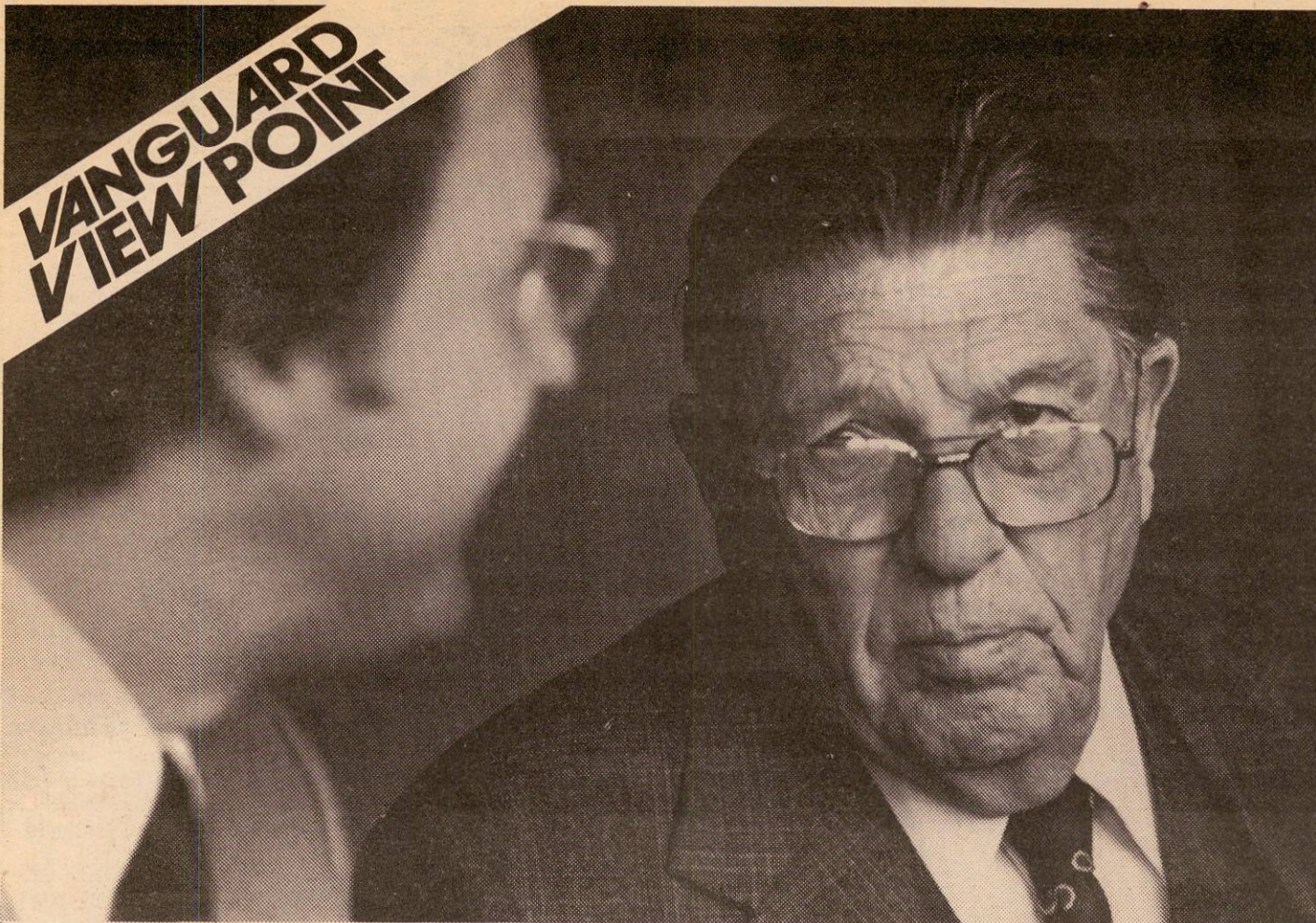
death middle class. This is a perfect example of how the statist divide the people, manipulate them into contrived conflicts, and prevent them from uniting against a common enemy.

No one can condone racially-motivated violence and looting. But the consequences of statism — such as police repression, especially against racial minorities — are never pretty. The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) places the blame where it properly belongs: directly on the doorstep of the State.

Many Libertarians — even friends and supporters of the LPRC — have difficulty understanding our position on questions of this kind. For example, many responses to our article on the riot following the Dan White verdict in San Francisco wondered if we were advocating armed struggle as a strategy. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. While the Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) does not advocate the use of force against the state — at least not at this point nor in the foreseeable future — we recognize that *spontaneous* rebellions are bound to occur. It is our political responsibility, as activist Libertarians, to analyze such phenomena — and use our analysis to build a movement which will, one day, roll

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VANGUARD VIEW POINT



Neil Halpern

JARVIS II & THE FIGHT AGAINST THE NEW CLASS

LP honcho, Ed Crane [left] gets quite a look from the irascible Howard Jarvis.

With 100% of the precincts reporting, it is clear that Howard Jarvis' Proposition 9 — which would have cut California state income taxes in half — has been crushed at the polls. The liberal press is having a field day, and the New Class leadership of the public sector — the powerful public employee unions, the shock troops of the bureaucracy itself — is literally crowing with delight. Prop. 9 — known as Jarvis II, or "Jaws II" — managed to capture a mere 39% of the vote, a far cry from the 2-to-1 victory of Proposition 13.

Since Libertarians oppose the power of government to tax as a matter of principle — and since, therefore, we support each and every proposal to cut taxes — the Libertarian Party and the Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) supported Jarvis II. Most Libertarians rightly admired the embattled figure of Howard Jarvis; as the crusty father of the tax revolt, he literally embodies the populist rage directed at Big Government. The spirit and essence of the tax revolt movement itself is aptly symbolized by the sometimes razor-sharp, sometimes incoherent, always irascible rhetoric of Howard Jarvis.

The man himself — and the movement he once led to victory — had been around a long time before he changed the face of the nation's politics. Jarvis had failed often; he had been a perennial candidate, a lone crusader, and Prop. 13 failed to gather enough signatures to get on the ballot the first time around. He built a movement — slowly, patiently, over the years — from the grassroots up. And, as the whole world knows, it paid off.

SPONTANEITY & REFORM: THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE TAX REVOLT

In the wake of Prop. 13's stunning victory — and the advent of the tax revolt on a national scale — Libertarians tended to overlook the shortcomings of both Jarvis and the movement he personified so well. But the seeds of the Prop. 9 disaster were sown early on — and it is now time to examine the ideological roots and

strategic vision (such as it is) of the tax revolt.

Uncritical support — that is, *active* support — for each and every panacea spawned by spontaneous opposition to crushing taxation is a completely untenable strategic conception. This error is particularly popular in the Libertarian Party of California — California is, after all, the home of the tax revolt. Without even attempting to analyze the politics of the Jarvis phenomenon, most California Libertarians tailed right along shouting "me too!" This was, and is, particularly true of those Libertarians who tend to overlook so-called "civil liberties" issues in favor of purely "economic" issues — in short, the rightwing of the LP. This "economist" deviation from the plumbline Libertarian position — like most forms of opportunism — had certain very short-term benefits. Caught up in the excitement and drama of a victorious mass movement, the leadership of the LP was unwilling (and, in a certain sense, unable) to examine this newly too closely. Such analyses as did manage to get a hearing within Libertarian circles were ignored. Prop. 13 had undeniably been a factor in Ed Clark's attention-getting 5% of the vote in his race for Governor, and the LP leadership wasn't asking any questions.

Today, of course, they are asking questions; the major one being — *what went wrong?*

As is usual for Libertarians of the "pragmatic" variety, this is entirely the wrong question to ask. Like Jarvis, these "hard-headed realists" have no real ideology, and thus are incapable of analyzing events as they occur; and, like Jarvis, they will ultimately get nowhere for this very reason.

The real question is: what's all this tax revolt business about, anyway?

