

Libertarian Party (RC)
1988

LIBERTARIAN PARTY (RC)
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Survey

continued from page 16

The only other significant aspect of that interview is Alicia Clark's position on some mechanism to make the presidential candidate accountable to the LP. "I don't agree on having National controlling the campaign," says Ms. Clark. "Once all the national delegates elect the candidate, we have to trust him." She then goes on to outline a vague plan whereby "let's say two-thirds of the national delegates" could recall a candidate.

In spite of Guida's attempt to portray himself as the "moderate" critic of the Clark campaign, his proposals for making the presidential candidate accountable to the LP amount to a more practical version of the same thing—a presidential candidate who can ignore the platform, the National Committee, and the LP itself if he or she so chooses. Just as it is almost certain that any move to "recall" a candidate would be unsuccessful, so it is even more certain that a Committee on Principle, its members to be chosen by the candidate—as Guida recommends in his letter—would serve as a rubber stamp, largely after the fact. Both Mr. Guida and Ms. Clark are proposing "centralist" and "decentralist" versions of the same thing. Organizationally, their proposals would have the same consequences: a presidential candidate free to thumb his or her nose at an increasingly disgruntled and disinterested LP membership. Politically, both Kent Guida and Alicia Clark are staunch defenders of the Clark campaign, and are reluctant to criticize the "low-tax liberal" placebo offered up by the campaign.

CRITICAL SUPPORT TO MASON

The Central Committee of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus endorses John Mason for National Chairman of the LP, critically and conditionally. Critically, because John Mason is not an LPRC member—and conditionally, because our continued support depends entirely upon his willingness and ability to implement his program. Although we cannot take political responsibility for John Mason's future positions, we are recommending to our members and supporters that they campaign and vote for Mason. We are particularly impressed with Mason's evaluation of the Clark campaign. In a recent interview published as "John Mason On The Issues," Mason is asked "What do you think of Kent Guida's attack on Ed Clark in his letter to the convention delegates?" Mason replies:

In his letter, Guida criticized Clark's statements on immigration policy, his suggestions that Japan and Western Europe spend more on their military, and his handling of inflation and the business cycle as "missed oppor-

tunities," "waffling," and "misleading" and "incomplete" statements.

The basic problem with Guida's criticisms is that they are solely directed at slips that Clark himself made on the hectic campaign trail. Guida neglects the fundamental problem of the Clark campaign: the basic strategy of treating libertarianism as merely "low-tax liberalism," wooing only the tiny but flashy John Anderson constituency, of soft-peddling libertarian criticisms of the welfare state, and of pretending that libertarians support the destruction of all nuclear power. This fundamental strategy was reflected in the news releases, the White Papers, and many of the national TV ads.

These problems are not something that Clark himself created. Instead, they were planned and carried out by the key Clark campaign decisionmakers in Washington, D.C., most of whom, by the way, have endorsed Guida.

If Mason says nothing else during the entire campaign, he should get the vote of every LPRC member simply on the strength of this statement alone. Here we see that a clear line of demarcation has been drawn, with Mason on one side, and Clark/Guida on the other. For the central issue in this campaign is the "low-tax liberalism" of the Clark debacle; the race for National Chair has become a popular referendum on this question, as well as on the more general question of the LP's future development.

Although Mason has come out for internal education programs, he has been maddeningly vague on this point, and we are eager for specifics. "Low-tax liberalism"—or "pro-peace conservatism," for that matter—cannot be wished out of existence. They will remain as obstacles in our path unless and until we can largely eliminate the sheer ignorance which these misconceptions literally feed on.

But any criticisms we may have of Mason pale into insignificance before the political reality of the situation we find ourselves in.

Until the LP makes a definitive break with opportunism, the political development and effectiveness of our movement will be distorted and derailed. Worse, if "low-tax liberalism" (and its twin brother, "pro-peace conservatism") maintain a dominant position, the LP will be well on its way to itself becoming an obstacle on the long, already tortuous road to liberty. This, it must be admitted, would be a disaster from which our movement may never recover. The prospects for Libertarianism, as an organized independent political force in world politics, would be considerably darker.

We cannot allow this to happen. John Mason's candidacy embodies the hope that this cannot and will not happen. □

BECOME A LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD SUSTAINER!

Will Ronald Reagan discredit the free market by associating it with militarism? Will "Low-Tax Liberalism" become a substitute for true libertarianism, as the opportunists in our movement rush to tail after the latest political fad?

The rise of the rightwing—from the Reagan victory, to the "Moral Majority" assault on civil liberties, and the "pro-life" campaign to outlaw abortions—is the single biggest threat to our movement. It means that we will have to fight even harder to preserve the integrity of our own movement at a time when a conservative administration is getting ready to intervene in the Third World—and at a time when opportunists in our own movement are busy tailing after the conservatives. In the aftermath of Reagan's victory—after Ed Clark's sell-out "low-tax liberal" campaign on behalf of the LP—it is more essential than ever before to preserve and expand the gains made by Libertarian Vanguard since 1979. You can help build the radical libertarian movement as an independent political force by:

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The
Spooks
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The
Spike



TEN YEARS LATER: AN ACTION PROGRAM FOR THE 80's



Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's vicious attack on the Palestinian people is being met with redoubled resistance.

Israeli Terrorism Sparks Crisis

by Bill Birmingham

Because we took the land, this gives us the image of being bad, of being aggressive. The Jews always considered that the land belonged to them, but in fact it belonged to the Arabs. I would go farther: I would say that the original source of the conflict lies with Israel, with the Jews—and you can quote me.

—General Yehoshafat Harkabi, IDF

A land without people, for a people without a land!

—Old Zionist slogan

As these quotations signify, the Zionist claim to Palestine has always rested on two assumptions: a) The Jews were "returning" to a country that had always been theirs, the historic Land of Israel, and b) The country didn't really belong to anybody—anybody important, that is. The widespread belief in the first assumption explains why the Jewish State was established in Palestine and not in Uganda (which Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, was at one point considering as a site for Jewish colonization). It also manifests itself in such phrases as "the rebirth of Israel"—equating the modern state with the ancient kingdom—and the Israeli "Law of Return" under which any Jew may claim Israeli citizenship. There would seem to be a few problems with this, however. Would Sammy Davis Jr., for example, really be "returning to the land of his ancestors" if he went to Israel under the Law of Return? It may be an exaggeration to say, as Arthur Koestler does in his book *The Thirteenth Tribe*, that the Jews of Europe are descended from the Khazars of tenth-century Turkey, but conversion was certainly more common than the mythologists of "return" assume. The problem becomes even more complicated when we consider the problem of tracing one's ancestry back over two thousand years. Indeed, as several commentators have remarked, the most likely place to find descendants of the ancient Hebrews is in Palestine itself. It is not impossible that Yasser Arafat has more Hebrew ancestry than Menachem Begin; certainly his features are more Semitic.

The "return" argument also glosses over an important consideration. Even assuming that Palestine belongs to "the Jews," which Jew owns what? To lay

claim to a particular piece of Arab-occupied land, the Zionist settler would have to not only trace his ancestry back to first-century Palestine, but back to the owner of the land in question. If he couldn't—and there is no record of any settler even trying to do so—the Arab living on it would have clear title. "The Jews always considered that the land belonged to them, but in fact it belonged to the Arabs."

That is where the myth of the "empty" land came in. The Zionists, says Dr. Edward Said, saw Palestine "as essentially empty of inhabitants not because there were no inhabitants... but because their status as sovereign and human inhabitants was systematically denied." In his *The Question of Palestine*, Said shows how the Zionists invoked "the moral epistemology of imperialism" to dismiss Arab Palestine as (in Herzl's words) "a plague-ridden, blighted corner of the Orient" to which Jewish colonists, as "representatives of Western civilization," would bring "cleanliness, order and the well-distilled customs of the Occident." Palestine was a "desert" which they would cause to bloom—and never mind the more than half a million Arabs who farmed this "desert." Albert Einstein once asked Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann (later president of Israel) "What about the Arabs if Palestine were given to the Jews?" And Weizmann answered: "What Arabs? They are hardly of any consequence."

REDEEMING THE LAND

We shall have to spirit the penniless population [of Palestine] across the border.... Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly.

—Theodor Herzl

Unless we want to deceive ourselves deliberately, we have to admit that we have thrown people out of their miserable lodgings and taken away their sustenance.

—HaShiloah, 1907

Making a desert bloom is hard work. One early Zionist settler, Moïse Smilansky, wrote of the founding of the Jewish township of Hadera in 1891 near an Arab village of the same name. "Hadera" means "green," the color of

the swamps where the Zionists proposed to build their colony. The Arabs warned that the area was rife with malaria, but the settlers wouldn't listen. "Surely we're not going to let ourselves be frightened off by Arab tales of fever?" they scoffed. "We needn't take our cue from barbarians!" The "barbarians," however, were right. The malaria came every summer and carried off appalling numbers of settlers. After five years they were about to abandon the project, but the Jewish philanthropist Baron de Rothschild provided funds to drain the swamps. Hundreds of Arab laborers, who "died in scores," dug the drainage ditches and thereafter the colony prospered.

There was also a minor problem with the neighbors: Bedouin tribesmen who had been accustomed to pasture their cattle and sheep on the land. But the Ottoman authorities scattered the tribesmen with a detachment of police, and "from that time on the work proceeded without disturbance." This episode according to David Hirst, was fairly typical of what came to be known as "the redemption of the land." "The draining of the swamps was not accomplished through their superior skill, as compared with that of the native 'barbarians,' but through the aid of superior funds. Characteristic, too, was the reliance of the settlers on the Turkish police for driving off neighbors whose livelihood they had put in jeopardy." (*The Gun and the Olive Branch*, p. 23)

Hadera was not the only peice of wasteland reclaimed by Zionist settlers, but for the most part, they built their colonies on land taken from Arab peasants. While the peasants were the rightful owners of the land on the Lockean grounds of cultivation and occupancy, in large areas of the country title was in the hands of the *effendi* class, absentee landlords who exacted rent from the peasants for the privilege of remaining on the land. Zionist organizations such as Keren Keymeth LeIsrael (the "Eternal Fund for Israel," also known as the Jewish National Fund) bought land from the *effendis* and evicted the peasants, building Jewish settlements where the Arab villages had stood. In 1973 Moshe Dayan recalled those days for an audience of Haifa students:

We came to this country, which was already populated by Arabs, and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is, a Jewish state there. In considerable areas of the country we bought the lands from the Arabs. Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these Arab villages, and I do not blame you, because these geography books no longer exist; not only do the books no longer exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahalal [Dayan's own village] arose in the place of Mahalul, Gevat—in the place of Jibta, [Kibbutz] Sarid—in the place of Tell Shaman. There is not one place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population.

So much for "making the desert bloom."

The charter of Keren Keymeth declares that the land it acquires is to be held as "the inalienable property of the Jewish people." It leased land only to Jews, and on condition that only Jewish workers would be employed to work it. It was, as John Hope Simpson put it in 1930, "extraterritorialized. It ceases to be land from which the Arab can gain any advantage either now or at any time in the future." The Jewish trade union *Histadrut* enforced this.

"We stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there," David Hachoen, former head of the *Histadrut*, said in 1969. His minions would also "pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes," and even "attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash the Arab eggs they bought." This the Zionists called "Jewish socialism." Herzl had claimed that the Arabs would prosper under Zionism: "It is their well-being, their individual wealth, which we will increase by bringing in our own." But thousands of Palestinian Arabs were left landless, destitute, and unemployed by the progress of Zionism, and their countrymen saw in their plight a warning of what they might expect from the coming Jewish State.

DIE JUDENSTAAT

Were I to sum up the Basle Congress in a word—which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish state.... If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years and certainly in fifty everyone will know it.

—Theodor Herzl, 1898

The first Zionist Congress, which met in Basle, Switzerland in 1897, declared that "Zionism seeks to obtain for the Jewish people a publicly recognized, legally sanctioned homeland in Palestine." For the next 45 years the Zionist establishment would stoutly deny any desire for a Jewish state, insisting that all they wanted was a homeland. The Balfour Declaration of 1917, which committed Great Britain to the Zionist cause, endorsed "a national home for the Jewish people." In 1911 the President of the World Zionist Organization suggested that "only those suffering from gross ignorance, or actuated by malice, could accuse us of the desire of establishing an independent Jewish kingdom."

But the Arabs were not convinced—and with good reason. In 1920 Herzl's disciple Max Nordau admitted that he had coined the term homeland "as a synonym for state.... It was equivocal but we all understood what it meant.... to us it signified 'Judenstaat' (Jewish state) and it signifies the same now." Ten years later Herzl's *Diaries* were published so that anyone who wished could read his evaluation of the Basle Congress. Chaim Weizmann's opinion that Palestine should become "as Jewish as England is English" was also widely disseminated. How this might be done could be seen in the workings of Keren Keymeth and *Histadrut*. "It is important," noted the Hayercraft Commission investigating the anti-Zionist riots of 1921, "that it should be realized that what is written on the subject of Zionism by Zionists and their sympathizers in Europe is read and discussed by Palestinian Arabs, not only in the towns but in the country districts." The Arabs thus were familiar with the views of people like Dr. Eder, who testified to the Commission on "his view of the Zionist ideal."

He gave no quarter to the view of the National Home as put forward by the Secretary of State and the [British] High Commissioner. In his opinion there can be only one National Home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish predominance as soon as the numbers of that race are sufficiently increased.... As acting Chairman of the Zionist Commission, Dr. Eder presumably expresses in all points the official Zionist creed, if such there be, and his statements are, therefore, most important. There is no sophistry about Dr. Eder; he was quite clear that the Jews should, and the Arabs should not, have the right to bear arms, and he stated his belief that this discrimination would tend to improve Arab-Jewish relations....

Small wonder that the Arabs objected violently to Zionism and British rule. Yet it should not be assumed that they hated Jews *per se*: "The feeling is not that if the British go we will kill the Jews," Arab leader Musa al-Alawi said in 1933, "the feeling is that if the British go the Jews will be less arrogant and less grabbing and we will be able to live with them."

The Palestinian resistance culminated in the insurrection of 1936-1939. It was crushed by the British, with the aid of 14,500 Jewish constables, plus the *Haganah*, the illegal Jewish army, and the terrorist *Irgun*, but it did force a parting of the ways for the British and the Zionists. The British White Paper of 1939 declared it was "not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state," and called for curbs on Jewish immigration and land purchase and the establishment, within ten years, of an independent Palestine. The Zionists greeted the White Paper with "a campaign of sabotage and terror, directed against both British and Arabs," in the words of David Hirst. The campaign adjourned for the duration of

continued on page 7

MOVEMENT UPDATE



Victor Koman (above), author of a pamphlet called "Death to the Party," is a member of Konkin's "New Libertarian" cult.

The Flake Syndrome

Although I agree with Murray Rothbard's analysis of the sectarian "strategy" advocated in the *New Libertarian Manifesto*, I must emphatically disagree with the sentiments expressed in the final paragraph of his article.

Sam Konkin's one-man crusade to destroy the Libertarian Party, his kooky "counter-economic" pseudo-strategy for liberty, and his political irresponsibility are most certainly not "to be welcomed" by the LP. Especially at a time when "low-tax liberalism" has disoriented many radical LP members, Sam Konkin and his tiny "New Libertarian" sect are exactly what we don't need. Sectarians like Konkin and his ilk feed on long-term pessimism, the kind of defeatism generated by Clark's opportunism. Many disillusioned LP members, unable to analyze the roots of opportunism in our movement, are potentially easy prey for upfront sectarians like Konkin. Of course, not many LP members are actually recruited into Konkin's organization. He has no real organization. (He is, in fact, anti-organization, a raving "decentralist.") But the influence of sectarian ideas is a factor in pulling good radicals out of the LP. They pass through a sectarian phase, and then drop out of libertarian activities completely.

Konkin's peculiar brand of sectarianism, which harkens back to the earliest days of independently organized modern libertarianism—when *The Innovator* was the center of our movement—is the crystallized form of an error made by the "low-tax liberal" opportunists. Konkin's obsession with "marketizing" the movement—to mechanically apply the methods and terminology of economics to the art of politics—is not limited to the sectarian camp. Where have we heard all this before? Haven't the opportunists in our midst also used this wholesale transplantation technique to equate "selling" our ideas with selling a Big Mac? This tendency to "marketize" our methods is politically ambiguous. This curious "economism" could be used to justify tailing after the "low-tax liberal" lowest-common-denominator—just as easily as Konkin utilizes fetishistic economism to rationalize tailing after spontaneity. Here is where sectarianism and opportunism meet and merge: both are merely excuses for political passivity. The opportunists dream of an instant mass movement; by sacrificing principles for numbers, they hope to be catapulted into political leadership. The sectarians also dream of an instant mass movement, a ready-made "constituency," which will somehow catapult them into political leadership. The low-tax liberals tail after John Anderson, while the sectarians tail after the "black market." For both, theory is reduced to an afterthought; both Milton Mueller and Konkin agree that practice comes first, theory comes later, especially when we are talking about strategic questions. The actual political consequences of both programs are identical; both amount to a program of liquidation, of submerging, subordinating and eventually dissolving the Libertarian movement into the larger mass movements. Sectarianism and opportunism reinforce each other, quite clearly, with-

in our crisis-ridden movement, they depend on one another for political survival. Both have the same contempt for theory, and for the power of ideas in general.

I disagree that "we need a lot more polycentrism in the movement." The three leading centers within the LP—the *Reason*/Frontlines grouping, *Cato*/Libertarian Review/Update, and the LPRC—seem like quite enough to me. A fourth faction—ostensibly to the "left" of the LPRC—is a most unwelcome addition to the libertarian family. Indeed, I would argue that Konkin and his minuscule following are completely outside the parameters of our movement. By abstaining from all political activities—apart from misinforming some people through their ill-conceived "educational" efforts—the sectarians have literally read themselves out of our movement. Although, in his reply to Rothbard ("New Libertarian Strategy" Number 1) he minimizes the importance of the "Party Question," his stubborn anti-parliamentarism means that the two groups engage in no common actions. Of course, since Konkin's announced intention is to destroy the Libertarian Party, no common action is possible—or desirable.

Perhaps, as Rothbard asserts, it is true that Konkin can read, I'm willing to take Rothbard's judgement as the given, in this case. But can Konkin write? I found his so-called "New Libertarian Manifesto" nearly unreadable. Stylistically, the sectarians are generally a sorry lot—with the exception of George H. Smith. It is true that "we can count on Sam Konkin not to join the mindless cretins in the Clark TV commercials singing about 'A New Beginning, Ameri-ca.'" But this is worth much less than Rothbard thinks.

Konkin's political irresponsibility regarding his relationship to the Neo-Nazi "Institute for Historical Review" underscores his complete separation from our

movement and his unforgivable political irresponsibility. The publication of long articles by Lewis Brandon, in Konkin's "New Libertarian"—devoted to convincing us the Holocaust didn't happen—was picked up by the *Village Voice* and used to smear the libertarian movement, as well as James J. Martin and Harry Elmer Barnes. By serving on the advisory board of the *Journal for Historical Review* (IHR's "no holocaust" magazine), by accepting full-page ads for IHR publications, Konkin sets us up for professional smearjobs like the *Village Voice* piece. I mean why does Konkin run ads from the notoriously anti-Semitic, Liberty Lobby front, "Noontide Press," offering books like *Routine Circumcision: The Tragic Myth*, by Nicholas Carter? Here we have the *reductio ad absurdum* of the market ("agoric") fetish—of course, Konkin will take support where he can get it, even from Nazis! And to hell with the rest of the movement....

This is what I call the worst possible case of the "Flake Syndrome." This whole unsavory incident has all the earmarks of political amateurism. In his incredible letter to the editor of the *Voice*, Konkin says: "I appreciate the mention of our publication in our fraternal alternative publication, *The Village Voice*." Well, of course he appreciates it—after all, what has Konkin got to lose? In his view, bad publicity is better than no publicity. And, after all, Paul Berman's article "Gas Chamber Games?" (*Voice*, June 10-16) did hurt the LP—something which Konkin has been trying to do for years.

In effect, Sam Konkin set us up so that the virulently statist *Village Voice* could smear us as "anti-Semitic." Of course, the *Voice* gave us the benefit of a doubt. "Not all Libertarians are anti-Semitic," writes Berman. And so the deed is done.

Konkin and his mini-cult will undoubtedly arrive in force at the Denver

convention, and LPRC members should be ready to deal with the kind of actual, physical disruption they specialize in. They are well-known for disrupting meetings, interrupting speakers, and attempting to shout down opposition. This has happened in Southern California, the only place they have any organized activities, at LP supper clubs as well as LPRC public forums—and it has happened more than once. We should deal with this simply and directly; disrupters should and will be excluded from LPRC activities in Denver.

Political collaboration of any kind with those intent on destroying the LP—a goal which is the exact opposite of the task we have set for ourselves, which is to rectify the political line of the LP and rescue our movement from "low-tax liberalism"—is utterly incompatible with the "Ten Points" adopted by the LPRC. It is true that opportunism—right-opportunism, to be exact—is the main danger to our movement. But the dangers of sectarianism must not be downplayed. We have already lost some good people to sectarianism and passivity. Although these defections are limited in number, and do not yet amount to a serious problem, the potential for such a problem is there.

Rothbard contends Konkin's influence isn't all bad because "he shakes up Partyarchs who tend to fall into unthinking complacency." I would assert that exactly the opposite is true. With Konkin posing as the only alternative to "low-tax liberalism," I can hardly think of a better reason for the complacency of our opportunists. If any "shaking up" needs to be done, then let the LPRC do it. Let Konkin and his cronies attend science fiction conventions, instead of libertarian gatherings—a backdrop much more appropriate for Konkin and his fellow "agorists." □

—by Justin Raimondo

To Get the Right Answer, You Have to Ask the Right Question.



A heartless corporation dumped toxic chemicals in Love Canal, then walked away from the problem, leaving behind a neighborhood full of victims.

At least that's the story told by TV news, magazine articles, and a best-selling book. It's also dead wrong.

Reason readers learned the truth earlier this year. Investigative reporter Eric Zuesse revealed that:

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- The city punched two sewer lines through the canal walls, in 1957 and 1960, allowing chemicals to seep throughout the neighborhood.

Finding this out didn't take Freedom of Information Act requests. The whole story was available in public documents in Niagara Falls. Yet no other national magazine had bothered to look. They all just took it for granted that a giant corporation had to be the guilty party.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE "KOCHTOPUS"

Konkin has also railed against the beneficence of Charles Koch, not only for being pro-LP, but also because he has tended to acquire a "monopoly" of the movement.

Still abstracting from the LP, let us begin by each one of us putting ourselves in Koch's place. You, say, are a multi-millionaire, and you get converted to libertarianism. You're all excited about it, and you want to do something to advance the cause. Things being what they are, the main thing you can contribute is your money. What should you do? The trouble with asking us to make this act of imagination is that most of us can't conceive of ourselves as multi-millionaires, and too many of us have absorbed the primitive populist view of millionaires as evil Fu Manchu characters bent on exploitation. But let's take the case of our multi-millionaire convert. Would Konkin really say that he should do nothing, because this might create a "monopoly" of the movement? Do we not want to convert multi-millionaires, do we not think that money is important in advancing the movement? So it is surely grotesque to send our multi-millionaire packing. Obviously, we should welcome his contributions to the cause and hope for as much as possible. O.K., so you are a multi-millionaire convert to libertarianism. To whom or what should you give your money? Now, this is a considerable responsibility, and since no one can be omniscient our multi-millionaire is bound to make mistakes along the way. But all we can ask of him—or ourselves—is to do the best he can, according to his knowledge.

The multi-millionaire therefore deserves our approbation, our welcome to the cause. Instead, what he inevitably gets—human nature being what it is—will be complaints and attacks without cease. For if A, B, and C (people or institutions) receive his largesse, this inevitably leaves D, E, and F out in the cold, and whether through envy and/or righteous indignation at the wrong path taken, D, E, and F will no doubt yell bloody murder.

To us poor folk it might seem absurd to say that the life of a multi-millionaire is hard and thankless, but it seems clear that this is an important point for us to remember.

But there is more to be said. The critics of the multi-millionaire might say: O.K., it's great that he's giving all that money to the cause, but why does he have to control everything? But here again, you are the multi-millionaire, and you want to do the best you can for liberty with the money you give out. Wouldn't you want to have control over how your own money is spent? Hell yes. You'd have to be an idiot not to, and also not care too much either about money or the libertarian cause. There are few multi-millionaires who are idiots.

But how about the Kochian "monopoly"? Here Mr. Konkin should have fallen back on his Austrian economics. Suppose that only one firm is producing aluminum. Should we start yelling at it for being a "monopoly," or should we hope for more firms to enter the industry? Clearly the latter, unless the "monopolist" is using the State to keep other competitors out, which of course Mr. Koch is not doing. Quite the contrary. Koch would be delighted to find other multi-millionaires converted to liberty and giving money to the movement, as would we all. So that the answer to the problem of the Koch "monopoly" is to find a dozen more multi-millionaire libertarians. It is grossly unfair and fallacious to put the blame on the monopolist for his situation.

I submit that Konkin has been egregiously unfair to Charles Koch. The only legitimate criticism of Koch is not the existence of the "Kochtopus" but if the said "Kochtopus" takes a wrong and misguided track. Within Konkin's antiparty perspective, for example, it is perfectly legitimate for him to criticize Koch's tie-in with the Libertarian Party, but not the existence of Koch largesse *per se*.

In many of Konkin's writings, however, one has the impression that simply the receipt of a grant or the taking of a job with Koch is evil *per se*, or, indeed, the taking of any steady job whatsoever (*pace* Konkin on wage-

work).

But while there is nothing at all immoral or illegitimate about the existence of a Kochian monopoly in the movement, it does pose grave sociological problems. For if one man or organization constitutes or controls the entire movement, then any mistake of ideology, strategy, or tactics he or it may make will have grave consequences for the entire movement. If a small organization makes a mistake, however, the consequences are not so catastrophic. Here is a real problem, which it is impossible to see how to cure, short of finding a dozen more people like Koch. (Surely, Konkin's putative solution of Koch disappearing from the libertarian scene is a "remedy" far worse than the disease.) The only thing I can think of is trying to persuade Koch to set up diverse and "competing" institutions in the movement, much as corporations often set up competing profit centers within their own organization. (To some extent this is already being done, as in the case of such an estimable institution as the Council for a Competitive Economy.)

THE PROBLEM OF THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY

Much of the Konkinian critique of the LP has been conflated with attacks on organization and on "monopoly" *per se*, and I think I have shown that all these criticisms are either fallacious or miss the point—the main point being that these institutions are voluntary and are worth the problems they inevitably bring, at least to those who participate in them. None of these institutions are unlibertarian, and the difficulties they bring in their wake are the problems of life.

We turn to Konkin's *bête noire*, the Libertarian Party. There are two important questions to be resolved about the LP: (1) is it evil *per se*, and (2) assuming that it isn't, is it a legitimate or even necessary strategy for libertarians to adopt?

I am going to assume for the moment that a libertarian political party (or for that matter, other forms of political action, such as lobbying) are not evil *per se*. But if that is true, then all of Konkin's running arguments about the LP's hierarchical nature, its power struggles, faction fighting, etc. are no more than the problems inherent in all organizations whatever. And this we have already disposed of.

More important, I see no other conceivable strategy for the achievement of liberty than political action. Religious or philosophical conversion of each man and woman is simply not going to work; that strategy ignores the problem of power, the fact that millions of people have a vested interest in statism and are not likely to give it up. Violent revolution will not work in a democratic political system. Konkinian agonism is no answer, as I have shown above. Education in liberty is of course vital, but it is not enough; action must also be taken to roll back the state, specifically to repeal State laws. Like price control or the withholding tax. Or even like marijuana laws. Despite their widespread non-enforcement, there are always some people who get cracked down on, especially if the police wish to frame them for other reasons. Tax rebels are admirable, but only in "micro" terms; the taxes are still there, and the wage-earners pay them. Tax rebellion is not a strategy for victory. Single issue lobbying groups, etc. are fine and admirable, but they do not complete the job. For two basic reasons: (a) because they are single-issue, and therefore cannot educate anyone in libertarianism across the board, and (b) because they cannot do the vital job of repealing the statist laws. They can only urge the repeal of the draft, for example; they can't actually do the repealing. Why should we cut ourselves off from this necessary and vital step of doing the repealing? Of course if one believes with Bob LeFevre that it is equally immoral to repeal as to impose the draft, then the repeal of anything is out of the question. But I will shout hosannas for any repeal of statism, and do not concern myself with the "coercion" of those who'd like to keep the draft and are deprived of it.

Before the existence of the LP, the only repealing could be done by Democrats and Republicans, and so libertarians engaged in this form of political action had to try to find the more libertarian, or rather, the less anti-libertarian candidate. Contrary to Konkin, there have been political parties in the past, especially the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that, while not anarchist, were admirable forces for laissez-faire. They didn't smash the State (not their intention anyway), but they did accomplish an enormous amount for liberty, they ushered in the Industrial Revolution, and we are all in their debt. I think of the Democratic Party in the U.S., the Liberals in England, the Progressives in Germany, etc. Historically, classical liberal political parties have accomplished far more for human liberty than any black markets.

But empirically, of course, neither major party at this point is worth a damn, and so a Libertarian Party provides a welcome alternative, of actually permitting us to engage in libertarian political action.

A Libertarian Party presents many difficulties. For one thing, there is the constant temptation to substitute numbers of votes for profits as the test of success, and this means the dilution of principle to appeal to the lowest common denominator of voters. This temptation has been yielded to with great enthusiasm by the Clark campaign. But the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, never more so than in a libertarian political party. The LP needs continual self-criticism and, yes, Konkinian criticism as well. Fortunately, it has an admirable platform; now a struggle must get underway to get the party's candidates to stick to that platform. The struggle against opportunism is not going to be easy, and it may not even be successful. But the LP is a valuable enough institution that the battle is worth it. Which is why it needs the Radical Caucus.

And why it needs libertarians who are educated in libertarian principles and are concerned to maintain them. One problem with this particular LP is that in a deep sense it was founded prematurely: before there were enough activists around to make it work and to educate newcomers. The LP grows like Topsy; as a result, very oddly for an ideological party, there are literally no institutions within the Party (except for the Radical Caucus) engaged in education or discussion of principles or political issues. The LP is one of the strangest ideological parties in history; it is an ideological political party where most of its members display no interest whatever in either ideology or politics. Marxist groups generally don't found parties for a long time; first, they build "pre-party formations" which gather the strength and the knowledge to launch a regular party. We had no such formation, and are suffering the consequences. But here the party is, and we have to make do with what we have.

So the Libertarian Party is vital if not necessary to repealing statism. And contrary to Konkin's suggested timetable of a millennium, a militant and abolitionist LP in control of Congress could wipe out all the laws overnight. All that would be needed is the will. No other strategy for liberty can work. And yet, all this pales before the most important problem: Is a Libertarian Party evil *per se*? Is voting evil *per se*? My answer is no. The State is a Moloch that surrounds us, and it would be grotesque and literally impossible to function if we refused it our "sanction" across the board. I don't think I am committing aggression when I walk on a government-owned and government-subsidized street, drive on a government-owned and subsidized highway, or fly on a government-regulated airline. It would be participating in aggression if I lobbied for these institutions to continue. I didn't ask for these institutions, dammit, and so don't consider myself responsible if I am forced to use them. In the same way, if the State, for reasons of its own, allows us a periodic choice between two or more masters, I don't believe we are aggressors if we participate in order to vote ourselves more kindly masters, or to vote in people who will abolish or repeal the oppression. In fact, I think that we owe it to our own liberty to use such opportunities to advance the cause. Let's put it this way: Suppose we were slaves in the Old South, and that for some reason, each plantation had a sys-

tem where the slaves were allowed to choose every four years between two alternative masters. Would it be evil, and sanctioning slavery, to participate in such a choice? Suppose one master was a monster who systematically tortured all the slaves, while the other one was kindly, enforced almost no work rules, freed one slave a year, or whatever. It would seem to me not only not aggression to vote for the kindly master, but idiotic if we failed to do so. Of course, there might well be circumstances—say when both masters are similar—where the slaves would be better off not voting in order to make a visible protest—but this is a tactical not a moral consideration. Voting would not be evil, but in such a case less effective than the protest.

But if it is morally licit and non-aggressive for slaves to vote for a choice of masters, in the same way it is licit for us to vote for what we believe the lesser of two or more evils, and still more beneficial to vote for avowedly libertarian candidates.

And so there we have it. Konkinian strategy winds up being no strategy at all. Konkin cripples libertarian effectiveness by creating moral problems where none exist: by indicting as non-libertarian or non-market a whole slew of institutions necessary to the triumph of liberty: organization, hierarchy, wage-work, granting of funds by libertarian millionaires, and a libertarian political party. Konkin is what used to be called a "wrecker;" let some institution or organization seem to be doing good work for liberty somewhere, and Sam Konkin is sure to be in there with a moral attack.