The tax revolt, epitomized by Jarvis, has been characterized in two ways from the outset. First of all, it is a *spontaneous* phenomenon; that is, the tax revolt has always been a rudderless mass movement in search of a political perspective. Like any mass upsurge, it is primarily directed against the status quo — although, again, like most such popular rebel-

lions, exactly what is being rebelled against is not very clear in the minds of the rebels. When the growth of the public sector reaches the point where its parasitic character becomes an obvious drain on the productive (i.e. the private or quasi-private) sector, some sort of political response from the general population is inevitable. (Provided, of course, the illusion of "democracy" is still operative.) Even if the only response from the people is to vote incumbents out of office in exchange for a similar crew, it is a powerful — if unorganized — force. The spontaneity of the tax revolt is further characterized — due largely to its present leadership — as a quest for immediate gratification. Although a general suspicion of government — the heritage of Vietnam and Watergate — is fertile ground in which the tax revolt did prosper, the politics of the spontaneous mass movement are *inherently limited*.

Secondly, the spontaneous tax revolt movement is a *reform* movement; that is, Howard Jarvis wanted to save the system, not build a new society. The hopelessly parochial view which sees purely economic issues in isolation, divorced from the reality of statism as an international system, is incapable of anything other than temporary success. The primitive level of the Jarvis trend — which actually puts forth the program that such things as the power of inflation, bureaucracy, and the chokehold of taxation can be broken at the local, sub-national level — is due to the absence of the ideological tools necessary to build a real, *conscious* movement. Reform movements are concerned with preserving the status quo, they do not examine what it is they are preserving too closely —

which means that, in practice, the leadership is stubbornly anti-ideological, vaguely conservative, and generally unpredictable. Without any real conception of what it is they are fighting — without a libertarian *class analysis*, which draws the class line between those who rule and those who are ruled, those who tax and those who are taxed — the strategic vision of this "leadership" is bound to be a bit blurred.

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

The crisis of the tax revolt, in the wake of defeat, is a crisis of principled leadership. It is the absence of such leadership which is responsible for the undeniably grave setback to the cause of liberty suffered on November 4 of this year in California. The spontaneous reform movement is, in and of itself, incapable of originating and acting decisively on behalf of a practical and principled strategy against the rise of the "public" sector.

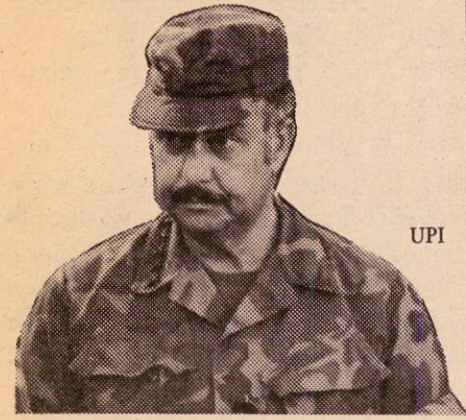
The characterization of Jarvis and the organized tax revolt movement as essentially *sectarian* — that is, isolated by choice — was not immediately apparent when the Prop. 13 campaign catapulted Jarvis into the national spotlight. But when Jarvis narrowed his base by proposing a tax cut for the rich — most people pay relatively low state income taxes in California, with the exception of the dwindling upper classes — it was clear that the conservative leadership was attempting to organize forces it could neither understand nor lead.

The real tragedy of the Prop. 9 disaster is that Howard is probably still shaking his head, wondering what hit him — and most Libertarians are following suit. What no one seems to understand is that the tax revolt (at least in its Prop. 13 incarnation) was the culmination of seething, incoherent resentment directed at the political status quo — and that that resentment could just as easily be mobilized against "the rich". Which is precisely what happened. Because the class line has not been drawn, in the general population, between the remnants of the private sector and the "public" sector (commanded by the parasitic New Class of managers, administrators, and social planners) the people cannot yet make such fine distinctions — and, in a "mixed" economy such as ours, such distinctions are often very fine indeed.

That Libertarians have lost the battle for leadership of the tax revolt by default — and that Libertarians must take partial responsibility for the Prop. 9 setback — is a fact which must be faced without hesitation or excuses. We have paid the price of

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SOMOCISTA WITHOUT SOMOZA



UPI

The deposed Somoza has now taken refuge in Paraguay.

(continued from page 2)
bers — with all the additions on the left side of the aisle. The Nicaraguan Supreme Court, initially intended to rule on constitutional questions, is now consigned to the status of divorce court.

The road back to Somozaism in Nicaragua is likely to be paved by the Sandinista Party — which, although still in the embryonic stages, is likely to grow out of the “Sandinista Defense Committees”, as well as government-controlled labor, youth, and women’s organizations. In spite of large-scale nationalizations, there is still, at least nominally, a private (or quasi-private) sector; like Great Britain and the U.S. — and like pre-revolutionary Nicaragua — the Nicaragua of today is essentially a “mixed” economy. However, unlike Great Britain and the U.S., one-party rule and a government-owned-and-operated media have a virtual monopoly on political life. Combined with the Mussolini-style corporatist structure which, more and more, characterizes the Nicaraguan state apparatus — formalized by an unelected “Council of State” supposedly representing labor, business, and the FSLN — these draconian measures amount to nothing less than counter-revolution.

The inability of the central planners to produce anything but edicts — and widespread shortages of everything from capital equipment to consumer goods — has raised the spectre of popular revolution against the new masters of Managua. To counter this, the FSLN has launched a nationwide propaganda campaign — thinly-disguised as a “literacy campaign” — to convince the peasants that a desire to own land is proof of “ignorance”.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Robelo’s resignation — along with the resignation of Violetta Chamorro, widow of Joaquin Chamorro, the one-time editor of *La Prensa* who was murdered by Somoza — is the first sign of resistance to the neo-Somocista road taken by the FSLN leadership. According to *Diario de Caracas*, a Venezuelan daily, two other cabinet ministers have also left the government. All are members of Robelo’s Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), which has now become the only organized political party to oppose the consolidation of totalitarianism. In concert with the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), the MDN has taken the lead in opposing the “decapitalization” edict — which, instead of halting the flight of capital out of the country, has, in fact, accelerated it.

The MDN has also attacked price controls, the INRA land monopoly, and the use of scarce resources to fund a massive government-initiated propaganda campaign. The army and the police, says the MDN, “must be at the service of the nation and not of a particular ideology or party.” In a declaration published in *La Prensa* — before that venerable voice of the opposition, with a circulation much larger than the FSLN’s *Barricada*, was silenced — the MDN declared that it opposed “all imperialisms” and condemned “exploitation of man by the state.”

In response to Robelo’s resignation, the FSLN staged a noisy mass demonstration in Managua — and quietly tried to make a deal with more sympathetic members of the quasi-private sector. COSEP agreed not to walk out of the Council of State in return for immediate relief from confiscations, promulgation of a law protecting citizens from “abuse by authority”, and a definite timetable for municipal (not national) elections. The two new junta members appointed by the FSLN — Conservative Party leader Rafael Cordova Rivas, and Central Bank president Arturo Cruz — represent those business interests which have been bought off by the emerging corporatist order. These appointments — purely symbolic, since real power is in the hands of the FSLN’s nine-member National Directorate — were made in return for \$72 million in U.S. economic aid. A week before the appointments, House majority leader Thomas P. O’Neil Jr. — according to the *New York Times*, “said that the aid package would not be submitted to a vote until the two vacant seats were filled by ‘moderates.’” The aid package has since sailed through the Senate, after initial approval in the House of Representatives.

Thus, in spite of Castro-style blustering in *Barricada*, the balance of forces in Nicaragua has shifted to the right. “The crisis provoked by Mr. Robelo’s resignation,” reports the 5/20 *New York Times* story by Alan Riding, “. . . seems to have led the Sandinista Liberation Front not only to reaffirm its formal commitment to political pluralism and a mixed public-private economy, but also to recognize widespread opposition to a more leftist strategy.” But this shift must be seen as a tactical maneuver by the emerging FSLN bureaucracy to split the remnants of the private sector, and isolate Robelo politically: One has only to look at the Cuban model — as, obviously, the FSLN has — to see the FSLN’s strategic vision. The Stalinist theory of revolution in stages is too well known to bear repetition.