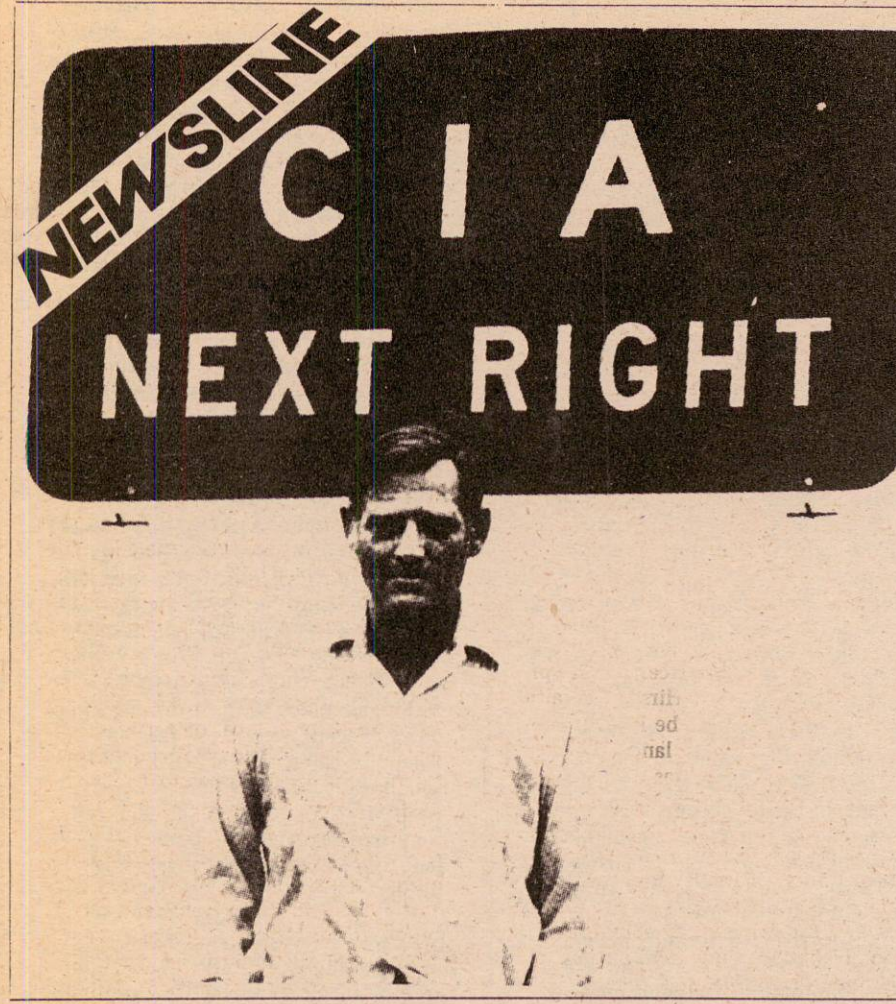
And yet, Konkin's writings are to be welcomed. Because we need a lot more polycentrism in the movement. Because he shakes up Partyarchs who tend to fall into unthinking complacency. And especially because he cares deeply about liberty and can read-and-write, qualities which seem to be going out of style in the libertarian movement. At least we can count on Sam Konkin not to join the mindless cretins in the Clark TV commercials singing about "A New Beginning. Ameri-ca." And that's worth a lot.

Name That Author

(Editor's Note: The following quotation is from a prominent libertarian. The person who can first identify the quotation as to author and place and date of publication will receive a year's free subscription to *Libertarian Vanguard*.)

"The Libertarian Party is the 'Party of Principle'... The amazing growth of the Libertarian Party is due primarily to the fact that we have proudly held our principles high for the world to see. As soon as we stop doing that, as soon as we put our principles in the background and pragmatically deal with the issues on a merely ad hoc basis, we are doomed."

"Of course we must develop reasoned, sound transitional programs in order to achieve our long-term objectives. But unless we keep those objectives constantly in mind and before the public, the transitional programs become ends in themselves. When that happens, the momentum of the Libertarian movement is stalled, and the cumulative impact of presenting our principles along side each of our programs is lost."



The notorious David Atlee Phillips (above), a key link in the "October 22" faction of the CIA, chief hit man behind the Chilean coup operation, now heads up the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO).

The Spooks Behind "The Spike"

by Justin Raimondo

As the US power elite moves sharply to the right, as Imperial America moves to shore up and expand its dominant position in the world, the American public is being lambasted by an elaborate propaganda campaign designed to prepare the nation for war. Reagan's record "defense" budget—5 trillion dollars over the next three years—and US intervention in the Third World must be somehow justified. After the stunning defeat of imperialism in Vietnam, after widespread exposure of US covert operations in Chile, Angola, etc., and the post-Watergate decline of rightist elements with the US ruling class, what we are witnessing is the resurgence of Cold War ideology. Although the Reagan victory means that the US will once again go on the offensive—seeking to retain its Latin American dominance and expand its imperial domain to include the Persian Gulf region—this cannot be accomplished from the top down. When rightwingers publicly bewail the staying power of the "Vietnam Syndrome"—the modern manifestation of the American people's historical reluctance to countenance wars of conquest—they are describing a very real political phenomenon which is, for them, a formidable obstacle to be overcome. Reagan's program—Pentagon socialism wearing an ostensibly "free market" mask—cannot be enacted without militarizing the economy and the commanding heights of American society. For the crux of this program is to finally "win" the Cold War started by the US—thus simultaneously rolling back the enemies of the rightwing millennium both at home and abroad. And so a propaganda campaign the likes of which this country hasn't seen since World War II is now being unleashed—in order to prepare the American people to passively accept repression at home and intervention overseas.

THE SPIKE

This rightwing disinformation campaign integrates four major themes into a comprehensive theory which blames the Soviet Union for all the world's ills. Taking their cues from Reagan and

Haig, a whole network of right wing political operatives in government and within the US intelligence community ceaselessly repeat these four themes: the "key" Soviet role in sponsoring "international terrorism," Soviet penetration of the US media, the numbers and significance of Soviet "moles," and the existence of a Soviet "master plan" for World War III. Although these interlocking themes have unfolded in many articles, editorials, and the pronouncements of the Reagan administration itself, the manifesto of our "anti-Communist" crusaders is undoubtedly *The Spike*, a novel by Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave. This is the *Atlas Shrugged* of the pro-war crowd, which manages to combine intransigent Cold Warrior ideology with the melodramatic twists and turns of rather steamy potboiler fiction.

The publication of *The Spike* heralds the birth of a curious new literary hybrid—political pornography in the form of a roman à clef. This lurid subgenre is the perfect form for a work of this kind; the cheap melodrama and crude characterizations capture the spirit and essence of the politics they serve.

It is May of 1967. Tom Flack—your all-purpose "radical guru"—is leading the chant: "Hey, Hey, LBJ! How many kids d'you kill today?" As National Guards bombard the gathered crowd with tear-gas, our hero Tom Hockney is busy stumbling into pretty co-eds ("As he helped the girl to steady herself, he found that his hand was cupping one of her full breasts...") middle of all this, Hockney is busy "thinking up some graphic phrases he could use to describe the scene in the next issue of the *Berkeley Barb*." With rather single-minded devotion, Bob Hockney—typical middle-class liberal—pursues his own goals in the midst of all this. "Let's get out of here," is practically the first thing Hockney says to his radical chic pickup. After witnessing leftwing students threatening a professor, Hockney drags his female prize back to his shingled cave in North Side, although not quite by the hair. "I don't even remember what you said your name was," he reflected aloud. "I never liked my name anyway." As

the girl performs an act of oral copulation on him, Hockney redeems himself by conjuring up a wholesome image of the girl back home. "Hockney closed his eyes, thinking of another girl... He was instantly rigid." Pretty inspiring stuff, wouldn't you say? As the girl obligingly performs some rather exotic sexual gymnastics, Hockney is oddly detached. He talks *nonstop* throughout the entire seedy episode. "Then he felt lips and teeth moving gently along him. Julia had never done that. 'I want to see things and write about them,' he says, with his eyes closed the entire time. 'Tom Flack,' he thinks, 'would call him a shitass reporter.' Well, Tom Flack is soft on Hockney, who is undoubtedly nothing more than a schmuck. As his New Left Love Child goes through the usual routine, our hero Hockney responds in the following way:

"I'm going to be a reporter." Hockney announced, gasping slightly, but still intent on the idea he wanted to get across. "I'm going to be... ah... the greatest reporter in America," he emphasized.

Hockney, slumming in the anti-war movement, is not your typical student "terrorist." As a group of New Left hoodlums threatens to beat up a professor, our hero tells them to go trash Telegraph Avenue instead. His childhood sweetheart is none other than Julia Cummings. At nineteen Julia, who "had the clear, translucent skin of a child" is a woman of his own class. "The last rays picked out the flecks of gold in her forest green eyes," and so on and so forth. "Her slightly parted lips gave her the look of expectancy, and seemed to anticipate the smile she was saving for Robert Hockney. 'He'll come,' said a voice behind her. It was Julia's brother, Perry." These are "the offspring of Washington officialdom," the children of the ruling class. "Hockney and Cummings had grown up side by side... his father in the State Department, Hockney's in Defense." After graduating from Berkeley, that hot-bed of sedition, Hockney's mother nags the old Admiral with made-for-TV movie dialog:

"Why didn't Bob let us go to his graduation?" The Admiral grunted.

"He didn't even call me after graduation. Is it those anti-war radicals? Is that what's disturbing him?"

And so the stage is set. As radical thugs go on the rampage in the nation's schools, an ideological cancer is eating out the very vitals of the American Family, and Anarchy is loose upon the land. Moss and de Borchgrave vomit up all the old grudges of the 60's, fully intact although slightly ripened with age, right into the reader's lap. The authors reiterate the complaints of a ruling class which has "lost control" of its children. It galls the Admiral "to imagine Bob parading with the draft-card burners; that was not in the Hockney style." This theme of *intra-class warfare*—one section of the ruling class berating the other for past—is a theme of *The Spike*, as it is with the cabal of neoconservative Court Intellectuals who infest the Reagan regime and environs. Counterposed to Hockney, we have the more sinister Perry Cummings, who "had never worn his hair long or demonstrated against the war." His steel-rimmed glasses give him "an air of intolerance," and he's already working at the Pentagon. Cummings gets one of the best lines in the book at the end of the first chapter, to wit:

"Excuse me," Cummings opened the door of the cigar store. "I've got to go work on my establishment image."

Cummings is linked to the "Institute for Progressive Reform," a mysterious Washington-based think-tank with secret links to the New Left.

And so we have two personifications of a dual theme: Hockney the "dupe" and the "mole." For throughout the rest of the novel, as Hockney struggles to see the Awful Truth, lost in a kaleidoscopic nightmare world of Soviet agents, dupes, and highly-placed "moles," these two symbols are used to portray opposition to Cold Warrior ideology as nothing less than out-and-out treason.

An unmistakable link is made between sexual "depravity" and KGB "disinformation" plots. After Hockney

is hired by the *New York World* on the basis of a single anti-CIA article in *Barricades* magazine, and sent to Europe, he is immediately ensnared in the KGB's sticky web. The evil Renard—who, along with his nymphomaniacal wife Astrid has been likewise ensnared by the Soviets by means of sex and various "perks"—slowly recruits Hockney as a "dupe" by giving him stories planted by the KGB. Slowly but surely, Hockney is lured by means of Astrid into Renard's clutches. As for Renard, he is in the pay of the Soviets, of course. Renard, himself a highly-placed French journalist, has been entrapped by means of "bedroom espionage"—two specially trained Russian agents, Yuri and Tania, are utilized to feed the depraved appetites of the French journalist. But the plot gets even thicker—like old oatmeal—as the authors go on to their third theme: an international terrorist conspiracy directed from the Kremlin, involving Red Army Faction types, Palestinian "terrorists," and Soviet agents. When French intelligence uncovers a secret "terrorist directorate" in the cellar of a leftwing publisher, Renard's KGB "control," Victor Barisov, is forced to kill the French agents. Taken to task by his KGB superior, Barisov learns about a policy directive from "Comrade Suslov." By page 65, Moss and de Borchgrave have crammed a fourth theme in between those torpid phrases: "... it was rumored among many—though known to only a select few—that for years Suslov had been developing the master version of The Plan. The Plan, Barisov had gleaned from his father-in-law during a home visit to Moscow, was a blueprint for achieving Soviet domination of the West by a certain date. The deadline had been revised once or twice already." One does not doubt that the "deadline" has been "revised"—considering that the Soviets have only recently achieved military parity with the US! "The current deadline, Barisov had been told, was 1985." And so Cold Warrior ideology is coming more and more to resemble a sort of rightwing Seventh Day Adventism, a truly "born-again" "anti-Communist" militarism predicting the end of the world and the coming of Judgment Day.

Hockney goes to Vietnam to cover the war where he and Renard meet again. Lured into complicity with Soviet agents, Hockney is given choice stories—planted by the KGB, and his reputation grows... as does his dependence on the Soviet spy network. Kicked out of the country by the Saigon government after exposing the "tiger cages" and other scandals of the war, Hockney winds up spreading Soviet-inspired "disinformation" in the Washington bureau of the *New York World*. He meets his old friend Perry Cummings at a Washington party for radical chic leftists and other Commiescum. Over a five-year period, Cummings—who is a Soviet "mole"—leaks information about US covert operations to Hockney. With Cummings' help, a series of articles by Hockney uncovering CIA covert operations gives rise to a Senate Investigating Committee. Chaired by Senator Harmon (i.e. Senator Frank Church, in case you didn't know), the star witness is CIA chieftain Bill Crawford (i.e. William Colby, CIA Director under Carter)—yet another top-level Soviet "mole" (we are asked to believe) who is more than eager to lay bare the secrets of the West.

Those who pushed for exposure of the CIA "Track II" operation in Chile—Senator Frank Church, Senator Hart, and Walter Mondale, as well as Committee staffers such as David Aaron, William Miller, and Anthony Lake—all have their fictional counterparts in *The Spike*. But in *The Spike* all these people turn out to be Soviet "moles." Surely that is the boldest bit of "disinformation" yet! Yet, obviously Moss and de Borchgrave feel safe spreading that kind of poison in the present political atmosphere—a fact which is, in and of itself, pretty ominous.

By page 218 Hockney is beginning to have doubts. Our hero hasn't really changed much over the years—he's still constantly looking for Truth and Sex, although not necessarily in that order. The notorious Phil Krepis (i.e. Phillip Agee, in real life), the CIA "renegade," has a lot to do with

Hockney's rather sudden about-face. First of all he's homing in on Hockney's girlfriend—Tessa Torrance, ultra-left movie star and would-be terrorist. Although Kreps blew the whistle on the CIA in Chile—giving the story to Hockney “on a silver platter”—jealousy rears its ugly head. So Hockney seeks out old Nick Flowers, ex-CIA chieftain and US link to Israeli intelligence, and they have a Long Talk. Flowers reveals that Hockney's buddy, Perry Cummings, is a Soviet agent guilty of espionage—and the Institute for Progressive Reform is “a classic Communistfront operation.” “I don't believe even five percent of what you're telling me,” says our hero. “But if even five percent is true, then what you're asking me is to retrace my own steps over the past eight years and investigate the sources who have given me my biggest scoops.”

Somehow, rather inexplicably, this fictional incarnation of former CIA chieftain James Angleton turns Hockney completely around. For the rest of the book, our aging Boy Wonder uncovers one nest of Reds after another. He tracks down the missing Tessa Torrance to a secret terrorist underground organization—but too late to save her from a fate worse than Patty Hearst. This bit of “docu-drama” is supposed to make Hockney's conversion a bit more convincing. Hockney then goes after his former friends at the Institute for Progressive Reform—sort of like a rightwing Phil Kreps. He writes yet another journalistic *tour de force* only this time really exposing his ex-colleagues for the Commie scum they are. But his boss—who was once “patriotic” enough to be on the CIA payroll, and who is now being blackmailed by Kreps—“spikes” the story. Hockney quits the *New York World* in disgust. Living in cheap motels, writing for the *Reader's Companion*, Hockney takes to penning pro-Shah pieces and taking his old girlfriend Julia out for pizza. Julia just happens to be on the staff of Senator “Shame” O'Reilly (i.e. Senator Patrick Moynihan). With the invaluable aid of the Mossad, Victor Barisov defects to the “Free World,” and all the Soviet “moles” are unmasked. The office of the Institute for Progressive Reform is raided by the FBI—one can see the authors had fun with this scene—and discover sophisticated espionage equipment. My own favorite scene is when Senator O'Reilly confronts President Connor after holding public hearings featuring the testimony of Victor Barisov. O'Reilly personifies the style and spirit of New Right politics:

“What are you after, Shame?” he [President Connor] probed. “You know I've got enough to bring down your administration,” said O'Reilly, confident. “The crash would be bigger than Watergate.” This, of course, is the core of the whole novel—and the motivating factor behind the ultra-right faction of US intelligence responsible for *The Spike* and the “anti-terrorist” crusade. This, at last, is *their* Watergate. Now that they have the power, they will have their own Senate Investigating Committees. And, of course, they are in power now. Haig, who knew about the CIA's “Track II” operation in Chile—the assassinations, the manipulation, the treachery—is now orchestrating the “anti-terrorist” propaganda onslaught as Reagan's Grand Vizier. And Senator Jeremiah Denton of Alabama is even now vying for the role of the New Right's McCarthy, as chair of the newly created Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism (SST).

After demanding “a clean-up of this administration from top to bottom” and getting a promise from Connors that “lots of other people in Congress and the media” will be prosecuted “or at least exposed for what they really are”—the authors of *The Spike* let it all hang out:

Still with his back turned on O'Reilly, President Connor said: “What's in it for you, Shame?” O'Reilly explained. He was going to be Vice President of the United States. It wasn't a job that would have interested him under normal circumstances. “But after all, you won't be running again, Mr. President,” O'Reilly concluded. “I will.”

Here we have it folks, naked power-lust, quite unabashed, neatly typeset for all to see.

Events take a bizarre turn toward the end. Vice President O'Reilly gets on the red phone with the Kremlin where they threaten “our” oilfields in the Middle East. The Russkies back down after O'Reilly threatens to “set a match” to the oilfields so that Soviet troops will “be diving into a sea of fire.” (One wonders if and when *The Spike* will be translated into Arabic!) Here we are, on the edge of World War III, and the Soviet leader says:

“You are bluffing.” “Try me,” said O'Reilly. In the end it's wedding bells for Hockney and his rightwing girlfriend. Together they speed off for their honeymoon on a yacht off the Isle of Rhodes—courtesy, appropriately enough, of British intelligence. (Those “perks” really do the trick.)

OCTOBER 22

The themes dramatized in *The Spike* are merely Technicolor versions of identical themes developed not only by Alexander Haig, Nixon's man in the State Department, but by an extremist faction of the CIA which Fred Landis has dubbed the “October 22 Movement.” Landis writes:

The group is comprised of former CIA officers and their agents, many of whom were exposed and interrogated during the Congressional investigations of the mid-1970's which centered on CIA wrongdoing, some of whom quit and some of whom were fired during the Ford and Carter administrations. (*Covert Action Information Bulletin* #12, April, 1981.)

After leaving the intelligence agencies in disgrace, these types began to organize power-bases of their own. The Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO), the Heritage Foundation, the Center for Strategic and International Studies all provided sanctuary for what amounted to a large criminal element within the American intelligence community—an element which is now back in power, entrenched in the CIA and the White House itself. The editor of Heritage publications was, once upon a time, chief CIA disinformation agent in Chile (1970-73). The chief of disinformation for the CIA in Italy is now an editor of the CSIS publication *Washington Quarterly*, edited by Michael Ledeen. Ledeen—who praised *The Spike* in *Commentary* magazine—is a key link in the October 22 network. His *Washington Quarterly* echoes themes pushed by both *The Spike* and the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*, associated with Moss. It was Ledeen and de Borchgrave who tried to pull a “dirty trick” out of a hat just before Election Day by linking Billy Carter with Yasir Arafat, unsuccessfully peddling their wares to the *New York Times*. (The New Right-backed “Accuracy in Media” group took out a full-page ad in the *Times* headlined “A Pre-Emptive Spike By The New York Times,” the *Times* says they couldn't confirm the story.)

As for Robert Moss himself, his editorial base is *Policy Review* and the Heritage Foundation, founded by New Right bigot Paul Weyrich. It is Weyrich who has urged his New Rightist comrades to use “social issues”—like homophobia, abortion, prayer in the schools,

thinly disguised racism—as a battering ram during the recent elections. *Policy Review* marches determinedly down the same road; in 1978 Moss published an article by ex-CIA operative Max Kampelman, attacking the “unchecked power” of a free press. The power of the press, asserted Kampelman, had come to rival even that of the Presidency itself. (Kampelman, by the way, worked on a series of CIA-financed books until 1967.) Another theme of *Policy Review* echoes *The Spike*: Soviet control of the world media. And so the case for restricting the media—which is “irresponsible” and “too powerful,” at any rate—is built, brick by brick.

Fred Landis describes the elusive October 22 Movement in *Covert Action Information Bulletin*:

Examining their secret wars, whether in Chile, Cuba, Vietnam, Watergate, Iran, or the 1980 election campaign, is greatly simplified by using the date October 22 as a starting point. In the office of the CIA Director, it is always October 22. Behind his desk is a gold calendar commemorating this date, placed there by President Kennedy as an award for the CIA's role during the Cuban missile crisis—the date Kennedy and the CIA felt they had regained the honor they had lost at the Bay of Pigs. (#12: p. 36)

Ray Cline, chief honcho of the National Intelligence Study Center and Director of Research at Georgetown SCCIS, underlines the significance of October 22 in his *Secrets, Spies, and Scholars*: “The first important OSS covert action operation overseas took



Phillip Agee (above), the courageous ex-CIA agent who has exposed the agency “dirty work,” is portrayed in *The Spike* as “Phil Kreps.”



Murray N. Rothbard, a well-known economist, is the author of *Man, Economy, and State, For a New Liberty*, the multi-volume *Conceived in Liberty* (a history of the American Revolution) and many other works. Professor Rothbard has been a leader of the Libertarian movement for many years. His is also a member of the LPRC Central Committee.

The Anti-Party Mentality by Murray N. Rothbard

Editor's Note: The following article, originally titled “Konkin on Libertarian Strategy,” by Murray N. Rothbard, was first published in “Strategy of the New Libertarian Alliance” Number 1, which is described by Konkin as “the first theoretical journal of New Libertarianism.” It is a critique of Konkin's “New Libertarian Manifesto,” which is available from the publisher at: Box 1748, Long Beach, CA 90801.

It is good to have the *New Libertarian Manifesto* in more or less systematic form for assessment and criticism. Until now, the Konkinian vision has only been expressed in scattered pot-shots at his opponents, often me. It turns out that Sam Konkin's situation is in many ways like the Marxists. Just as the Marxists are far more cogent in their criticisms of existing society than in setting forth their vaporous and rather absurd vision of the communist future, so Konkin is far more coherent in his own positive agoric vision. This of course is not an accident. For one thing, it is far easier to discover flaws in existing institutions than to offer a cogent alternative, and secondly it is tactically more comfortable to be on the attack.

THE KONKINIAN ALTERNATIVE

In this particular case, Konkin is trying to cope with the challenge I laid down years ago to the anti-party libertarians: O.K., what is *your* strategy for the victory of liberty? I believe Konkin's agorism to be a total failure, but at least he has tried, which is to his credit, and puts him in a class ahead of his anti-party conferees, who usually fall back on fasting, prayer, or each one finding ways to become a better and more peaceful person, none of which even begins to comment on Konkin's criticisms of current libertarian institutions. I would like to take up his agoric alternative.

First, there is a fatal flaw which not only vitiates Konkin's agoric strategy but also permits him to evade the whole problem of organization (see below). This is Konkin's astonishing view that working for wages is somehow non-market or anti-libertarian, and would disappear in a free society. Konkin claims to be an Austrian free-market economist, and how he can say that a voluntary sale of one's labor for money is somehow illegitimate or unliber-

tarian passeth understanding. Furthermore, it is simply absurd for him to think that in the free market of the future, wage-labor will disappear. Independent contracting, as lovable as some might see it, is simply grossly uneconomic for manufacturing activity. The transactions costs would be far too high. It is absurd, for example, to think of automobile manufacturing conducted by self-employed independent contractors. Furthermore, Konkin is clearly unfamiliar with the fact that the emergence of wage-labor was an enormous boon for many thousands of poor workers and saved them from starvation. If there is no wage labor, as there was not in most production before the Industrial Revolution, then each worker must have enough money to purchase his own capital and tools. One of the great things about the emergence of the factory system and wage labor is that poor workers did not have to purchase their own capital equipment; this could be left to the capitalists. (Thus, see F.A. Hayek's brilliant “Introduction” in his *Capitalism and the Historians*).

Konkin's fallacious and unlibertarian rejection of wage-labor, however, allows him to do several things. It allows him to present a wildly optimistic view of the potential scope of the black-market. It also accounts for his curious neglect of the “white market,” and his dismissal of it as unimportant. In point of fact, even though the black market is indeed important in Russia, Italy, etc., it is enormously dwarfed in importance by the legal, white market. So the Konkinian vision of black-market institutions growing, defending themselves and thus becoming the free-market anarchist society of the future collapses on this ground alone. Note that black markets are concentrated either in service industries or in commodities which are both valuable and easily concealed: jewels, gold, drugs, candy bars, stockings, etc. This is all well and good, but it still does not solve the problem: who will make automobiles, steel, cement, etc.? How would they fare in the black market? The answer is that they don't fare at all, just as they don't fare in the independent contracting agora.

The point is that these fatal gaps in the Konkinian vision are linked together. By concentrating on such objects as marijuana as his paradigm of the agora, rather than automobiles, steel, Wonder Bread, or whatever, Konkin is able to neglect the overwhelming

bulk of economic life and to concentrate on marginalia. Only by this sort of neglect can he even begin to postulate a world of independent contractors or a world of black markets.

And there is another vital point here too. Konkin's entire theory speaks only to the interests and concerns of the marginal classes who are self-employed. The great bulk of the people are full-time wage workers; they are people with steady jobs. Konkinism has nothing whatsoever to say to these people. To adopt Konkin's strategy, then, would on this ground alone, serve up a dead end for the libertarian movement. We cannot win if there is no possibility of speaking to the concerns of the great bulk of wage earners in this and other countries.

It is the same thing with tax rebellion, which presumably serves as part of the agoric strategy. For once again, it is far easier for someone who doesn't earn a wage to escape the reporting of his income. It is almost impossible for wage-earners, whose taxes are of course deducted off the top by the infamous withholding tax. Once again, it is impossible to convert wage-workers to the idea of non-payment of taxes because they literally have no choice. Konkin's airy dismissal of taxation as being in some sense voluntary again ignores the plight of the wage-earner.

I am afraid, indeed, that there is only one way to eliminate the monstrous withholding tax. Dare I speak its name? It is *political action*.

It is no accident, again, that the entire spectrum of the black market movement, from tax rebels to agoric theoreticians, are almost exclusively self-employed. To echo Konkin's distinction, black marketeers might well benefit themselves in the *micro* sense, but they have no relevance to the “macro” struggle for liberty and against the State. Indeed, in a kind of reverse invisible hand, they might even be counter-productive. It is possible that the Soviet black market, for example, is so productive that it keeps the entire monstrous Soviet regime afloat, and that without it the Soviet system would collapse. This does not mean, of course, that I scorn or oppose black market activities in Russia; it is just to reveal some of the unpleasant features of the real world.

There are other problems with the agoric concept. I tend to side with Mr. Pyro Egon in his dispute with Konkin: for the black market, if it develops at all, is going to develop on its own, and I see no role whatever for Mr. Konkin and the New Libertarian Alliance or the Movement of the Libertarian Left. Konkin speaks correctly of the division of labor. Well, nowhere does the division of labor manifest itself more clearly than in who succeeds in entrepreneurship. If the black market should develop, then the successful entrepreneurs are not going to be agoric theoreticians like Mr. Konkin but successful entrepreneurs period. What do they need with Konkin and his group? I suggest, nothing at all. There is a hint in the *NLM* that libertarians would *a priori* make better entrepreneurs than anyone else because they are more trustworthy and more rational, but this piece of nonsense was exploded by hard experience a long time ago. Neither do the budding black marketeers need Mr. Konkin and his colleagues to cheer them on and free them of guilt. Again, experience has shown that they do fine on their own, and that urging them on to black market activities is like exhorting ducks to swim.

When we consider, then, the vital importance of wage-work, black markets are already severely limited, and the agoric scenario for the ultimate libertarian goal falls apart. And then there is the final stage where black market agencies use force to defend illegal transactions, tax rebels, etc. against the State. Although Konkin doesn't acknowledge it as such, this is violent revolution, and it is simply an historical truth without exception that no violent revolution has come close to succeeding in a democratic country with free elections. So that way is barred too. And it hasn't succeeded all that often even in a dictatorship. The Soviet system has now been oppressing its citizens for over sixty years; and there has been a widespread black market all this time. And yet there is still the Gulag. Why hasn't the black market developed into a Konkinian agora or even hinted at

such?

No. Much as I love the market, I refuse to believe that when I engage in a regular market transaction (e.g., buying a sandwich) or a black market activity (e.g., driving at 60 miles per hour) I advance one iota nearer the libertarian revolution. The black market is not going to be the path to liberty, and libertarian theoreticians and activists have no function in that market. I think this is why the only *real* activity of Mr. Konkin and his colleagues is confined to annoying members of the Libertarian Party. This hectoring may be bracing for the soul of some party members, but it scarcely serves to satisfy the lifelong commitment the Konkinians have to the cause of liberty. No, agorism is a dead end, and, to use an old Stalinist term, is “objectively counterrevolutionary.”

THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZATION

I turn now to Konkin's critique of the current libertarian movement, in *NLM* and other writings. There are three basic threads in this critique which are entirely distinct, but which Konkin generally confuses and conflates. These are: the problem of hierarchical organization, the problem of the “Kochtopus,” and the Libertarian Party. Generally, Konkin lumps them all together, and thereby confuses all these issues. We must unpack them. Let us do so by first assuming, for the sake of the argument, that there is no Libertarian Party, and that there are simply other libertarian institutions, organizations, institutes, magazines, or whatever.

Would Konkin's complaints disappear if the LP collapsed? Clearly not. For there runs through his writings an attack, not only on hierarchical organization but on organization *per se*. He is against joint stock companies because they're organized hierarchically, and seems to be against all other voluntary organizations for similar reasons. He not only opposes wages, he also wants only individual alliances, and not organizations at all.

First there is nothing either un-libertarian or un-market about a voluntary organization, whether joint-stock or any other. People organize because they believe they can accomplish things more effectively that way than through independent contracting or *ad hoc* alliance. And so they can. So, 1) they are not immoral or unlibertarian, and 2) they are the only way by which almost anything can be accomplished, whether it is making automobiles or setting up bridge or chess tournaments. Konkin's suggested floating affinity groups can accomplish very little, and that when only a handful of people are involved. But if more than a handful wish to cooperate on joint tasks, whether steel-making or chess tournaments, an organization becomes necessary.

Organizations of course create problems, and it is really pointless to go on about them. If more than three or four people wish to engage in a joint task, then some people will override the wishes of others (e.g. should we paint the office blue or beige?), and there are bound to be power struggles, faction fights, and all the rest. Even corporations, which have to meet a continuing profit test, have these problems, and the difficulties are bound to increase in non-profit organizations, where there is no instant profit-and-loss feedback. So organizations create problems, so what? So does life itself, or friendships, romantic relationships or whatever. Most people think the drawbacks are worth it, and are more than compensated by the benefits of working for and achieving joint goals. But if not, they can always drop out and not belong to an organization; in a free society, they have that privilege. And of course, we are talking here about voluntary organizations. I suspect Mr. Konkin and his colleagues don't like to join organizations. So be it. But those of us who wish to accomplish various goals will continue to do so. And it seems to me we are at least entitled to the acknowledgement that there is nothing in the slightest unlibertarian about organization, hierarchy, leaders and followers, etc. so long as these are done voluntarily. If the Konkinians fail to acknowledge this primordial libertarian point, then their libertarian *bona fides* would come into serious question.

Japan-can-go-it-alone theme—first criticized in *A Matter of Principle*—isn't even Clark's worst foreign policy faux pas. Does Guida agree with Clark that a Libertarian administration should extend the defense perimeter of the US to include Canada and Mexico? "We don't have to wait for them to reach Ontario," said Clark at the SIS national convention (and elsewhere), "before we defend Detroit." But where does Guida stand? Certainly this aspect of Clark's sellout program was well-advertised in our movement—why the strange silence from the Guida camp?

Exactly how did the Clark campaign miss "the opportunity to distinguish (the LP) from the Republicans on the crucial issues of inflation and recession"? Why doesn't Guida come right out and say that he disagrees with Clark's position that "deficit spending" causes inflation? In addition, Guida is again strangely silent on Clark's failure to advocate the gold standard and/or the denationalization of money.

Guida's real politics came out in his description of how a campaign review committee would oversee presidential campaigns. In defining the parameters of the committee's concerns, Guida outlines his basic unity with the "low-tax liberal" methods of the Clark campaign. He writes:

1. Anti-Libertarian Statements or Programs

This is anything which calls for more government involvement than now exists in any area, or anything which presents any level of government coercion as ideal or as a permanent libertarian solution.

2. Confusing Transition Programs With Ultimate Goals

There's nothing wrong with transition programs as long as they don't call for increasing government in other areas, and as long as they are clearly presented as such, not as ultimate goals.

And so "low-tax liberalism" is justified, after the fact, in the name of some arbitrarily arrived-at "transition program." Of course, this political phantom—this "transition program" which does not seem to exist in any form, and which was never voted on or even discussed at any LP convention—can be used to justify anything and everything. If we follow these guidelines, we might as well dissolve the LP back into the conservative movement. While paying ritual obedience to the eventual implementation of the libertarian program one could—following these guidelines to the letter—easily become an apologist for the status quo. By advocating neither an increase nor a decrease in government intervention as the "first step" in a thoroughly opportunist "transition program," the way is paved for tomorrow's "low-tax liberalism."

Libertarianism as the champion of the political status quo? Not a chance, you say?

Well, you're wrong. It's already happening, as the latest political operation involving the opportunist wing of our movement reveals.

Citizens Against the Sales Tax (CAST) was a California organization the purpose of which was epitomized by its name. After failing to receive the support of the established "tax revolt" leadership, CAST was at a crossroads. Should they abandon their goal, adapt to the political status quo—or seek to build an independent base among disgruntled taxpayers? After some discussion, the majority decided to tail after the conservative leadership. CAST retained the acronym, but now it stood for "Citizens Asserting Supremacy Over Taxation." Their goal: pass an initiative requiring a 2/3 vote to raise taxes. As a concession to dissenters within CAST, this is being advertised as "Phase I" of the CAST plan. Abolition of the sales tax is now being described as "Phase II." This effort is being run by the Tax Action Committee of the National Taxpayers Union, which is ostensibly the libertarian wing of NTU. (The openly pro-Reagan faction, which seems to be gaining the upper

hand, is centered around the NTU Balance the Budget Committee, co-chaired by William Simon and James Langley.)

Ed Clark himself is drafting a letter to LP members urging them to become footsoldiers in this latest crusade to essentially do what Prop. 13 was supposed to do. And so the father of "low-tax liberalism" gives his official blessing to opportunism reborn in the form of what we might call "pro-peace conservatism."