The resignation of Robelo, and the rise of the MDN as a non-leftist opposition to the restoration of Nicaraguan fascism, has set the Marxist time-table back — temporarily. That Robelo has broken with the FSLN junta completely has strengthened the power of the private sector — and, therefore, the movement demanding basic civil liberties — by organizing a “liberal” opposition. By severing all connections with the sell-out Sandinista leadership at this crucial juncture, the MDN has gained an immediate political advantage; unpaid workers on state farms, expropriated merchants, landless peasants,

disaffected youth, all these and more will rally around the banner of the MDN.

THE MUDDLED POLITICS OF THE MDN

In spite of all this, however, the prospects for liberty in Nicaragua are dim indeed. The muddled politics of the MDN — and Robelo’s politics, in particular — are, ultimately, no match for the Marxists. At least the Marxists know what they want: the MDN, for its part, advocates a confused potpourri of rather odd notions. A recent MDN declaration called for “socialism and liberty”, and the creation of “mixed” economic ventures. The party’s main slogan, “*Patria y Libertad*”, symbolizes the sort of vaguely nationalist, opportunist politics which characterize the MDN.

Back when Robelo was still in the junta, his position on the land question was identical to the Marxists; in fact, in an interview with the Mexican daily *Cuadernos Del Tercer Mundo*, Robelo plays the role of spokesperson and apologist for the government:

Q: What sort of guarantees are going to be given to local businessmen and to foreign investors?

A: Looking ahead, it’s important to make it clear that we have a new development model . . . Our objective is the countryside. Agriculture is a resource that we can develop most rapidly with the least cost. We are going to reverse the migration from the countryside to the city.

Q: On the lands which used to belong to Somoza and are now nationalized, it appears that there’s not enough money to pay the workers, but that’s not the case with farms which are still in private hands. Workers there are being paid. Don’t you think this could bring some pressures on the government which may push the revolution off balance?

A: The government has assumed an enormous responsibility in taking over the Somocista lands. To get all the mechanisms of these farms to work takes time. All I can say is that we are trying to overcome these problems, and what we have achieved since we have been in office is extraordinary.

[*Cuadernos Del Tercer Mundo*, 12/79-1/80; cited in *Newsfront International*; 6/80; p. 9]

Even the rightwing Democratic Conservative Party — which tried, along with the Social Christians, and the Social Democrats, to make a deal with Somoza on the eve of revolution — took out a two-page display ad in *La Prensa* denouncing the government land monopoly and calling for direct individual ownership of the land by the peasants who work it. If Robelo’s goal is to reverse the migration from the countryside — and if he is allegedly the defender of the private sector — then why hasn’t he raised the slogan of “Land and Liberty”?

The answer is: because his politics are limited, range-of-the-moment stabs in the dark, without a program except the program of pragmatism. Robelo has no organized constituency beyond the urban centers of Managua and the northern cities. Up against a state-subsidized, coordinated propaganda campaign aimed at the countryside, the anemic “mixed economy” formulas of the MDN will not even get a hearing. In spite of popular opposition to bureaucratic abuse and the parasitic character of the growing public sector, the MDN will ultimately prove incapable of organizing a mass-based united front

AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT

All over the world the crisis of the spontaneous anti-statist movements is a crisis of *principled leadership*. The problem in Nicaragua is essentially identical to the situation everywhere else in the world, as far as the prospects for liberty are concerned. Historically, each and every mass-based anti-statist movement has been sold out by its own leaders. Utilitarianism, pragmatism, unprincipled compromise, and the lack of any link between theory and practice have rendered all such movements ultimately impotent, incapable of really leading authentic forces in sustained struggle. Only by extending our influence internationally — only by building an International Libertarian Organization with a radical libertarian perspective — can we hope to provide that leadership.

The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) is actively working to build such an international movement. Of course, our task is more than awesome; we have no illusions about that. The first modest step toward this goal — the compilation of an extensive overseas mailing list, and the publication of an international bulletin — is already in the embryonic stage. But we cannot do it without your support — your financial support. Send all contributions to:

LP(RC), 1800 Market St.,
San Francisco, CA 94102
(Make checks payable to LPRC.) □

COP TERROR SPARKS RIOT

(continued from page 4)
back the State. As we wrote in the December 1979 issue of *Libertarian Vanguard*:

The people in the streets know the face of the real enemy; they have seen the police come into their communities, time and time again, like an invading army. In the face of rising inflation, and the constant threat of war, black people are beginning to realize that the same social planners who brought them to the ruins of a welfare state have brought the guns of an army of occupation into their neighborhoods. Once that connection becomes clear to Third World people — and whites — everywhere, the first strong links in an anti-statist, anti-imperialist, pro-freedom coalition will have been forged. □



Neil Halpern

EMPIRE

(continued from page 2)

were supposed to race through the streets of Teheran and take the embassy by surprise. U.S. intelligence sources were convinced that the hostages were under a very light guard; once inside the compound, “Charlie’s Angels” allegedly planned to use some sort of incapacitating gas to subdue the “student” militants without bloodshed. This, of course, is pure propaganda designed to whitewash Carter’s grotesque attempt to revive the Orwellian terminology of the Vietnam era, when “pacification” meant a My Lai-style slaughter — just as we are now being told that an act of war is really a “humanitarian” act, after all.

PALACE REVOLUTION

That the Iranian “crisis” — manufactured, maintained, and overseen by the Carter administration — is nothing but a pretext for intervention is openly admitted by the more hard-line hawks, especially the court intellectual “crisis crescent” theorists grouped around *Commentary*. These right-wing Social Democrats have been constructing the “logic” of a U.S. strike at Middle Eastern oil fields for years in the pages of innumerable academic journals. Now that National Security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski has begun to put theory into practice, the debate is no longer quite so academic.

In an exclusive story dated May 1, the *San Francisco Chronicle* revealed Carter’s “foot-in-the-door” strategy: Authoritative U.S. officials have disclosed that contingency plans gave President Carter the option of using U.S. air cover to strike at military facilities around Tehran if the rescue mission last week had run into serious resistance.

Although officials maintain that U.S. air strikes were unlikely, it is impossible to imagine ninety U.S. commandos racing through the streets of Iran’s capital city without meeting “serious resistance.” It is clear that the CIA and a few knock-out drops won’t get Carter out of this one — and there is every indication that the Carter administration was, and is, perfectly well-aware of this fact. This is revealed by White House plans providing for the possibility of an unexpectedly “serious” resistance. According to the *Chronicle* exclusive: in case air cover provided by the mission proved “inadequate, officials said, the President had the further option of ordering in prelaunched A-7 and F-4 bombers from U.S. aircraft carriers near the Persian Gulf.”

As it turns out, U.S. bombers had been rehearsing such a scenario for weeks, taking off from U.S. carriers, heading for the Iranian coast, then returning right before hitting Iranian airspace. All of this was apparently too much for that last remnant of the “noninterventionist” Carter administration, ex-Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

Until the kind of Congressional investigation unlikely to take place is launched to reveal the facts, the theory that the so-called “rescue mission” was actually a failed attempt to “destabilize” the Khomeini regime must, for now, remain purely speculative. But another kind of

coup d’etat took place, simultaneously, in Washington, D.C., in the wake of the Tabas incident — this time, a successful palace revolution, at least as far as Brzezinski and his fellow Cold Warriors are concerned. The resignation of Cyrus Vance marks a point of no return as far as the hostage crisis is concerned — and, perhaps, a turning point in the crisis of superpower contention.

Vance — not a principled isolationist, by any means — is instead a more cautious, gray-flanneled corporatist of the “trilateralist” variety.

These self-styled “internationalists” seek rapprochement with the Soviets because they wish to accelerate the growing ideological convergence of the world’s two biggest superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR. As market mechanisms are adopted for the sake of efficiency in the USSR, and as the U.S. marches down

U.S. citizens currently in Iran. The last remnants of a relatively genteel diplomatic tradition — which, in part, is focused on concern for human life, regardless of nationality — will go with Cyrus Vance.