Don't worry, says Guida—and his ex-"low-tax liberal" supporters—"as long as you don't call for 'increased government in other areas,' as long as you don't 'present any level of government coercion as ideal or as a permanent libertarian solution,' then anything goes.

No one is arguing that the transition from the status quo to a libertarian society will be necessarily short (quite the opposite), or that there is no need to advance a transitional program in the interim. But these transitional programs must seek to significantly decrease the role of government in society. Far from posing as defenders of the status quo, Libertarians must always seek to push back the frontiers of freedom as far as they will go. Any other strategy will relegate us to the

on "Foreign Policy and Defense" manages to go on for a single paragraph—without once mentioning the word "El Salvador." Also, Guida is careful to qualify the prominent spot given to foreign policy by saying "we needn't parrot the Left on this issue"—whatever that is supposed to mean. The section on "Economic Policy" exhorts us to support Reagan with "faint praise," calling for "those programs which genuinely move in a libertarian direction" to "move faster and further." And so the deadly illusion that we can push conservatives into enacting real reforms is reinforced and openly endorsed by Guida. But, if Reagan and the Republicans can enact these reforms all by themselves, what do we need a Libertarian Party for? Why not just dissolve into the GOP and act as a (well organized) pressure group reduced to calling for Reaganism to go "faster and further." Of course, Guida says we should "couple our economic programs with those pertaining to foreign policy and individual rights"—but, given Guida's injunction against issuing "mindless broadsides" at Reaganism, couldn't we do a better job of it in the GOP? In describing the consequences of opportunism, we wrote in

A Matter of Principle:



Photo: Jonnie Gilman

San Francisco's Libertarian bookstore (above), established by the San Francisco LPRC, is an example of the LPRC's movement-building approach.

role of eccentric Republicans with a distaste for militarism—but only because it isn't cost-effective.

Although Guida pays lip service to the need to "relate hard-core Libertarian principles and programs to voters," when we look at his guidelines for candidates we see that the rebirth of "low-tax liberalism" is not exactly ruled out. Clark rarely proposed actual increases in government intervention—except for that bit about extending America's defense perimeter to include Canada and Mexico, his opportunism consisted of simple political mimicry. As long as you don't say anything "anti-libertarian" you don't have to say anything particularly "pro-libertarian" either. As long as you refrain from calling for raising excise taxes you can get away with refusing to call for immediate abolition of the draft. (As nearly everyone in the LP knows by now, Clark refused to call for immediate abolition of the draft in his infamous interview with *Penthouse* magazine.)

That the Guida candidacy is a "low-tax liberal" Trojan Horse seems beyond dispute. But what about Guida's concrete proposals?

The most striking thing about Guida's proposals is how disconnected they are from the first section of his letter, which is subtitled "Ideology And Issues." The section

dates for office who need to be educated in the basic principles of libertarianism. This school, according to Guida, will "be partly ideological in that it will give candidates a chance to share knowledge gained in addressing the issues." Translated into English, this means that candidates who quite often have little grounding in libertarian theory will be "taught" to put principles of which they are almost wholly ignorant into practice. The real emphasis in these lessons, as Guida says, will be "a nuts and bolts session to share information on the mechanics of putting together a competent campaign." Of course, the last thing the opportunists in our movement want is a comprehensive course on libertarianism directed at the rank-&file, because it would blow their "nuts and bolts" cover for the same sorry methods which led to the Clark debacle.

"UNITY"—MONGERING & OTHER DIVERSIONS

This "nuts and bolts" mentality—which drops out all political content, retaining only empty political forms—is not limited to the Guida camp. This anti-ideological tendency is even more extreme—although hardly more sophisticated—when dealing with the candidacy of Alicia Clark for LP chair. Most of Ms. Clark's supporters also supported Bill Hunscher's bid for the LP presidential nomination. Disatisfied with the "machine politics," typified by the Guida campaign, they are for the most "decentralists" who object to the organizational consequences of Ed Clark's "low-tax liberalism"—but do not criticize the content of Mr. Clark's systematic departure from Libertarian principles, at least publicly. In a remarkably opaque interview with *Update*, the newsletter published by *Libertarian Review*, we get lots of personality but no concrete proposals. Alicia Clark is a charming person, well-liked by everyone. But if her *Update* interview is any indication of her political program, one can only wonder what she'll do if elected. "Also I'm running a campaign for unity. Instead of having two factions fighting against each other," says Ms. Clark. "I think libertarians will be happy to know that there is not only that but somebody else who is working for unity." Aside from emotional calls for "unity"—on what basis? unity around what?—we get very little else, aside from the fact that Ms. Clark is a recent recruit to the LP—having joined the LP in January of 1981. Although the *Update* interviewer asks her only about her husband's "waffling" in the immigration question, without touching on the many other departures from principle, Alicia Clark won't even concede this (well documented) incident. She says:

Well, I don't think the criticism has a good basis because what he was talking about was opening the ports and let people who want to come to work in the United States to come. There was a time when in the United States they had no limits about who could come and who couldn't come, and they have no reason to have them now. ("Another Clark In The Limelight"? *Update*; May 1981; p. 7)

Of course, this particular issue—as well as the other "controversial" issues the Clark campaign either wouldn't touch or else botched, such as the gold standard, inflation, foreign policy, etc.—has been discussed at length in the libertarian press. Everyone knows what Clark really said about immigration—as do the several thousand Mexican-American readers of *La Prensa* who read the following in an interview with Mr. Clark:

... In a perfect society people would be allowed to move freely anywhere. Today's realities, however, make it difficult. In the United States we have a welfare system which precludes that.

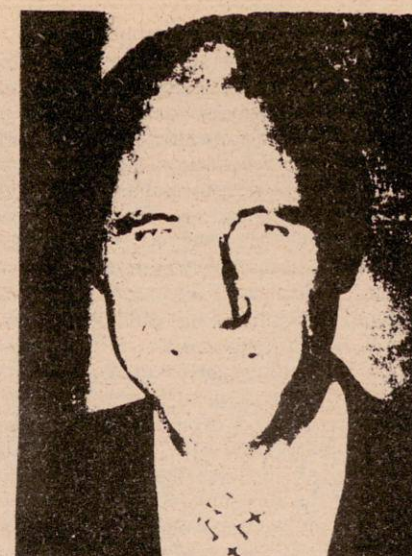
continued on page 20



Ray Cline (above), key link in the "October 22" network, is chief of the Center for Strategic and International Studies



Robert Moss (above), co-author of *The Spike*, edits *Foreign Report*, based in London.



Arnaud de Borchgrave, chief foreign correspondent for *Newsweek* for 16 years and co-author of *The Spike*.



Michael Ledeen, editor of *Georgetown CSIS Washington Quarterly*, the "October 22" faction's vehicle for disinformation aimed at Congress.

place in North Africa where, on October 22, Eisenhower's deputy, General Mark Clark, made a secret rendezvous traveling by submarine to a point on the French African coast. . . . On the last day (of the Cuban missile crisis), October 22, 1962, I helped draft the President's speech. . . . The most successful CIA secret agent, Colonel Oleg Penkovsky, was arrested on October 22." (In addition, October 22 marks the date of the trucker's strike in Chile, in 1972, which was instrumental in bringing down Allende's government—a covert operation run by David Atlee Phillips, CIA operative, one of the most virulent members of the October 22 cabal, founder of AFIO. October 22, 1979, also marks the day the Shah of Iran entered the US—which led to the embassy takeover in Teheran and the eventual downfall of the Carter regime. As Landis says: "After several months of pressure by Kissinger, Helms, Nixon, and David Rockefeller. . . President Carter allows the ailing—and deposed—Shah of Iran to enter the US. 'Of course, everybody knows by now that the Carter administration had been warned that the admission of the Shah could have serious consequences, especially for the Embassy in Teheran. 'It is an open question,' writes Landis in *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, 'whether the plotters knew the predictable outcome and sought to embarrass the administration'.")

Key members of the October 22 faction include: David Atlee Phillips, Richard Helms, Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Alexander Haig, the late Thomas Karamessines, and Ray Cline. Phillips, as founder of the spy lobby AFIO (backed by over 2000 former spies from nine intelligence agencies), lobbies full-time for the CIA. Richard Helms, of course, was convicted of perjury for lying under oath to the Senate Committee—later declaring that he would "wear the conviction as a badge of honor." Members and supporters of October 22 dominated the Reagan "transition teams" dealing with foreign policy, and others have moved into top government posts.

If you think *The Spike* is just another trashy paperback, of no possible significance, the power and influence of the forces promoting *The Spike* syndrome should be enough to make you sit up and take notice. *The Spike* is being widely advertised on television, and has appeared on the bestseller lists of five nations.

Nor is *The Spike* an isolated phenomenon, by any means. Indeed, an ostensibly "nonfiction" version is being peddled by Clair Sterling, in the form of *The Terrorist Network* (published by Reader's Digest Press). Just as Moss and de Borchgrave "have built careers out of peddling gossip from rightwing French, Israeli, British and American intelligence agents" as *Inquiry* magazine says, so Sterling keeps similar company. At every crucial point in her book, important details of her case for linking the Kremlin to an "international terrorist conspiracy" must be taken on faith. She coyly confides to her readers that her information comes from "reliable" intelligence sources which "cannot be named." Much more of her disinformation comes from published reports leaked by identical sources. Indeed, every tall tale imaginable from other similarly "reliable" sources is dropped

into her bubbling cauldron. The result is a crude concoction. Thus, Sterling's "proof" that Red Army Faction terrorists trained at camps in Czechoslovakia comes from the testimony of one General Jan Sejna, who defected "a jump ahead of the invading Soviet army." Of course, what Sterling does not mention is that Sejna was deeply involved in high-echelon corruption which led directly to the "Prague spring"—and that he was running from the rebels, not the Soviets! In addition, as Diana Johnstone of *In These Times* points out, it took twelve years for Sejna to recall these alleged "facts."

The lynchpin of Sterling's "terror network" is something called the "Tucuman Plan," drafted "under KGB supervision" in the Argentinian province of Tucuman in 1975, uncovered "in a safe house of the ERP, a Trotskyite terrorist band." (What kind of "Trotskyite" plays with the KGB? Hasn't Sterling heard the old Stalinist slogan: "A chicken in every pot—an icepick in every Trot!?" (According to Sterling, the "Plan" called for uniting all the Latin American leftist terror groups and shipping them off to Europe (!) for "an orchestrated assault on the continent." Sterling cites as a source "one of the best-informed intelligence analysts in Europe." By following the trail of yet another footnote mention of the "Tucuman Plan" we discover that this "intelligence analyst" is none other than Robert Moss, co-author of *The Spike*! The "original" source of this ridiculous fabrication is, of course, the Argentinian police—who have liquidated tens of thousands of people, and who are now busy persecuting and torturing Argentina's Jewish population. Yet another unimpeachable source.

The reliability of Sterling's "sources" has been widely challenged in the press; the more important it is to document an incident, the more rightwing her source turns out to be. Thus, for example, when Sterling names five Soviet "spooks" responsible for "politicizing" the once-anti-Communist IRA, the sources for the names she cites are: *International Terrorism—the Communist Connection* by Stefan T. Possony and Francis Bouchev, and John Barron's *KGB*, another rightwing fantasy, put out by Reader's Digest Press. On a recent television show Ms. Sterling loudly defended the accuracy and reliability of her "documented" evidence of Soviet responsibility for groups like Baader-Meinhoff and the Japanese Red Army by wailing about how much time she had spent wading through confessions by actual terrorists. Sterling claims that Patrizio Peci, ex-Red Brigade member, said that members of his group had trained in Czechoslovakia throughout the 70's. Supposedly,

according to Peci's confession, the Red Brigades had received arms from Prague by way of Hungary and Austria. But Sterling depends, not on the actual transcription of the confession, but on a version published by the Milan rightwing daily *Il Giornale nuovo*, "which had clearly seen the text of Peci's interrogation, carefully paraphrasing it to avoid prosecution for violating judicial secrets." [Emphasis added.] But when *Il Messaggero* published the entire text, without "paraphrasing" anything, no such information concerning Czechoslovak training camps was to be found. As Charles Mann says in his *Village Voice* piece: "Sterling says *Messaggero* mysteriously 'omitted' the references, which no doubt would surprise Fabrizio Isman, the *Messaggero* staffer who went to jail for printing the entire thing." (Voice; April 8-14, p. 37.)

One could fill an entire issue of *Libertarian Vanguard* with Sterling's journalistic indiscretions; suffice to say that her tale of a monolithic Soviet-inspired terrorist conspiracy, "immensely rich, . . . assured of powerful patronage," which "move[s] with remarkable confidence across national frontiers from floodlit stage to floodlit stage" is a creature made entirely of innuendo, the kind of gossip which can be had very cheaply courtesy of several Western intelligence agencies, and even cheaper melodrama. But if Sterling's careless methods tell us nothing about "ter-

rorism," they tell us everything we need to know about the politics those methods serve.

We cannot agree more with Diana Johnstone of *In These Times* when she writes: "... [The Terror Network] is definitely not a simple product of 'the CIA.' It is, rather, part of a political offensive by a particular faction within the Western intelligence community that seems to be aimed at obtaining operational space within, if not control over, the various agencies." But what, exactly, is on their political agenda?

ASSAULT ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

The ideologues of the New McCarthyism are not in the least bit shy about announcing their political objectives. Clair Sterling is quite explicit in a recent *New York Times* article:

"... direct action against individual terrorists cannot do the job alone. Leaders of the target nations are beginning to recognize the need to deal with the larger groups of law-abiding citizens who lend the terrorists support—the accomplices among whom, as Mao put it, the terrorist can swim like fish in the sea. The technique of establishing such a two-tier structure, as in Italy, has had a broad application among European terrorists."



Claire Sterling (above), author of *The Terrorist Network*.

It is fiction come to life. If *The Spike* is mainly what October 22 types might call ideological espionage, then it is left to Ms. Sterling to take the concept one step further—and thus render the “fictional” raid on the “Institute for Progressive Reform” prophetic. Indeed, the real-life Institute for Policy Studies in Washington—the left-wing think-tank which, as everyone knows by now, provided the model for and target of *The Spike*’s disinformation campaign—has come under increasing attack. Seen in the framework of Sterling’s startling admission that *law-abiding citizens* are the real target of the growing hysteria, this concerted attempt to portray IPS as a “classic Communist-front” and KGB tool acquires a truly ominous aspect. The publication of *The Spike* was the signal for a whole chorus. In the summer of 1980 the Zionist monthly magazine *Midstream* published an article by Rael Jean Isaac, which focused on any and all IPS criticisms of Israel. Besides linking IPS to the Palestine Liberation Organization—echoing Sterling’s “two-tier structure” theme—Isaac goes straight for the jugular: “The activities of the Institute inevitably raise serious questions of motivation,” says Ms. Isaac. “IPS has consistently advocated policies that accord with the Soviet line. . . . Brian Crozier of the London Institute for the Study of Conflict says bluntly that the IPS is the ‘perfect intellectual front for Soviet activities that would be resisted if they were to originate openly from the KGB.’” This article was excerpted in the July 7 and July 14 issues of *Barron’s*. Shortly thereafter, CIA cheerleader William F. Buckley, Jr. published a review of IPS staffer Saul Landau’s book *Assassination On Embassy Row*, written by Robert Moss. Moss used the review to accuse the murdered Orlando Letelier—exiled Chilean diplomat and IPS staffer—of being a Cuban agent. *Washington Quarterly* echoed the same line, as did the misnamed “Accuracy in Media.” The October, 1980, issue of *Westwatch*, the newsletter of the ultra-right “Center for Inter-American Security,” features a lead article on IPS which begins: “A recently-published best-selling novel has openly and correctly portrayed the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., as a Soviet front organization.” The same cry was taken up by professional McCarthyite Phillip Abbott Luce, who said: “I do not casually induce the IPS as a communist front. . . . IPS is a KGB ‘black propaganda agency’ . . .” *Forbes* magazine, in the Nov. 24, 1980, issue repeats the Heritage Foundation slander that IPS is a tool of Soviet “disinformation.” After stirring this particular bit of swill, columnist John Train urges his well-off readers to counteract influence by filling the coffers of New Right thinktanks.

Why IPS? “Many different groups on the right are coming together around this theme,” says IPS director Robert Borasage; “Zionists, ultrareactionaries, Sen. Moynihan’s wing, former CIA employees and Reaganites. The purpose is to create a political consensus by using IPS as a metaphor in their efforts to revive a cold war consciousness and to initiate a McCarthy-like purge in this country. . . . The basic purpose of this campaign seems to be to break links between liberals and the left, to reestablish a bipartisan foreign policy line and to set new limits on what’s considered legitimate debate in the US.”

Of course, the immediate objective of the growing chorus for repression is to enact legislation—a favorably pastime of statist everywhere. As we go to press, the process is already well underway.

Shortly after convening, the Republican-dominated Senate set up the Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism (SST). The House is already moving to create a parallel committee. According to Margaret Ratner, of the NY-based Center for Constitutional Rights, “Such a committee, if formed, may well include Larry McDonald (D-Ga.) and John Ashbrook (R-Ohio), two of the most conservative people in Congress.”

SST chairman Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R-Alabama) is a “war hero”—in certain circles, at any rate. Denton, founder of the “Coalition for Decency,” combines hardline militarism with a strictly “fundamentalist” approach to

civil liberties and “social issues.” Elected with the vocal support of the so-called “Moral Majority,” this aspiring Ayatollah is the author of a bill which would appropriate hundreds of thousands of dollars in a government campaign to promote chastity in young women! (The bill, by the way, has a good chance of passing. Welcome to Reagan’s America—where we get government off our backs and into our bedrooms.) Denton’s big campaign theme—besides howling about the “hostages”—was the moral decline of Western civilization. According to Denton, society is threatened by a three-headed monster: pornography, pre-marital sex, and the decline of the nuclear family. Each faction within the Reagan coalition serves its purpose; here we can see the “battering ram” function of the New Right’s la Richard Viguerie and the Rev. Jerry Falwell. Whether its witch hunting is directed at homosexuals, or Communists, or some other heretical breed, the issues may vary but the technique remains the same. Having been catapulted into office on his “war hero” image and a witch hunt against “immorality,” Denton and his gang plan to stay in office by going on the offensive, again—only this time it’s a campaign to root out “subversives.” Denton takes his cues from Claire Sterling—her book came out just in time for her to appear as an “expert” witness before the Senate Subcommittee—proclaiming at the SST’s first hearing:

A principal reason for the creation of this subcommittee is the need to address the concerns over an alarming rise in worldwide terrorism. There is evidence that certain foreign powers support or incite terrorist activities directed against the national interest of the United States. . . . The Subcommittee also plans to investigate organizations which, within the United States, engage in, or have engaged in acts of terrorism.

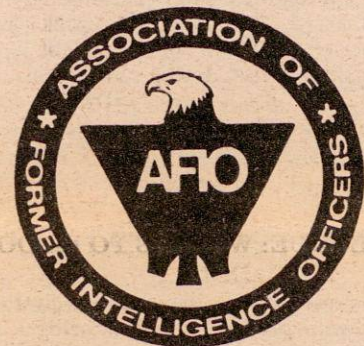
Senator John East (R-N.C.), is yet another freshman New Rightist appointed to the Subcommittee. Foreign policy “weakness,” the Panama Canal “give-away,” and the need to re-arm America were his big campaign issues. Perhaps more important than East himself is his aide, Samuel T. Francis. According to *Fight The Right*, published by the Center for Constitutional Rights: “Samuel T. Francis is a policy analyst with the Heritage Foundation who specializes in African affairs and international terrorism. He is reputed to be an expert on underground political groups and activities. . . . Francis was the editor of the 97-page intelligence section of the Heritage Report that was given to the new administration as a blueprint for the 1980s.” That same Heritage report singles out IPS, NACLA (the North American Congress on Latin America, which puts out *NACIA Reports*), and *Mother Jones* magazine, as well as “the several Communist parties,” other radical New Left groups, Tom Hayden’s Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), and “clergymen, students, businessmen, entertainers, labor officials, journalists and government workers (who) may engage in subversive activities without being fully aware of the extent, purposes, or control of their activities.”

Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), another New Rightist closely linked to the Moral Majority, is the third member of the Republican Subcommittee majority. Democrats on the SST are Joseph Biden (Delaware) and Patrick Leahy (Vermont). mont).

The origins of the Subcommittee itself are to be found in the massive Heritage Foundation report which serves as a “blueprint” for Reaganite policy. The section on intelligence specifically calls for the restoration of legislative committees to keep a tight lid on “national security”; this apparatus of repression is “a necessary part of an adequate internal security program,” according to Heritage. Besides having the endorsement of top Reagan aides like Ed Meese, CIA Director William Casey and New Right demagogue Rep. Phil Crane (R-Ill.), as well as Edwin J. Feulner, president of Heritage, who was also head of Reagan’s foreign policy “transition team,” other groups instrumental in creating the Subcommittee were: the American Security Council (ASC) and the National Committee to Restore Internal Security (NCRIS). ASC doesn’t just represent the interests

of the military/industrial complex—it is the military/industrial complex. The list of big ASC donors includes the biggest weapons-manufacturers in the nation. ASC supported Somoza and is currently marketing a film, *Attack On The America*, which calls for US intervention in Central America in the name of a crusade against “Communist terrorism.” NCRIS is composed of those who once ran the old investigative committees, in addition to Jay Parker, a black New Rightist who heads up the Lincoln Institute in Washington. NCRIS has been agitating for the resurrection of HUAC-type activities, issuing dire warnings about the dangers of “terrorism, subversion and espionage and enemy directed misinformation.”

The first Senate Subcommittee hearings, held on May 8, dealt with the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, the so-called “Names of Agents Act,” specifically aimed at ex-CIA agents like Philip Agee and publications like *Covert Action Information Bulletin* and *Counterspy* which exposed U.S. covert operations around the world. If passed, such legislation would outlaw gathering and publishing information which is already on the public record and it would prohibit publication of documents like the “Pentagon Papers.” This applies to the FBI and other intelligence agencies—presumably also the IRS—as well as the CIA. The Subcommittee’s first action—which is a political attack on the movement against government spying itself—enjoys wide Congressional support.



Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO) seal. AFIO is a lobbying group, and yet another link in the “October 22” network.

The Subcommittee heard testimony from Senator John Chafee (R-R.I.), the sponsor of the bill, as well as from newly-appointed CIA Director William Casey who claimed that publications like *Covert Action Information Bulletin* had done “untold damage” to US intelligence activities.

In addition, the Subcommittee heard testimony from opponents of the legislation: Jerry Berman, of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and Morton Halperin of the Center for National Security Studies. During Berman’s testimony, Chairman Denton ridiculed the characterization of the ACLU as “nonpartisan.” Both Senator Denton and East repeatedly sought to depict the two witnesses as less than patriotic. “We thought that Sen. Denton was less interested in the substance of our testimony than in exploring whether ACLU has a hidden agenda,” said Berman after the hearing. The Chairman of the new Subcommittee sought “to undermine our credibility. . . by innuendo.”

In his testimony, CIA Director William Casey called for legislation which would authorize surprise FBI searches of newsrooms and offices in cases derived from the Intelligence Identities Protection Act. Currently, raids without warning subpoenas are permitted only in cases of espionage. On April 19, Casey sent a letter to the Congress asking for the addition of a provision to the proposed legislation which would permit “surprise raids

when journalists are suspected of blowing a US agent’s cover.

Another important legislative goal of the New Right/October 22 axis is revision of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). If the rightists have their way, the crucial revelations which led to widespread anti-government feeling during the Watergate era will become a thing of the past. The FOIA, enacted in 1966 and strengthened in 1974 opens up the government archives to the public—except for information in nine categories such as classified information, files on open criminal investigation, etc. However, in May of 1977 the Justice Department ruled that any and all records must be released “unless demonstrably harmful” to the government. In 1973, NBC correspondent Karl Stern sued the government for the Cointelpro papers—which revealed the FBI’s covert actions designed to disrupt the Black Panther Party, drive Martin Luther King to suicide, and destroy the New Left. Access to documents through FOIA also led to the uncovering of a massive, 40-year campaign directed against the Socialist Workers Party (a Trotskyist organization, American section of the “United Secretariat” Fourth International). Documents obtained through the FOIA have revealed the efforts of the CIA to assassinate foreign leaders, secret CIA drug tests on unsuspecting individuals, the effects of nuclear testing in the Nevada desert. The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, chaired by former Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho), called the Cointelpro operation: “A sophisticated vigilante operation. . . aimed squarely at preventing the exercise of First Amendment rights.” If the New Right and the network of institutions with links to the October 22 faction have anything to say about it, exposure of government abuses will be a thing of the past.

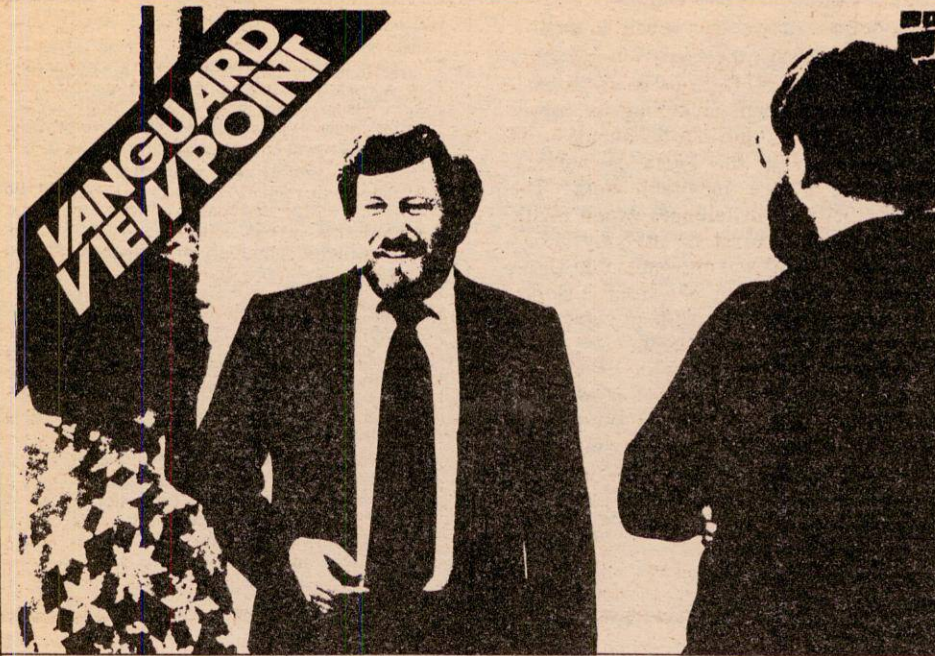
COMBAT THE RIGHT

What we are facing is not the crude McCarthyism of Old Joe and the Birchers. This is the New McCarthyism, a sophisticated, coordinated “disinformation” campaign carried out by professionals, designed to unleash repression at home and US global adventurism abroad. The enactment of repressive legislation is merely one of its more immediate goals. In the long-term, the massive disinformation campaign symbolized by *The Spike* is an effort to prepare the nation ideologically for war—just as the construction of the MX missile is another aspect of the same militarist thrust.

Let those who doubt that the main danger to liberty comes from the right observe the rising tide of official repression. Let those who indulge in the ultimate “gradualism” by pointing to Reagan’s severely restricted economic reforms as the decisive factor in evaluating his regime now consider this unabashed assault on individual rights, epitomized by the SST. Is this a step forward? Surely this is a case of taking one step forward and falling flat on your face.

Elsewhere in this issue the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) Central Committee and the staff of *Libertarian Vanguard* outline an action strategy for the Libertarian movement which focuses on the fight against government repression, the growing war hysteria, and America’s rightward turn. The point remains to be made here that Libertarians stand by their party platform, which unambiguously demands the abolition of the CIA and the FBI, explicitly condemning cointelpro-type operations.

Leftwing activists have already begun to organize opposition to the New McCarthyism; on June 19 the “National Day of Resistance” took place, with actions in New York City, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, Detroit, Madison, San Francisco, Albuquerque and Washington, D.C. The campaign, initiated by the Center for Constitutional Rights, was sponsored by a broad range of groups. For information on the campaign or to sponsor an event in your area, contact: No More Witchhunts, 330 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012; Tel: 212-477-3188.



John Mason (above), candidate for National Chairman of the Libertarian Party.

A Survey of Our Movement by Justin Raimondo

We have heard much about the alleged dangers of “factionalism” in the Libertarian movement, especially since November of 1980. Some, of course, are genuinely worried about the fate of the national Libertarian Party. Others are chiefly interested in drowning out the growing chorus of dismay which has greeted Ed Clark’s “low-tax liberalism” with cries of “unity!” But, apart from ritual exorcisms of “factionalism,” no one has ever defined precisely what these factions are, or what they represent.

The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) has existed as a public faction within the LP since February of 1979. From the outset, we have declared our intention to fight for our program—and we have done so, in the pages of this newspaper and elsewhere, openly and unabashedly. For the most part, however, the other major groupings within the LP operate in a semi-clandestine manner. Although without formal organizations, the various other factions have their publications, their spokespersons, their theoreticians, and their own networks geared to carrying out regular political operations. Of course, nearly everyone in the Libertarian movement knows this by now. What remains to be discovered, then, is the nature and significance of the present factional alignment in terms of our movement’s future development.

CLARK CAMPAIGN: A WATERSHED

The degeneration of Ed Clark’s 1980 presidential campaign into a hodgepodge of bromides, dubbed “low-tax liberalism” by the candidate himself, had a powerful impact on the Libertarian movement and the factional alignment within the Libertarian Party. It was a watershed event to hear, on national television, the candidate all of us had worked for (yes, in spite of everything) announce that Libertarianism was the equivalent of the New Frontier.

Long before Clark’s fateful appearance on “Nightline,” the LPRC had published an internal bulletin, *A Matter of Principle*, which criticized Clark’s “low-tax liberal” approach, targeting his positions on immigration, welfare, nuclear power, and building the Libertarian Party.

Even in the summer of 1980, it was clear that the Clark campaign was not merely making a few random errors. Clark’s “low-tax liberalism” had departed from the libertarian path. The first sign of this was July 10, when Ed Clark announced at a press conference that “A Libertarian administration will make no cuts in social services upon which people are actually dependent until we have full employment.” As we wrote in *A Matter of Principle*:

Our differences with the Clark campaign on this question of “full employment” are not a matter of disagreements on strategic or tactical questions: concretely, it is a difference over ends, not means. For, the moment the ends are qualified by an impossible means—the moment a spurious concept like “full employment” is linked to the abolition of the welfare state: then, for all practical purposes, the ends have changed. This is what awaits us at the end of the opportunist road—complete sell-out. You can have the party of principle, or you can have “full employment”—but you cannot have both. (p.5)

In addition, Clark’s position on the immigration question—we can’t have open borders until we abolish welfare—fleshed out the opportunist program, giving it a kind of internal consistency. Our position—that Clark’s “low-tax liberalism” was and is something other than Libertarianism—was initially greeted with skepticism. The Clark campaign itself did not deign to answer or even acknowledge our widely-circulated criticisms. A few months later, however, Clark’s opportunism—and the real significance of “low-tax liberalism”—became clear for all to see. But by then it was too late. The much-vaunted Review committees, which were supposed to oversee the operation of the campaign, had been sidestepped, ignored, and only consulted after the fact. When, on November 4, Clark got less than a million votes—and wound up spending \$4.5 per vote—the warning we had published in July of that year began to ring true: In criticizing the “low-tax liberal” approach, we wrote:

But there already is a John Anderson, and that is precisely the irony of this sort of oppor-

tunism. While it is touted as the only way to get votes, it is unlikely that. . . anything other than a clear, consistently Libertarian campaign is going to attract much attention. Even on its own terms, opportunism is misguided and wrong. The “party of principle” has gotten as far as it has to the extent it has lived up to this noble self-designation: far from being impractical, such a perspective has proved eminently effective. (*A Matter of Principle*; p. 5)

Under the impact of the election debacle—which had left the LP bankrupt—the balance of forces within the Libertarian Party began to shift and change. By the time Ed Clark had uttered his final betrayal—carrying the Kennedyesque theme of the campaign to its comic-opera conclusion on ABC’s “Nightline”—everyone in the LP was aware of the danger of Opportunism. David F. Nolan’s critique of the Clark campaign (published as “It’s Time For A Rude Awakening” in *Libertarian Vanguard* was widely circulated, and it seemed that the views of the LP’s founder represented a majority of the activists.

And so the factional alignments within our movement were transformed. The mounting criticism of the Clark campaign forced every LP activist, and all the various groupings, to take a stand one way or the other.

Of course, the Cato-LR network defended the Clark campaign—but, unable to stonewall it this time, faced with a storm of criticism, and constant defections, these opportunists have initiated yet another line shift. We are now being told that, yes, Ed (Clark) did make a few mistakes—but, say these apologists for “low-tax liberalism,” when all is said and done the Clark campaign was “a terrific step forward.”

THE GUIDA GAMBIT

The campaign of Kent Guida for national chairman of the LP is an attempt by the “low-tax liberals” in our movement to retain control of the LP organization after selling out “the party of principle.” It is amusing, if your taste runs to black humor, to see the Cato-LR leadership drop Ed Clark as quickly as they picked him up. Just as they “groomed” him to run for President, betting that their “low-tax liberal” gambit would pull in enough votes to give them “credibility”—so they are distancing themselves from him faster than anyone has ever shifted the blame, now that low-tax liberalism has become a political liability.

This sudden line change is not unrelated to the general shift to the right being widely touted in certain quarters. It no longer makes a shred of political sense to come on like John Anderson—not, of course, that it ever did.

We are being told—now that our criticisms of the Clark campaign have at least been acknowledged—that the campaign staff had no control over Mr. Clark. The story goes that a horrified campaign staff stood watching, aghast but essentially helpless, as Ed Clark raved on about “low-tax liberalism” and the virtues of the New Frontier.

This, from those who engineered the presidential nomination of Ed Clark on the basis of the campaign’s alleged “professionalism”!