The Brzezinski faction — now in complete control of U.S. foreign policy — is a throwback to the very beginnings of the Cold War. They are the ideologues of superpower contention, who see every event in terms of the conflict between the U.S. and the USSR. Everything is subordinated to this world view — in fact, its similarity to Mao Tse-Tung’s “Theory of the Three Worlds” (which also posits the USSR as the main danger to peace) has resulted in a united U.S./China front against the USSR! Brzezinski and other National Security Council theoreticians have constructed a complete world model, rife with “flash-points” extending from the



Barbara Timm, who condemned U.S. military intervention in Iran, joins Iranian President Bani-Sadr at a press conference.

the road to war collectivism (gas rationing, the draft, wage and price controls, a qualitative leap up for the “public” sector), the line between Soviet mixed economy and our own becomes blurred. This ideological convergence is further accelerated by economic co-optation — by absorbing the relatively underdeveloped Soviet economy into the world corporate statist order. Vance, with his extensive European contacts and his international reputation, represents those in the U.S. ruling elite who wish to go back to the good old days of detente, when the Kremlin and the boys in Washington could divide up the world between them — with the choicer bits going to Exxon, of course.

The old State Department establishment, whose job it was to oversee the American Empire, the *Pax Americana* in its heyday, is on the way out. In the wake of a worldwide revolution in the Third World, symbolized by the “Third Camp” foreign policy of Bani-Sadr’s government — there is rapidly becoming less empire to oversee. The difference between the old breed imperialists and Brzezinski’s “Young Turks” is best dramatized by Vance’s public statement following his resignation. Aside from an inability to swallow the “humanitarian mission” line concerning an incident which was clearly a military operation, Vance pointed out the simple fact that the Iranians could easily have retaliated by rounding up the 20 U.S. reporters and 200 other

iddle East “crisis crescent” to the Horn of Africa to Latin America and all the way back to Southeast Asia. In the black & white world view of the new hardliners, these flashpoints are interchangeable fronts fighting the same Cold War.

Although U.S. intervention against the Soviet “threat” to U.S. “vital interests” in the Middle East could occur anywhere, the focus of the world’s attention is now on the Persian Gulf region, the “flashpoint” Brzezinski and his crowd consider primary. The utter cynicism of this wing of the U.S. ruling elite is dramatized by its post-rescue mission rationalizations; when its short-range purposes are served, the much-discussed “Soviet threat” is suddenly dismissed. According to numerous reports, the consensus of Carter’s National Security Council inner circle was that the likelihood of Soviet military intervention in the wake of a successful mission, and a destabilized Iran, was “very low.” This drunken veering from right to left is characteristic of Carter’s so-called foreign “policy”, and is just more proof that the poor man is in over his head. The bungled “rescue mission” — which, it may turn out from documents discovered at the site of the desert disaster, could be just the tip of the iceberg — gave the Reagan campaign the edge in the polls for the first time.

ON THE HOME FRONT

The hostage crisis has proved to be

too much even for some Libertarians, who focus their condemnation on the Iranian “students” holding the 53 embassy employees. Apparently, some have even capitulated to the war fever — and we are now faced with the (almost inevitable) spectacle of self-styled “Libertarians” supporting Carter’s so-called mission of mercy. By ripping out of its historical context the question of what action — if any — to take in reaction to the capture of the U.S. embassy in Teheran, they liquidate any *real, concrete* concept of moral responsibility. For them, the overwhelming fact of superpower contention does not exist; instead they are content to deal with abstractions tied to nothing and no one in particular. Typically, these ideological primitives will not dirty their hands by examining the real balance of forces in the world — or by dealing with the world in any manner whatsoever. Instead, these ex-Libertarians are capable only of dealing with the taking of hostages *per se*. For them, the question of the moral responsibility of the U.S. government — indeed, the fact that Carter knew far in advance that the taking of hostages was likely — never comes up. Because they have no analysis of the present balance of world forces — because, for them, the world crisis of imperialism does not exist — they wind up on the wrong side of the barricades. By dealing only with the purely abstract question of “is it ever right to take hostages?” they condemn themselves to the sidelines and characterize themselves as an irrelevant religious sect, incapable of putting theory into practice.

The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus), like virtually all libertarians, condemns the taking of the hostages — but we, unlike others, do not stop there. We recognize the particulars of the situation, and analyze things as they are. Weighted against the actions of a few individuals who may or may not be connected with the Iranian government (such as it is), the military attack carried out on President Carter’s orders was far more dangerous and hence a far greater crime. Certainly, the fact that U.S. government employees are involved — who may or may not be CIA operatives, at least some of them — does nothing to bolster the case of those who stand with Carter. And, if concern for the lives of the hostages is primary, then it cannot be said that Carter’s fiasco has improved the situation in that regard — in fact, the situation has worsened, as far as the hostages themselves are concerned.

The taking of the hostages must be seen as a response typical of anti-colonialist revolutions — yes, even typical of our own revolution, when British operatives were not tolerated. Quite apart from the moral meaning of the hostage taking as an act in itself, the storming of the U.S. embassy in Teheran has taken on a political significance which symbolizes the worldwide crisis of the American Empire, and has become the focus of heightened superpower contention. The so far successful attempt by the Bani-Sadr regime to walk the “Third Camp” tightrope is the most politically significant development in world politics since the rise of the Nonaligned movement. The objective

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Chief Jimmy Stevens (center) with members of Vemarana's provisional government

LIBERTY IN PARADISE?

By Williamson Evers

The island had the lazy beauty of a scene from the Rodgers and Hammerstein movie-musical "South Pacific." But the natives were restless. Differing in culture and politics from a new central regime about to be inaugurated in Port Vila on the distant island of Efate, the inhabitants of Espiritu Santo on May 28 rose up, captured the local colonial commissioner, and seized the local radio station to proclaim their independence.

NA-GRIAMEL

Espiritu Santo is the largest island in the New Hebrides — a group of 180 islands scattered over 500 miles of ocean, jointly controlled by Britain and France since 1906. The leading political group in the New Hebrides is the British-oriented Vanuaaku Party, led by Anglican priest Walter Lini. He espouses a vague variety of Third World socialism. In contrast, the dominant party on Espiritu Santo is Na-Griamel, led by Jimmy Stevens, an inspiring leader of mixed ancestry, part-Scottish, part-New Hebridean, and part-Tongan. Stevens favors a quasi-libertarian regime and separation of Santo and other northern islands from the central government. Stevens sums up Na-Griamel's culturally separatist attitude by saying: "Vila is Vila, Santo is Santo — different language, different customs."

Land is the fundamental political issue in the New Hebrides. Although Europeans constitute a tiny 3% of the population, they hold 36% of the land. Many European land titles have their origins in conquest or fraudulent land deals.

Na-Griamel began in the early 1960's as a "cargo cult" headquartered on Santo. These cults sprang up in the South Seas after the influx of modern goods and equipment during World War II. Their adherents believe that cargoes of modern goods will, some day, return to the islands from the skies.

Na-Griamel's original political program was to reclaim over 400,000 acres of land held by the Societe Francaise des Nouvelles Hebrides — a

company in which the French government has substantial shares. According to new-country promoter Michael Oliver, ten years ago Stevens' plans included dispossessing the British and French plantation owners and giving the land back to the natives. In contrast — according to John Hospers, writing in the October 1979 *Reason* — Na-Griamel has been willing to sell a small amount of land to foreigners. The bulk of the land would not be alienated to foreigners, but would be available to foreign concessionaires on a lease basis. Na-Griamel was able to get back some land by negotiating with the French. Thereafter Stevens and Na-Griamel became pro-French. According to *Reason* magazine editor Robert Poole, who once visited the New Hebrides because of his interest in new country projects, the Na-Griamel has at present accommodated itself to the existing pattern of land holdings and is trusted by the French-speaking Europeans, who predominate among the islands' several thousand white residents.

Jimmy Stevens was the first politician in the New Hebrides to call for independence. He first demanded it in 1968; he then made appeals to the United Nations and visited with French officials in Paris in 1975. In the early 1970's, however, came the growth of a rival party called Vanuaaku centered in the southern islands. Vanuaaku came into existence in reaction to a new wave of foreign land purchases in the islands. Its program, from the beginning, included the prevention of subdivision sales and a rule that only native Melanesians be allowed to vote. The policy of the Vanuaaku Party is immediate return of all disputed alienated land to Melanesian control, with the reclaimed to be owned by the local governments, not by individuals.

Apparently the hope of the Na-Griamel movement is that by holding onto perpetual title to the land, a new government could be financed by feudal-type quit-rents for use of the land by foreign investors, and conventional taxes could thus be dispensed with.