Nothing embodies this re-furbished opportunism better than Kent Guida’s letter to the national convention delegates (May 29, 1981). Mr. Guida’s lengthy letter requires commentary on several counts, but one point ought to preface our remarks. Now that “low-tax liberalism” is completely discredited—now that our opportunists have tailed after every “constituency” imaginable, from anti-nukers to opponents of free immigration—they are today tailing after the only group left. . . the LPRC. Yes, it’s ironic but all too true. Having exhausted all the other possibilities—and having met with little or no success—these “low-tax liberals” are now lecturing us on how

important it is “for the presidential campaign to adhere strictly to Libertarian principles”!

It is typical of the opportunists’ contempt for the political sophistication of the LP rank-&-file that they expect this sudden about-face to be believed. Here we have Kent Guida running this line up the flagpole, hoping somebody will salute:

I worked on the 1980 Clark for President campaign at both the state and national level, the last two months of it as a full-time volunteer at national headquarters. I expect that my own attitudes, opinions and reactions to the campaign are not terribly different from those of most Libertarian activists in other parts of the country. I think they can be summed up as *critical support*. In other words, there are things which occurred in the campaign which I probably would have done differently, or which shouldn’t have happened at all. That’s the critical part. But as an overall evaluation, I’d say the Clark campaign was a success and a terrific step forward for the Libertarian Party as a whole. (Letter from Guida to national delegates list; p.6)

When it came time to choose between Clark and Hunscher at the last presidential nominating convention, we gave critical support to Clark. We wrote then:

We support Ed Clark for President, critically and conditionally. Critically, because we have some serious reservations about Clark’s willingness and ability to reach out to all sectors of the electorate—and of the movement; conditionally, because the active support of the LPRC for any candidate depends on that person’s ideological proximity to the “Ten Points.” (*Libertarian Vanguard*; 9/79)

But that was long before the birth of “low-tax liberalism.” As it turned out, our initial misgivings concerning the Clark candidacy were—unfortunately—quite warranted. When this became all too clear, as early as July of 1979, the LPRC published *A Matter of Principle* after attempts to discuss the problem with the Clark campaign staff were met with frank disinterest. Mr. Guida tells us he worked as a full-time volunteer for the final two months of the campaign—the point where the “low-tax liberal” rhetoric reached new heights (or, rather, depths). Where were these alleged critics of Clark then? After it became clear that “low-tax liberalism” had nothing whatsoever to do with libertarianism, we brought the matter to the LP membership, and called on the various review committees, as well as the National Committee itself, to take appropriate action. Where was Kent Guida during all this? One look at Guida’s list of endorsers is enough to convince any activist of the amazing truth: the same people who brought us “low-tax liberalism” are now telling us that they didn’t really mean it.

But what are these “things which occurred in the campaign which Guida would probably have done differently”? Guida writes:

I’ll touch on some specific criticisms briefly. I think the major strategic weakness was that the campaign missed some important opportunities to tell the public what we are all about. There was the theme that “the rich industrialized societies of Western Europe and Japan should pay for their own defense,” which was at best an incomplete and sometimes misleading statement of our foreign policy position. I think we missed the opportunity to distinguish ourselves from the Republicans on the crucial issue of inflation and recession. (Guida letter; p. 7)

Now this “criticism” is mild stuff, indeed. Guida does not mention Clark’s infamous we-won’t-cut-welfare-until-we-achieve-“full employment” line—presumably, he agrees with Clark. The Europe-&

Pentagon which ought to be cut, and to the bone!

Initially, we should work as organized factions within the existing tax protest organizations—NTU, NTLC, etc.—in order to build a network of contacts into a real political base. But we must always be ready to split such organizations at the crucial moment, so as to paralyze the Reaganite realignment in a timely and effective manner. This means eventually setting up our own organizations or front groups as the balance of forces start to shift in our favor—and as our work within these mass organizations begins to pay off.

The alleged unity of the Right is, at best, a temporary phenomenon—as is the united front opposition on the Left. We can and will recruit from the Right by out-

flanking Reagan at every turn. We must target the Federal income tax. When the administration calls for a balanced budget, we call for a gold standard—and massive cuts in “defense” to actually achieve a balanced budget. When the Reaganites call for a gold standard, we call for the denationalization of money—actively building a movement to privatize the commanding heights of the economy, finance capital itself.

The united front of the Left which has sprung up to oppose the Reagan program is even more tenuous. A “Popular Front” Left in the US is impossible, given the intellectual disintegration and theoretical disarray of the Marxists. The Sino-Soviet split, China’s alliance with US imperialism, the desanctification of Castro’s Cuba, the obvious existence of a socialist power elite—these events have split the Left irrevocably. Especially in America, where

radical leftism never succeeded in retaining a mass following, real cooperation between the leftist factions is not a realistic option: constant jockeying for power between Stalinists and Trots, Maoists and ex-Maoists now in the Social Democracy leads to an almost inevitable split. The very real political differences which divide the Left can and must be used by Libertarians in the anti-war movement in order to isolate the sectarians and build a single-issue, anti-imperialist movement capable of stopping the militarist juggernaut.

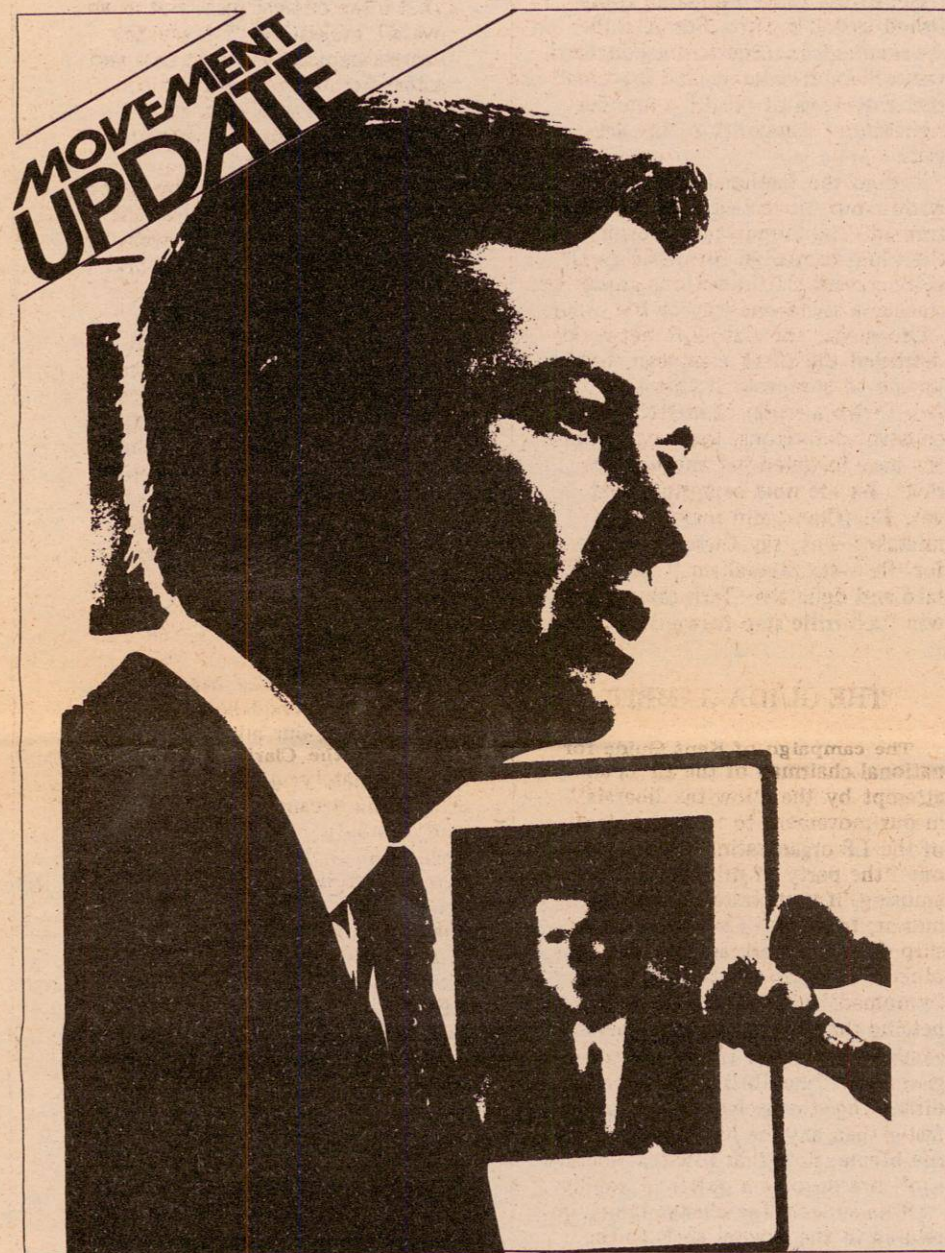
Once we have finally broken with “low-tax liberalism” the possibilities of organizing and leading the revolt of the private sector against the Leviathan State will open up before us. And, although our battle will be far from over, the long road to liberty will finally be cleared of dangerous debris. □

Note to Librarians

LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD is changing to a new method of numbering its issues. Each volume will consist of a single year's issues, regardless of how many are published. Each issue will also receive an Issue Number which will simply be a sequential numbering of issues published. Subscriptions will be based on the Issue Numbers, with a one-year subscription entitled to six issues.

The Issue Numbers that correspond to past issues are:

Issue 1	2/79	
Issue 2	5/79	
Issue 3 & 4	9/79	Vol. 1, No. 3
Issue 5	9/79	Vol. 1, No. 4
Issue 6 & 7	12/79	
Issue 8	1/80	Vol. 1, No. 6
Issue 9	2/80	
Issue 10	July/Aug '80	Vol. 2, No. 2
Issue 11	October '80	Vol. 2, No. 3
Issue 12 & 13	Nov/Dec '80	Vol. 2, No. 4
Issue 14	March '81	Vol. 2, No. 5
Issue 15 & 16	June '81	Vol. 2, No. 6



Ed Clark lays down the “low-tax liberal” line, as a portrait of John F. Kennedy looms in the background. Clark staffers deny the juxtaposition was intentional—but new evidence reveals a different story.

The Kennedy Connection

The network of libertarian organizations linked to the Cato Institute—associated with Ed Clark’s 1980 presidential campaign—has been plagued with more security leaks than the Nixon White House.

Our “Deep Throat”—a source within the Cato network itself—has recently provided *Libertarian Vanguard* with a copy of yet another internal memo, authored by Clark campaign honcho Ed Crane. We reproduce that document below, in full.

MEMO TO THE FILES

FROM: Edward H. Crane

DATE: February 5, 1980

SUBJECT: Meeting on the Tax and Spending White Paper Study Group

THOSE PRESENT: Bartlett, Boaz, Burt, Crane, Herbert, Hilgartner, Hocker, Keating, MacReynolds, Palmer.

The study group was divided into two committees for purposes of future work. The Spending Reduction Committee consists of Bartlett, Hilgartner, Burt, and Peter Ferrara, who will fly down from New York to join us at future meetings. The Taxation Reduction Committee consists of Crane, Herbert, Keating, and Palmer. MacReynolds will act as liaison between the two committees and will have responsibility for locating an econometric model that is compatible with our objectives. Boaz

and Hocker will undertake much of the writing responsibility for the White Paper which is expected to be approximately 100 type written pages.

After much discussion as to whether a tax cut target should be established and then spending brought into line, it was determined that the most effective means of having a radical reduction of both taxing and spending and still receiving significant support from the public would be to tie our budget to John F. Kennedy’s 1962 budget adjusted for inflation, population growth and debt service obligations resulting from subsequent increases in the national debt. So our base budget would be \$107 billion. Adjusted for population growth it would be \$131 billion. Adjusted for inflation it would be \$383 billion. Adjusted to include additional interest obligations it would be \$433 billion. That requires a cut of \$183 billion from the budget submitted by President Carter, plus probably another \$10-15 billion the Congress will tack on.

The taxation side of things will be a bit more difficult. Jule submitted a plan calling for an increase in the exemption up to \$10,000, a 20% tax rate on income over \$10,000 and up to \$30,000, and a 25% rate on income above \$30,000. We discussed the idea of abolishing all other taxes and imputing earnings on corporate shares directly to the shareholder. Subsequently, Jule and I have discussed this question and have an alternative proposal. We would cut the personal income tax and the corporate income tax in half, abolish the gift and inheritance tax, and leave all other taxes the same. This would reduce revenues by approximately \$180 billion, which is assuming no increase in taxable income resulting from the inevitable increase in economic activity. It also does not take into consideration the effect of our Education Tax Credit proposal and the Social Security proposal. But it does seem to be a good ballpark approach to meeting our expenditure cut and still having a tax proposal that is easy to explain to the public: “We’re going to cut income taxes in half.”

The Defense and Foreign Policy Committee will be meeting in three weeks to develop the parameters for that White Paper. It will have to interface with the Spending Committee so that that group knows precisely how much of their spending cut will come out of the Defense budget. Anybody involved with this project who has any suggestions between meetings should contact me.

The strategic disorientation of our “low-tax liberals” has never been made so apparent. The absurd spectacle of Clark offering up his “alternative budget”—when, clearly, he never had a chance to win—becomes an even sordid spectacle as “anything goes,” so long as you call it a “transitional program.”

Of course, no one in our movement denies the obvious—the fact that there will be a transition from statism to libertarianism, a period of flux. But aping the “major” parties in the hope of becoming a major party is a mechanical parody of the real art of strategy, a sure road to failure and betrayal of libertarian principles. Carried to its logical conclusion, this doctrine of the “transitional program” with unlimited parameters could very well be used to justify a political “action” program which merely defends the status quo,

effectively allying the LP with Reagan and the conservatives. This is, in effect, what happened during the campaign: Clark’s economic nostrums were indistinguishable from Reagan’s more general campaign promises, at least as far as the average voter was concerned.

The publication of this memo should settle the question raised by David Nolan in his critique of the Clark campaign, when he wrote:

(Was this strange silence about Libertarian principles and implied endorsement of the Kennedy regime simply an accident? Or was it part of a plan to create what John Mason jokingly referred to as “The Camelot Consensus?” In retrospect, the Kennedy-style hairdo and the widely-disseminated photo of Clark artfully posed in front of picture of JFK do begin to assume a new significance—but perhaps not. Coincidences do happen, after all.)

Prominent Clark campaign ex-staffers deny that publication of the Clark photo with Kennedy’s portrait in the background was anything other than “accidental.” They claim, furthermore, that as soon as the “accident” was noticed the photo was pulled. But *Libertarian Vanguard* has learned that the photos in question were distributed in press packets at a Washington news conference one week before the election.

The publication of this internal memo documents what we in the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus have been saying since July of 1980. The supposedly random “errors” and “mistakes” of the Clark campaign fall into a definite pattern. Far from being a series of unrelated incidents and “accidents,” the Clark campaign was a systematic deviation from basic Libertarian principles. “Low-tax liberalism,” a term coined by Ed Clark himself, is an internally consistent doctrine, which calls for keeping welfare until we have “full employment”—and which wants to keep the Border Patrol until we can abolish welfare. That the opportunists chose John F. Kennedy—one of the biggest statist among U.S. Presidents—is particularly vivid testimony to the fact that some people will stop at nothing in the never-ending search for the lowest common denominator. □

LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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Editor: Justin Raimondo
Business Manager: Eric Garis
Treasurer: Scott Olmsted
Editorial Board: Murray N. Rothbard, Colin Hunter, Williamson Evers, Eric Garis, Scott Olmsted

Art Director: Jonnie Gilman
Layout: Julie Nunes, Deborah Steinhart
Typesetting: Bonnie Hoy, Eric Garis

continued from page 2

World War II, then resumed. In 1947 the British gave up and turned the Palestine issue over to the United Nations, which, by dint of heavy lobbying by the United States, voted to divide Palestine into Jewish and Arab states.

It should be emphasized that in November 1947, when the UN voted for partition, the Jewish immigrants had made up 30 percent of the population of Palestine and owned still less than 7 percent of the land. Nevertheless the UN gave the Zionists 55 percent of the country. This gerrymander gave the prospective Jewish state more Arabs than Jews—more, if one counted the nomadic Bedouins. It was obviously to Israel’s advantage to transfer the Arabs across her borders, and that’s exactly what happened to the Palestinian refugees.

DEIR YASSIN

In December 1947, a senior British official in the Arab Legion was one day visiting a British district commissioner in Palestine. A Jewish district official employed under the district commissioner was also present. . . . The British officer asked the Jewish official whether the new Jewish state would not have many internal troubles, in view of the fact that the Arab inhabitants of the Jewish State would be equal in number to the Jews.

“Oh, no!” replied the Jewish officer. “That will be fixed. A few calculated massacres will soon get rid of them.”

—General Sir John Pagot Blubb, *A Soldier With The Arabs*, p. 81

Irish journalist Erskine Childers was the first to demolish the Israeli claim that the refugees left at the incitement of radio broadcasts from the Arab countries. No such broadcasts were made. (See “The Other Exodus,” *The Spectator*, May 12, 1961.) But Israeli forces did use sound trucks to warn the Arabs, “Unless you leave your homes, the fate of Deir Yassin will be your fate.” Deir Yassin was a peaceful Arab village, well outside the borders of the proposed Jewish state, where on April 9, 1948, five weeks before Israel declared independence, the forces of Menachem Begin’s *Irgun* massacred some 250 men, women and children. When they heard the news, Begin boasted, “the Arabs began to flee in terror, shouting ‘Deir Yassin!’”