The program and constitution of Na-Griamel is rather libertarian in rhetoric. But it is difficult to predict what the institutional realities will be if Santo and the other islands successfully secede. A combined territorial state and proprietary community of the sort planned by Stevens is fraught with difficulties — especially in such delicate legal matters as civil liberties and the content of the criminal code.

Oliver, Stevens' chief American advisor, would outlaw psychotropic drugs and would repress anyone who advocated violence or was friendly to his new country's foes. Certainly Oliver's plans to curtail free speech will be important if there is warfare between the southern and northern islands. Furthermore, Oliver and Hospers label the Vanuaaku nationalists as Moscow-inspired and communists. Oliver says: "If Walter Lini becomes prime minister of the New Hebrides on July 30, the Russians will move in almost immediately and establish a naval base there." Hospers presents a rather unlikely scenario in which Cubans arrive disguised as tourists and take over the islands.

How should libertarians respond to new country projects and secession movements? Recent efforts of this sort have sparked conflicts around the world. Katanga, Biafra, Bangladesh, Eritrea, Ogaden — the names remind us of bitter warfare in obscure jungles and deserts. All were wars of secession. Peoples were seeking to escape the grasp of a central authority run by those of a different race, tribe, or religion. As Hospers puts it: "When Nigeria ceased to be a [colony] and the European legal system departed, thousands of Ibo tribesmen were slaughtered because they were a minority in a nation that was now governed by a majority hostile to them. The Hausas governed, and they also governed the Ibos against their wills. The same could happen in the New Hebrides."

GREAT POWER RIVALRY

Libertarians are strong believers in the right to secede. This is why libertarians have already spoken out in

defense of Na-Griamel's efforts to withdraw from the colonial boundaries of the New Hebrides. The prospect of another Biafra — the horrible possibility suggested by Hospers — is something that has already mobilized libertarians. The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) led a demonstration at the British consulate in San Francisco to protest against British intervention in the New Hebrides. And more demonstrations will undoubtedly follow, if the occasion warrants it.

The French government is, in principle, opposed to secession; but its local officials, and even its foreign ministry in Paris, have often given a nod of sympathy to Na-Griamel. After the rebellion broke out, the French briefly sent in riot troops, but then quickly withdrew them, saying that all was calm. Then the British sent in marines, who were snubbed by local French officials. Thus, side-by-side with the domestic troubles in the New Hebrides, is great-power meddling. Britain and Australia (only 850 miles away) have as allies the Vanuaaku party. France has Na-Griamel as its friends. It is this rivalry, rather than the prospect of a Soviet invasion, that gives tensions in the New Hebrides an international flavor. In addition, Britain has enlisted the United States government both to provide refueling stops for British troop transports and to investigate and possibly prosecute those American private citizens who have helped Na-Griamel.

Libertarians will protest Britain's revival of a policy of colonialism and empire. We will also protest American support for such British ventures. But we will do so, at this point, in the name of the right of secession. Here we have a case just like the various left- and right-wing Katangan groups that have tried, in the past, to lead that province out of Zaire.

The genuinely libertarian impulses of the Na-Griamel movement must be defended and applauded. However, two factors must be considered: Na-Griamel's position on the land question, and the politics of Mike Oliver's libertarian "new country" movement.

First of all, for a Third World libertarian movement to advocate anything less than returning stolen native land to the rightful owners is a political betrayal of major proportions. The land question is the question as far as the Third World is concerned — where colonial or native elites expropriated the ground right out from under the peasants' feet. The radical libertarian position — give it back to the rightful owners in the form of individually-owned plots — could spark a mass movement. The Marxist version of "land reform" — which involves corraling peasants into gigantic state-owned farms — has succeeded because virtually all other political tendencies have failed to address the issue. As they ride into power on the coat-tails of a popular rebellion against a colonial/feudal system — often promising to "return the land to the people" — Third World leftists live in perpetual fear of so-called "backward elements." The great enemy of Third World central planners has always been the peasantry — the small farmers and agrarian

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SAY NO TO DRAFT REGISTRATION

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status. And this time around the Selective Service System is promising much tighter CO guidelines. It is important that resistance advocates put pressure on CCCO and other draft counseling organizations to offer resistance as a viable option in their counseling.

Both conferences came out with a similar set of recommendations for anti-draft coalitions around the country:

1. A call for mass demonstrations and picket lines at post offices on the first day of registration.
2. Recognition that many participating organizations would be urging non-compliance with registration and that the conferences supported their right to do so.
3. A call for a week of teach-ins in mid-October.
4. A call for a national anti-draft conference December in the midwest.
5. West Coast only: Recognition that many participating individuals would be engaging in civil disobedience actions to show opposition to the draft (but specifically not simultaneous with mass actions).

Both conferences also came out with resolutions supporting various types of outreach (youth, women, taxpayers, labor, etc.) as well as espousing various points of view on the draft and related issues. Most participants were surprisingly careful to not step on anyone else's political toes, with sectarian positions and resolutions taking positions on other issues (e.g. nukes, "economic conscription", etc.) getting little support. This attitude was welcomed by veteran organizers who had seen many a coalition torn apart by these issues.

THE QUESTION OF RESISTANCE

The area of sharpest disagreement among anti-draft forces is the question of whether or not to openly advocate resistance (i.e. non-compliance with registration). Because of this debate, neither conference took a stand endorsing resistance, but they supported people's rights to resist or advocate resistance. Resistance opponents have many different reasons for opposing the advocacy of resistance — none of them very convincing.

Anti-draft groups like the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) and the National Lawyers Guild are promoting draft counseling, individual legal challenges, and urging conscientious objector status. They believe that since resistance is against the law and is therefore an important personal decision, they should not try to convince someone to make that decision.

While this idea may seem to have merit, it quickly breaks down under close scrutiny. During the Vietnam War, less than ten percent of those who applied for Conscientious Objector (CO) status received it — and receiving CO status was no guarantee you would not be sent to Vietnam and killed. Compare this with the 250 who were convicted, out of the estimated one million who failed to register. Indeed, going to Canada was preferred by many to trying for CO

status. And this time around the Selective Service System is promising much tighter CO guidelines.

It is important that resistance advocates put pressure on CCCO and other draft counseling organizations to offer resistance as a viable option in their counseling.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has taken a position close to that of the counseling groups, but has been much more loose with statements about the "massive numbers of young people" they expect to resist.

Most of the Marxist-Leninist grouplets have taken positions against or, at best, neutral, on resistance. Many of them actually advocate that anti-war activists go into the military without a fight and organize to subvert from within. This position has definitely not captured the hearts of other anti-draft organizers.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), one of the most active groups in past and current anti-war movements, asserts it will only support resistance if, and when, it becomes a mass movement. This is a self-defeating prophecy since only those two weeks of registration will tell how massive the movement is. By the time they decide, it will be too late. (At the end of the Vietnam War draft, when 25 percent of all new 18-year olds were not registering, the SWP took the same line — apparently 25 percent was not massive enough for them.) During World War II, the SWP favored the draft to stop Nazism. With the passage of registration, the SWP is stuck in the same position as the liberals: with demonstrations to build but nothing of substance to offer as a program for action.

During the Vietnam War, liberals had something to say: stop the war. But with peacetime conscription they have no substantive suggestion about what to do to stop the draft. The best they can offer is to lobby for repeal and to suggest that young people might think about seeing a draft counselor before they register. They also come up with schemes like "Register for Peace" and newspaper ads urging people to register their opposition by writing to the Selective Service or Carter!

Liberals (and some rightwing "libertarians") almost always stop short of advocating — or even discussing — resistance. Awed by the law, these types are no match for the rising war hysteria. Even though most people arrested for advocating draft resistance during the Vietnam war were acquitted, they cannot bring themselves to oppose the draft consistently and effectively. They argue that a penalty of five years in jail plus a \$10,000 fine is far too great a risk to take. Thus, their prediction becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy as they wait — in vain — for "authentic forces" to come forward spontaneously. In this way, liberals and their Democratic Party allies — as well as some rightwing quasi-libertarians and even a few Marxists — serve as a brake on the much-awaited "mass movement" against the draft.

The major goal of liberal involve-

ment in the anti-draft movement is to recruit activists for liberal Democratic Party campaigns. Of course, they don't like to talk about the fact that it was a Democratic Congress that passed the registration bill, with most major opposition coming from Republicans.

Another group of anti-draft activists (consisting of liberals and some Marxists) say they don't support resistance because only a few will refuse to register and those who do will almost definitely go to jail. While they correctly recognize the fact that the anti-draft movement is fragmented and small, they fail to recognize that many will resist without ever being contacted by anti-draft activists. Most intelligent political and military analysts have stated, during the two-year long public debate on the draft, that they expected massive numbers to resist. Last year, before

out of high moral convictions, it should be obvious that most people will make such a decision based solely upon what is good for them. We should not be afraid to appeal to people's self-interest

Some advocates of resistance feel that the best way to get the word out is to commit acts of civil disobedience at Post Offices and elsewhere. They feel that if young people see older people breaking the law for moral principles, they will be inspired to their own act of courage — resistance. They also mistakenly believe that most young people make such a decision from a moral/political/religious perspective, rather than from a self-serving one.

In addition, isolated acts of civil disobedience tie up anti-draft activists in unimportant legal battles without really accomplishing anything that will concretely stop registration. In



National Resistance Committee member Monte Krel pledges to resist draft registration, at a San Francisco press conference.

the crises in Iran and Afghanistan, many pro-draft Congressmen stated openly that they were afraid that registration would bring on an open confrontation with millions of young Americans.

Resistance is the ONLY viable alternative to registration.

Of all ways being promoted to personally avoid the draft, it has the lowest risk and highest chance of success [see "Why You Shouldn't Register"] it is also the only strategy that has a chance of actually shutting down the registration system. If enough people don't register, the system will be unable to function effectively, and support for registration will dwindle. It is also the only strategy which actively and effectively confronts state power — by asserting the individual's right to self-ownership, the very basis of libertarian thought.

Many advocates of resistance are divided over the how and why of getting the message across. Groups like the War Resisters League (WRL) and many religious and pacifist groups encourage resistance mainly as a moral/political statement rather than a self-serving tactic to avoid the draft. While it is very noble to resist

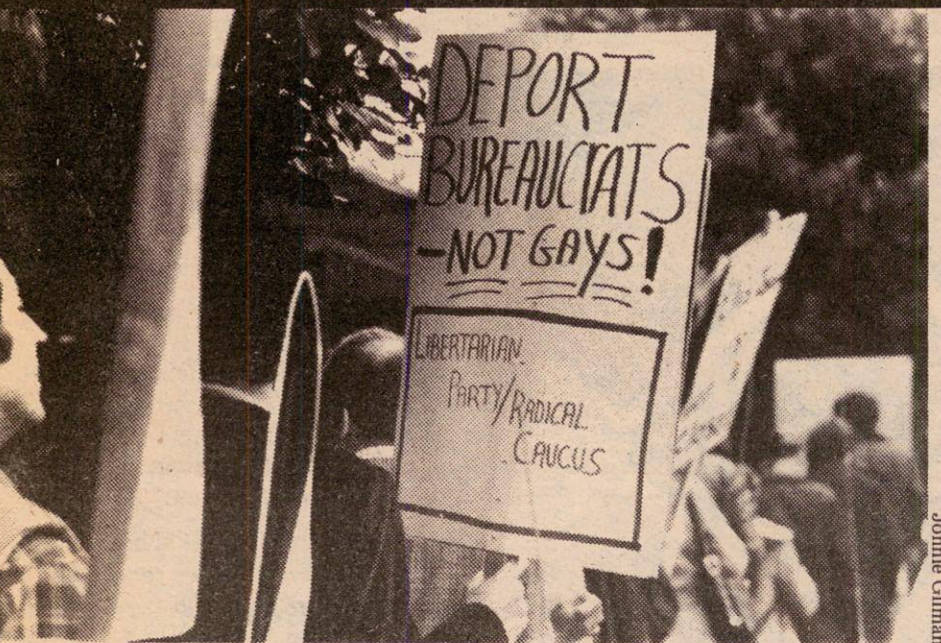
fact, some CD actions, such as sitting down in front of a Post Office entrance, would tend to alienate young people who had not yet made up their minds before they went to the Post Office (i.e., the demonstrators would be viewed as stopping people from 'voluntarily registering').

Under close examination, the motive of most advocates of CD tends to be self-indulgence. Feeling incapable of stopping the draft, they feel compelled to make 'the ultimate sacrifice,' going to jail. While the LPRC supports the right of anyone to engage in CD, we feel it is a waste of valuable resources that could be spent actively fighting registration effectively. CD actions by religious and pacifist groups will take place with or without our support, and we should turn the attention of the anti-draft movement toward effectively promoting resistance to the broadest possible range of people.

It is important to work with as broad a coalition as possible, and keep conflicts to a minimum. It is important to continue to work with non-resistance groups in building mass actions. (At those actions it should be obvious who has a real program

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CUBAN GAYS FLEE RED TERROR



Joanne Gilman

In order to divert attention away from the stark reality of chronic shortages — and economic disaster — the Castro regime has unleashed an anti-gay campaign on a scale which somewhat ironically, right-wing homophobes in the U.S. might very well envy.

"Even though in our country homosexuals are not persecuted or harassed," says the government newspaper, *Granma*, with a straight face: "there are quite a few of them in the embassy grounds, aside from all those involved in gambling and drugs who have no easy outlet for their vices here." It is estimated that at least one thousand out of the ten thousand crammed into the Peruvian embassy were gay. The April 17 front page editorial went on to say:

A demanding attitude, discipline and rigor are in contradiction to complacency, crime, loafing and parasitism. Our working people are of the opinion: Let them go, the loafers, the antisocial and lumpen elements, the criminals and the scum!

Homophobia is a major theme of Fidel's propaganda campaign against "anti-social" elements eager to leave. The "spontaneous" anti-*gusano* demonstrations organized by the government sported many anti-gay slogans. The front page of *Juventud Rebelde*, the Communist youth daily, featured a photo of a *gusano* [slang for refugee, literally "worm"] being burned in effigy — with the word "homosexual" emblazoned across it.

Of course, only the most abject apologists for Cuban socialism — an unsavory assortment of "liberal" intellectuals, Stalinists, and Trotskyists — are surprised by Fidel's attempt to outdo both Anita Bryant and John Briggs. The infamous UMAP [Military Units to Aid Production] camps set up by the Cuban government — where tens of thousands of gays, some as young as sixteen, were imprisoned — are the "queen's tank" of the Cuban Gulag. According to an account published in the *Washington Blade*, close to 14,000 gays have been locked up in these special concentration camps. Many have died due to malnutrition, abuse, and back-breaking slave labor — conditions which, according to the Communists, "turn them into men." Torture is routine in such establishments; one black gay man, Ignacio Gonzalez, was tied naked to a fence overnight in an area thick with giant mosquitoes. The following morning, he was brutally beaten by ten officers. His crime? He had picked up a burning cigarette butt tossed away by the prison commander.

The plight of Cuban gays is further dramatized by the hostility of both the Communists and the Carter administration — Castro wants them out, and Carter isn't quite sure what he's going to do with them. All unmarried men arriving from Mariel are immediately shipped to Port Chaffee, Florida. Gays are segregated from the others, after being identified, allegedly "for their own protection." In light of recent attempts by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to intercept gay visitors to this country — and in view of the Carter administration's indifference to the pleas of gay Democrats — the future of gay Cuban refugees seems dubious, at best. There is no reason to believe that gay immigrants from Cuba are going to receive better treatment than gay immigrants from anywhere else.

Whether or not the notoriously anti-gay INS bureaucracy moves to deport Cuban gays, those who do get through will soon learn that their battle is far from over. Laws against homosexual acts, "raids" on gay establishments, vicious police repression — all of these things will continue to threaten their very existence. In a sense, in spite of their escape from Fidel's island prison, nothing has really changed for Cuba's gay refugees. In the U.S., as in Cuba, they are at the mercy of an inherently hostile state apparatus.

Government has always been the mortal enemy of gay people — a fact which gay socialists ignore at their peril. But how long can they ignore the UMAP camps, the verified accounts of systematic round-ups and torture, the virulently anti-gay campaign now being waged by the Cuban government?

The dull, grey uniformity of a socialist society is inimical to the interests of gay people. The mass exodus of gays from Castro's egalitarian hell is proof enough of that. □

CUBAN EXODUS

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of the superpowers, the prospects for a genuine fight against imperialism in the area have so far been co-opted.

American support for Haitian dictator Duvalier, as well as U.S. colonial policy in Puerto Rico, have made it clear to the people of the region just who is the main danger to peace and national self-determination in the Caribbean. Carter's betrayal of the Cuban refugees demonstrates to authentic anti-communist revolutionary elements — those fighting Michael Manley's Fidelista-style "New Jewel Movement" in Jamaica, and others — that America is not their friend. In fact, the U.S. ruling elite — which objectively supports leftist regimes by aiding rightwing military elements, thus generating Marxist co-optation of anti-colonial movements — is their single greatest enemy. The fate of the Cuban refugees symbolizes the treachery of Washington, and the utter cynicism of the current Cold Warrior administration.

On June 2, the Carter administration — capitulating to racist pressure during an election year — initiated its new "get tough" policy: when the Panamanian freighter *Red Diamond* arrived in Miami, 74 out of the 731 passengers were arrested. This is the first time anyone but the captains of such vessels have been arrested. If convicted, each faces up to a year in jail and a \$1000 fine. On the same day, fifty-three boats arrived in Key West — the latest wave of the "Freedom Flotilla" — with an unprecedented 6,259 refugees. As for those who participated in the Port Chaffee rebellion — where Cuban-style concentration camp conditions were reproduced by the U.S. authorities — President Carter has asked the Justice department to deport them. Echoing Castro's line, Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd said: "The United States must not become a dumping ground for criminals. The rioters must be identified, arrested, and deported."

The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) demands complete amnesty for all the Cuban refugees — in fact, we call for completely unrestricted immigration. Unlike some Libertarian Party politicians, we do not raise this demand as a distant goal to be realized in some utopian "perfect society"; we are calling for an immediate opening of the borders as well as unconditional amnesty for all so-called "illegal aliens" currently residing in the U.S. The racist, morally indefensible arguments of statist like Senator Byrd play right into Castro's hands; it is ironic that an alleged

"anti-communist" hardline conservative Senator is singing the same tune as *Granma*.

The Cuban exodus not only dramatizes the worldwide failure of socialism to produce anything but material and moral deprivation, it also reveals the moral corruption of American political leaders. The refugee's hopelessly naive vision of an America that no longer exists — if, indeed, it ever existed — is the most tragic, and moving, aspect of this whole sorry episode. *The New York Times* story by Edward Schumacher reports the following:

At 6:00 P.M., more than 10 hours after leaving Mariel, one of the refugees shouted from the starboard side, "land." The others rushed to the sideboard. Ahead was the faint outline of Key West.

Mr. Fernandez grinned broadly, grabbing the hand of a friend. "I'm going to start a new life," he said joyously. Then his eyes watered and his voice broke.

"I've been fighting so many years for this to come," he stammered. "I cannot believe that finally I am here. This country is accepting me with open arms." [5/20/80]

Mr. Fernandez' vision of a free America is worth fighting for — even though that vision has been blurred and betrayed by nearly two centuries of statist counter-revolution. The battle for open borders is, today, the cutting edge of the larger struggle to roll back the State — not only in the case of the Cuban refugees, but also on behalf of Mexicans who come to live and work in this country. Half measures — such as raising the immigration quotas while allowing the machinery of bigotry to remain intact — would be worse than maintaining the status quo. The ugly repression essential to the immigration system is inherently racist, and cannot be "reformed". Only the immediate abolition of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the repeal of all legislation restricting travel both to and from this country, can solve the problem humanely.

Jimmy Carter's callous disregard for simple human decency — and his repulsive attempt to use the refugees as pawns in a global game of Cold War — has earned him nothing but the nearly unanimous contempt of the Mexican-American community. As the leftists scramble to cover up the crimes of Fidel Castro, only the Libertarian Party is actively fighting for the rights of Cuban refugees — and only the Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) is calling for the immediate abolition of the INS without any ands, ifs, or buts about it. □



LD

LIBERTY IN PARADISE?

(continued from page 6)

workers who are "backward" enough to consider Marxist, European colonial, or native feudal landlords' claims to their land equally invalid. Na-Griamel's apparent capitulation on this fundamental question amounts to buying off the French in order to oppose the British — and paying a considerable price in terms of potential domestic support. Perhaps this is why Lini's party polled 68% of the vote in the last election; the struggle between Vanuaku and Stevens' Moderate Party Coalition at the polls may well have been perceived by some natives as Melanesian nationalism versus French colonial interests.

Secondly, there is the question of Mike Oliver's role in Na-Griamel. Oliver's history as a libertarian is, largely, the history of the so-called "new country" concept. Spawning during our movement's adolescence, several utopian communities have, been announced by promoters, from time to time. There was "Minerva" — another Mike Oliver production, which involved building an island sanctuary on top of a Pacific coral reef. Another was the Abaco caper, which was an abortive version of the *Espiritu Santo* affair — set somewhere in the Bahamas, with muchless indigenous support and local organization.

CRITICAL SUPPORT

The strategic vision of Oliver and his "new country" movement leaves much to be desired, to say the least. The fact that, apparently, some libertarians are utilizing Leonard Wibberly's *The Mouse That Roared* as a strategic manifesto would seem

funny, if it weren't so tragic — or so public. Oliver's claims that the USSR is about to take over the New Hebrides do nothing to enhance his movement's credibility — just as the rather vague, somewhat right-wing politics of Oliver and his associates hurt, rather than help the cause of Na-Griamel.

Although Oliver and his right-wing libertarian friends in the U.S. seem to think that the Soviet Union is the main danger to Na-Griamel, they will soon learn otherwise — if and when the U.S. government takes action on threats to prosecute Americans involved in the rebellion.

The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) will actively oppose any attempt by the U.S. government to nip the international Libertarian movement in the bud — just as we will continue to oppose both British and French attempts to prolong their colonial rule. We support Na-Griamel's secessionist aims, and we give critical support to what appears to be a genuinely indigenous libertarian movement with significant support from the natives.

But the politics of the American "new country" movement are utopian and confused. An attempt to build a libertarian — or quasi-libertarian — community in isolation from the real world is virtually doomed from the start. There is no way to run away from statism by setting up shop on a Pacific atoll; the enemy must be confronted, and defeated, on a worldwide scale. Although we hope that the Na-Griamel movement does not end in tragedy, such a turn of events is entirely possible. □



Joanne Gilman

THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

(continued from page 2)

political consequences of Iranian intransigence in the face of the "Carter Doctrine" — and their insistence that the U.S. acknowledge its primary responsibility for the crisis — has served as an inspiration to those seeking independence from superpower domination all over the world. One does not have to support the act of taking hostages to support the sentiments of the Iranian people — and people all over the Third World — in this regard.

The revolutionary upsurge in the Third World — from Puerto Rico to Arabistan — is shaking the world statist order to its very foundations. Both superpowers — but especially the biggest superpower of them all,

threatened by a movement which is fast achieving global proportions. Because both superpowers have an interest in defining the parameters of world politics in terms of superpower contention, they have tended to discount the possibility of an independent third force; not another nation-state, but an international trend toward local autonomy. The revolutions in, for example, Kurdistan, Palestine, Puerto Rico, and Eritrea, are, perhaps, the first rays of a new dawn. The hegemony of the superpowers must be broken; the smooth functioning of the international statist system must be disrupted. A world of predatory superpowers is no place for a libertarian society, no matter where libertarianism takes hold first. That is why the Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) defends the United States — see their interests (continued on page 15)

WE'RE BUILDING A MOVEMENT



Joanne Gilman

The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) — after a year of rapid growth — has reached a new level of ideological and organizational maturity. The new LPRC National office (photo above) also operates a bookstore — and this is just one of several new tasks. A new, re-designed *Libertarian Vanguard*; the addition of full-time staff assigned to building local LPRC organizations; a regularly-published internal discussion bulletin; and especially our plans for publishing a series of pamphlets dealing with aspects of libertarian political theory and practice — all of these things mean that the radical libertarian movement is alive, and well, and ready for the 80's.

The libertarian movement is at a crossroads. On the one hand, history could repeat itself — and the vision of liberty could be sold out once again, as in the case of the early libertarian movement (and the American Revolution itself). On the other hand, we could establish libertarianism as a viable, consistent alternative to the varieties of statism — by building an international movement on a firm theoretical basis. While the LPRC is an activist organization, the theoretical development of our movement — which has, so far, been uneven and inadequate — is the most significant aspect of our activities. One of our goals is to make the books and pamphlets issued by Vanguard Publications the focus of an ongoing discus-

sion within our movement on the prospects for liberty and the present balance of world forces.

The LPRC has been increasingly active in the burgeoning anti-war/anti-draft movement — and growing crowds at anti-draft marches and conferences snap up *Libertarian Vanguard* faster than we can print it. But our circulation can never grow fast enough — and it can't grow without your support. If you have been wondering what you can concretely do to build the radical libertarian movement, then you should seriously consider becoming a *Libertarian Vanguard* distributor. You pay 8¢ per copy (4¢ if you're a high school or college student) and keep every quarter you take in. We'll send bundles Federal Express, UPS, First class and Third class mail — all you have to do is indicate your preference on the coupon provided below.

Libertarian Vanguard Sustainers — those who contribute \$100 or more, either all at once or in monthly \$10 installments — get all LPRC publications free, and are entitled to ten free gift subscriptions for friends and family. If you're hardcore, you'll consider it. Without material support from LPRC cadre and sympathizers the radical libertarian movement will cease to exist as an independent political force. Our goal is to make our Sustainers program the backbone of the newspaper — and the movement. □

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In the midst of superpower contention for world domination, the Cuban exodus — during which over one hundred thousand people have fled Fidel Castro's "worker's paradise" so far — is symbolic of the utter disregard for human life which characterize the actions of both superpowers. Consigned to play the role of pawns in a Cold War propaganda showdown, these Cuban refugees are being doubly victimized; both Jimmy Carter and Fidel Castro must share moral responsibility for the flood of human misery which has washed up on the Florida coastline.

NAPOLEONIC SOCIALISM

Although moral responsibility for what has become a cataclysm on the scale of an earthquake or a flood must be shared, in this case it should not be equally shared. It is Fidel Castro — and his American admirers — who are the guilty. The completely uncritical attitude of the so-called "progressive" left in this country to the disastrous consequences of Cuban socialism is the moral equivalent of ignoring the Gulag. Stalin is probably smiling 10 feet under as American leftists rise to the defense of Cuba, even in the wake of so much suffering.

The expulsion of so many refugees — Castro's response to an acutely embarrassing situation, where political dissidents had taken refuge in the Peruvian embassy — is seen by many as an intended safety-valve employed to defuse a potentially revolutionary situation. The weakness of the Castro regime — held together only by the Napoleonic presence of Fidel himself — is located in the imminent collapse of the Cuban economy. The failure of Cuban socialism to provide even the bare necessities — food, shelter, clothing — is something one does not read about in the liberal/left press. The next time you read some artsy paen to the "gains" of the Cuban revolution, remember the words of Gaspar Fernandez, a thirty-two year old accountant with a degree in economics: "I have been trying to leave Cuba since I was a teenager," said Fernandez, whose father spent 19 years in one of Castro's concentration camps. "Communism is hunger, misery, and destruction. I saw the Peruvian Embassy as finally my one great opportunity. I had not one doubt when I went there."

In a world communist movement which has lost its ideological bearings, Fidel's brand of Napoleonic socialism is the bloodiest — and, in certain "progressive" circles, the most fashionable. Cuban troops in Ethiopia have been helping to keep the Marxist military junta in power — and have aided the Ethiopian junta, known as the "Dergue", in putting down secessionist movements in Eritrea and Somalia. The Eritrean struggle for secession is a particularly bitter affair. As far as the Eritreans are concerned, the Cubans are simply the latest in a long line of invaders; Fidel is merely the modern equivalent of Mussolini.

Cuba's Vietnam-style Ethiopian adventure has drained what is left of the Cuban economy — and provided fertile ground for the growth of an

anti-communist underground movement on the island itself. It is this growing, indigenous movement that forced Castro to forego the routine Berlin Wall approach and permit a massive exodus.

CUBAN EXODUS



EXODUS

Castro's attempt to turn defeat into a gain has backfired in his face; perhaps if the Cuban government could have known that close to 10% of Cuba's population would vote with their feet, they would have not been so quick to trumpet the new "revolution is a voluntary task" line. By April 14th, 10,800 people were jammed into the grounds of the Peruvian embassy in Havana. Alarmed by what might have become the focal point of a revolutionary upsurge, Cuban police surrounded the embassy. In response, eighteen Cu-

"I've been trying to leave Cuba since I was a teenager," said Fernandez, whose father spent nineteen years in one of Castro's concentration camps. 'Communism is hunger, misery, and destruction. I saw the Peruvian embassy as finally my one great opportunity. I had not one doubt when I went there.'"

bans commandeered a bus and crashed through the embassy gates, killing one Cuban guard. It was then that Castro announced all "social misfits, criminals, and homosexuals" were free to leave.

But it wasn't that easy. All refugees

all to see the calluses, "are these the working hands of scum?" (*New York Times*; 5/20/80.)

Of course, President Carter was quick to pull the situation into the context of the Cold War revival. Pious declarations emanating from Washington soon hardened into a complicated set of conditions — clearly unconcerned with the actual fate of the refugees, Carter's manipulations added to their plight.

After a fleet of several thousand private vessels had carried more than forty thousand Cubans to the U.S., Carter ordered an end to the boatlift. A Coast Guard blockade has been set up to prevent rescue boats from leaving from the Cuban port of Mariel. But, of course, that did not stop these new Americans from seeking the shores of their spiritual homeland. As *The New York Times* reported on May 20: "More than 1200 American boats were in Mariel harbor when the President ordered them to come back without refugees. Hardly any of them obeyed."

The Cuban government — in a propaganda counter-attack which reached new heights of cynical hypocrisy — printed T-shirts saying, in Spanish, such things as "Visas Yes, Fines No.", referring to the question of granting visas to the refugees and fining the boat captains. That the rulers of the Caribbean Gulag were able to turn the ideological tables on the U.S. in this regard is just another dramatization of how far down the statist road we have come. The ideological convergence of the superpowers is not just an abstraction — for the fifteen Cubans who perished at sea, it was a deadly reality. Caught inbetween repression and a blockade, these heroic people had no choice: for them, there was no turning back. Braving unsafe conditions at sea, as well as the Coast Guard, these people defied the elements and the State to seek a better life.

LET THEM IN!

When over eight hundred Cuban refugees rioted, protesting the dehumanizing conditions prevalent in the refugee barracks, no one was surprised. Confronted by organized racist protests all over Florida — which demanded an end to the boatlift, on the grounds that the refugees would take "American" jobs — and bewildered by the bureaucratic nightmare they seem to have stumbled into, the Cubans are impatient for freedom. If they are surprised that the treatment they are receiving isn't qualitatively different, it is clear that they have much more than the language to learn.

Carter's blockade is just one aspect of the new Cold War in the Caribbean and Central American states. Although an already war-weakened Cuba is incapable of carrying out the Fidelista's Napoleonic ambitions, U.S. support of outright fascists like Somoza has resulted in the Nicaragua revolution (and its possible betrayal; see the International News column elsewhere in this issue.) as well as upsurges in El Salvador and Guatemala. The Caribbean is also a hotbed of revolution, and counter-revolution; but since all forces line up with one

(continued on page 10)

were taken to Cuban Army camp near Mariel (known as "El Mosquito"); if the male head of a household chose to leave, then all of the property in that household was confiscated by the government. All personal property — furniture, watches, even clothing — was taken by the state, and could not be given to friends or family. Brutality and racism was the rule in "El Mosquito", as Tomas Calle, a 43-year old black automobile refinisher made very plain. "They called me scum," recounts Tomas:

"But look," he said, holding up his passport for the others on the boat to see, where does it say scum here? And look," he continued, holding up his hands for