Nor was Deir Yassin an isolated incident. Israeli historian Arie Yitzhaqi wrote in *Yediot Aharonot* (April 14, 1972):

If we assemble the facts, we realize that to a great extent, the battle followed the familiar pattern of the occupation of an Arab village in 1948. In the first months of the “War of Independence” *Haganah* and *Palmach* (the *Haganah*’s elite commandos) troops carried out dozens of operations of this kind, the method adopted being to raid an enemy village and blow up as many houses as possible in it. In the course of these operations many old people, women and children, were killed wherever there was resistance.

According to Michael Bar-Zohar, this was the result of a deliberate decision on the part of David Ben-Gurion, Israel’s first Prime Minister:

During the War of Independence he explicitly ordered [the *Haganah*] to throw Arabs out of captured territories, not to kill them but to throw them out. This was his conception. . . . When Zisling came to the Cabinet and said why are they destroying houses of Arabs that fled, why are they [being] chased away, BG said that we want a Jewish State. . . . And after the war he always hoped that the possibility will arise for chasing out those Arabs that remained. . . .

Out of about 950,000 Arabs who had lived in the new, enlarged Israel, some 780,000 were refugees. In August, 1948, Foreign Minister Moshe Sharrett had informed the UN Mediator that the refugees could not return: “The reintegration of the returning Arabs into normal life, and even their mere sustenance, would present an insuperable problem. The difficulties of accommodation, employment, and ordinary liveli-



The ruins of Tal Za'atar refugee camp on the edge of Beirut, Lebanon. After a 53-day resistance waged by 20,000 Palestinians, the camp was captured by militant Lebanese Christians and bulldozed.

hood would be insuperable.” Insuperable indeed. “Nearly one quarter of all the standing buildings in Israel had been occupied by those Arabs,” Erskine Childers wrote. “Ten thousand shops, stores, and other firms inside new Israel had been Arab. Half of all the citrus fruit holdings in the new State had belonged to the Arabs now made refugees. By 1954, more than one-third of the entire Jewish population of Israel was living on ‘absorbed property’—most of it now ‘absorbed’ into the Israeli economy, and unilaterally sequestered by Israeli legislation against a ‘global’ compensation offer.” And so it came to pass as it was promised in the Torah:

The Lord your God will bring you into the land which he swore to your forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob that he would give you, a land of great and fine cities which you did not build, houses full of good things which you did not provide, rock-hewn cisterns which you did not hew, and vineyards and olive trees which you did not plant. (Deuteronomy 6:10.)

EPILOGUE: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Because we took the land, this gives us the image of being bad, of being aggressive. The Jews always considered that the land belonged to them, but in fact it belonged to the Arabs. I would go farther: I would say that the original source of this conflict lies with Israel, with the Jews—and you can quote me. But our attachment to this land is too powerful. The big problem, then, is not to start at the beginning but find out “Where do we go from here?”

—General Yehoshafat Harkabi, IDF

The General is wrong. Unless we start at the beginning we will never find out where we go from here. The crisis in the Middle East stems from the stark fact that the Israelis threw the Palestinians out of their country and took their land and property. Israel’s neighbors won’t recognize her “right to exist” because she won’t let the refugees return. The Palestinians carry out acts of “terrorism” against Israel because she won’t let them return. Israel carries out acts of terrorism against her neighbors under the name of “reprisals.” Israel attacked her neighbors and occupied their land successfully in 1967, unsuccessfully in 1956 when they objected to the reprisals. The same thing is going on in Lebanon today.

We also have to start at the beginning if we are ever to find a solution. The official Israeli position is that the Palestinian refugees should be assimilated into the other Arab countries, who are deliberately keeping them in the refugee camps to keep the war alive. But as Erskine Childers pointed out, it was the Palestinians themselves who were the fiercest opponents of “assimilation,” demanding instead to return to their homes and property. Today, 60 percent of the Palestinians in the Arab countries live and work outside the camps, but they have not abandoned the dream of returning to Palestine someday—quite the contrary. Clearly, “assimilation” is no solution.

The frequently heard proposal for a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip is no real solution

either. While such a “mini-state” would end Israeli oppression and land theft in the occupied territories, it would do nothing for the bulk of the Palestinian people, who came from or still live in Israel proper. It is for this reason that the Palestine Liberation Organization, while expressing its willingness to establish a state on any part of “the national home,” has consistently said that it would fight on to extend that state to the whole of Palestine. The various schemes for Palestinian “autonomy,” of course, fall considerably short of genuine statehood and seem doomed to failure due to a lack of West Bank “moderates” (others might say “Quislings”) to carry them out. The much-ballyhooed “autonomy” of the Camp David accords is typical: Begin defines it as “autonomy for people, not for the land”; which is to say that Begin has no intention of giving the Palestinian people back their land (and reserves the right to take more). Is it any wonder that the PLO rejects Camp David?

For want of any more attractive option, most Israelis seem willing to accept the status quo indefinitely: devoting 35 percent of their gross national product to the military, living with guerrilla war, and fighting the Arab states every ten years or so when their objections to Israeli “reprisals” get too violent. Even if this strategy were successful (and it could succeed only for so long as the U.S. taxpayer remained willing to underwrite 70 percent of the Israeli military budget) Israel would still face the “demographic bomb”: the higher birthrate of the Israeli Arabs. (Golda Meir used to remark that her sleep was often disturbed by the thought of all the Arab babies who had been born during the night, as well it might be.) Given the present low rate of Jewish immigration, the Palestinian Arabs will become a majority within Israel in the not too distant future (sooner than that in the Galilee). The consequences for Zionism are obvious.

All these proposed solutions evade the obvious: 90 percent of Israel, and 30 percent of the rest of Palestine, belonged to the Palestinian Arabs, and was taken from them by force. It was, in short, *stolen* from them. Given that it is obvious “where we go from here,” we don’t worry about a thief’s “attachment” to his loot; he must return it to his victim. The Palestinians have a right to repatriation, the return of their property and compensation, nothing less will do.

It seems strange that such an obvious solution should receive so little consideration in the Middle East debate (the PLO favors it, of course, along with a handful of Israeli socialists; but then they are “extremists”). The reason may be that all too much of the debate has been couched in collectivist and statist terms, rather than individualist and libertarian ones. The putative right to a “Palestinian homeland,” for example, is seen as conflicting with the supposed right to a “Jewish homeland.” The libertarian, however, is concerned with the right of the individual Palestinian to his home, and with his right to live there unmolested by Zionist or Arab overlords, which obviously need not conflict with the right of the individual Jew to his home (always assuming that it is not built on the rubble of the Palestinian’s home, which in Israel is probably the case). By contrast, the case for Zionism as it has been practiced in Palestine is necessarily collectivist, as Menachem

Begin proved when he told an audience of *kibbutzniks* in 1969:

When you recognize the concept of “Palestine,” you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahoreh. If this is Palestine and not the Land of Israel, then you are conquerors and not tillers of the land. You are invaders. If this is Palestine, then it belongs to a people who lived here before you came. Only if it is the Land of Israel do you have a right to live in Ein Hahoreh and Deganyah B. If it is not your country, your fatherland, the country of your ancestors and of your sons, then what are you doing here? You came to another people’s homeland, as they claim, you expelled them and you have taken their land. . . .

Contrast this with the views of the late Dr. Faye A. Sayegh, founder of the Palestine Research Center, former member of the PLO Executive Committee and current member of its National Council. At the National Convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates in October 1974, he critiqued the notion of “Israel’s right to exist”:

We do recognize the right of any state to exist on land rightfully belonging to its inhabitants—but we recognize no such claimed right to any state on land rightfully belonging to someone else. . . .

When Israel was established, only 5.6 percent of the total land area of Palestine was owned by Jews. . . . Every other inch of Palestinian land currently claimed by Israel or by Jewish Israelis was obtained by illegal confiscation.

It should be noted that Dr. Sayegh takes a more “hard core” libertarian position than the PLO itself does. The PLO would return expropriated Arab lands to their rightful owners, leaving the Zionists only with those lands which were voluntarily sold them by the *fellaheen* (and, of course, the celebrated “desert” which they caused to “bloom”), and establish “a secular democratic state . . . where Jew, Christian and Muslim live together in equality” in the whole of Palestine. This, while infinitely preferable to the current state of Israel, would still leave the Jewish minority outvoted by the Arab majority. What Dr. Sayegh is asserting is the right of Jewish or other dissatisfied groups to take their land and secede from the authority of the Palestinian state; a position reminiscent of the “anarcho-capitalism” of Murray Rothbard and other libertarian theorists.

It should also be pointed out that such schemes would only be feasible in the context of a free society in Palestine as a whole (what would the right of secession be worth if a village or kibbutz—let alone an individual—had to pass through customs to go to the market?). Here, then, is a program for those who want to know “where do we go from here” in Israel: libertarianism. Liquidate the coercive, state-capitalist institutions of the Israeli welfare/warfare state and replace them with libertarian ones based on voluntary association and the free market. And the essential precondition for a libertarian society is justice in property rights, which means that libertarians must support the immediate and total restoration of Palestinian property. Without that, there can be no peace in the Middle East. Nor should there be. □



In early January of 1981, the junta's troops raided a suspected guerilla camp in San Salvador. 27 people, like the children in this picture, were killed.

El Salvador: How Long Can the Junta Last?

The cause of El Salvador's national liberation struggle against US imperialism received a boost, recently, both on the home front and in the US.

On April 30, the House Foreign Affairs Committee imposed limited restrictions on military aid to El Salvador's military junta; the vote was 25 to 7. On May 11, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved a similar amendment to a foreign aid bill; the vote was 11 to 1.

In the wake of the big rallies held around the nation on May 3 (60,000 in Washington, 10,000 in San Francisco), the US State Department's much-touted "White Papers" (supposedly documenting Soviet and Cuban links to El Salvador's rebels) were exposed as US "disinformation" and outright fabrications. Articles published in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Post* indicate ex-CIA agent Phillip Agee's claim is entirely correct; the "documented evidence" of Soviet and Cuban intervention is a forgery, and a clumsy forgery at that.

The *Wall Street Journal* article quoted John Glassman, the State Department expert who deciphered the allegedly captured guerrilla documents, as admitting that there is no documented evidence for the "White Paper" allegation that 200 tons of weapons were delivered to the rebels by socialist bloc nations. "That (200 tons) comes from intelligence based on

air traffic, based on the truck traffic. In other words, it doesn't come from the document."

Another supposed captured guerrilla document was discovered by the *Post* to be a fragment of a much longer document; far from substantiating the State Department's case alleging huge arms deals, the unreleased portion catalogues a series of unsuccessful attempts to procure arms. One annotation written in the margin by a State Department analyst says: "From this, it would appear they had only 626 weapons for more than 9000 men."

It also appears that the document supposedly authored by a leader of El Salvador's Communist Party may have been a forgery. Glassman admitted to *Journal* reports Jonathan Kwitny that a key phrase was left out of the English translation. The typed original states that an arms shipment will leave Ethiopia "en barco neutra" (in our ship). But the FMLN doesn't have a navy; neither does the Communist Party of El Salvador. Glassman said in the *Journal* that the "White Paper" was wrong to claim the document was written by a prominent CP leader. Another handwritten document—attributed to the same CP leader—was obviously written by two different people. In addition, the origins of these documents are still in dispute. Former US ambassador to El

Salvador Robert White denies any knowledge of the cloak-&-dagger games which supposedly led to the capture of the secret documents. "All this is news to me," says White. "It strikes me as unlikely that I would not have heard this story before..."

The State Department continues to insist on the authenticity of the documents, and promises to issue a detailed defense of the "White Paper's" disinformation campaign shortly. Meanwhile, it is rumored that the Reagan administration will soon release other "captured documents" purporting to show that relief funds from major US church groups are being diverted to buy arms for the rebels. Among the accused are the World Council of Churches, Oxfam America and Catholic Relief Services. In some cases, the Reagan administration's new documents purportedly show, this diversion of relief aid is being done without these organizations' knowledge. All three organizations deny the charges.

PEOPLE'S WAR

The rebel forces, under the unified command of the FMLN (Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation), have recently succeeded in taking the offensive against the junta. Military

action is focused on three major areas. In Chalatenango and Cabanas provinces, the FMLN is making a concerted attack on towns and cities. The rural areas surrounding these towns are largely in the hands of the FMLN. In the region of Chinchontepec volcano, the junta has besieged FMLN strongholds for two weeks now—failing to move the rebels from their positions.

In spite of increased US aid, government troops have failed to alter the military balance of power in the junta's favor. The FMLN controls significant portions of Chalatenango, Cabanas, Morazan, San Vicente, as well as liberated zones in other provinces.

The morale of government troops is low. Reportedly, regular army troops have refused to cooperate with special security forces who specialize in torture and mutilation of political opponents. There have been several instances where regular army soldiers have been killed by special "security" squads for disobeying orders.

The big battle is taking place in Chalatenango, and is centered around the town of Arcatao (near the Honduras/El Salvador border). According to the junta, one thousand FMLN soldiers are laying siege to Arcatao's garrison of government troops.

In answer to stepped up government repression—according to the report of the Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador, 456 people were killed by the junta and rightwing death squads, in the first two weeks of June—the FMLN is threatening the vitally important Cabanas province region. This is where the 5th of November Dam, and the Cerron Grande Dam, are both located. Together these dams generate 80% of El Salvador's electrical power. Serious damage to these facilities could severely damage the economy—and bring down the current junta. (Rumors of an impending coup by ORDEN and sectors of the military and security police are currently sweeping through San Salvador, this tiny nation's beleaguered capital city.)

The attack on the FMLN stronghold in the Chinchontepec volcano region has been marked by heavy civilian casualties. The heavy shelling of the area has given the government control of a few villages, but the FMLN retains control after a month-long battle. The random terror of the bombardment has killed many more innocent civilians than FMLN regulars, has caused local Church authorities to protest, and generated much sympathy for the liberation forces.

THE MASK COMES OFF

Under pressure from Washington kingmakers, the junta is moving steadily to the right. The much-vaunted "land reform" program—which would not have given peasants title to the land—has now been largely abandoned. The junta has decreed a six-month wage freeze. According to the *New York Times*, "Included in the decree was a prohibition against any job promotion that would result in a higher salary." El Salvador's neo-feudal system of land titles is being reinforced by the junta; while the mask of reform is being dropped, so are all pretenses that the situation of the junta is anything but desperate. According to a diplomat in San Salvador: "The guerrillas are stronger than they were six months ago." The *Times* also cited a Mexican official who maintained that the rebels had solid support from the peasantry, who make up most of El Salvador's population. How else could the guerrillas have held out—indeed, even expanded their base of operations—fighting an army trained and equipped by the US? As US-supported terrorism by the junta's forces increases, the US puppet, "President" Jose Napoleon Duarte, stoutly maintains that elections will be held next March—while refusing to negotiate with the FMLN.

As for the opposition forces, it has always been the position of the FDR (Frente Democratico Revolucionario, the political arm of the FMLN) that negotiations are the way to peace.

Completely disoriented, the SLS leadership veered from brazen opportunism to even more brazen sectarianism.

This new sectarian phase was characterized by the outlook and activities of the National Resistance Committee, the SLS front group designed to pull anti-draft activists into the libertarian movement. Increasingly isolated, the NRC became even more sectarian. First of all, NRC's program consisted of a single-note endlessly and tirelessly repeated: draft resistance. Much emphasis was put on the absolute necessity of breaking the law; indeed, the cult of civil disobedience was here carried to utterly ridiculous extremes. NRC supporters were urged to sign a pledge which took the form of a solemn oath to resist the draft. There was a lot of talk about "building supportive networks," and God knows how many "pot-luck" parties they gave. But a typical NRC meeting—as infrequent an occurrence as that was—revealed the reality behind the "counter-cultural" facade. At one meeting held in the San Francisco Women's Building, the paid NRC staffperson was so heavy-handed, so intent on nipping any opposition in the bud, that an open rebellion within the organization ensued. In the aftermath, only a small, intensely sectarian grouplet remained. SLS continued to pay the bills, and the NRC continued along the same narrow route. NRC routinely refused to cooperate with other peace groups in the Bay Area (the only area it had any real presence); NRC boycotted a Bay Area-wide press conference jointly sponsored by a variety of organizations right up until the last minute. In the March 22 anti-war/anti-draft protests—which attracted 10,000 in Washington, D.C. and close to 5000 in San Francisco—the NRC played a singularly disruptive role. At a series of planning meetings held prior to the March 22 San Francisco march, NRC representatives consistently voted against the single-issue orientation of the coalition previously agreed on, insisting that the entire coalition adopt a pro-resistance stance and concerning itself chiefly with electing its own people to various committees—in violation of decisions made with them in caucus with local LP members. NRC representatives supported every effort by pro-China Maoists of the League for Revolutionary Struggle in their attempt to turn the rally into an ill-attended, sectarian circus. Fortunately, both the Maoist and the NRC sectarians were defeated—but only after a protracted struggle within the coalition, only after a lot of time and energy which could have built the march was instead utilized to combat a destructive tendency which had emerged from within the Libertarian movement itself.

When SLS finally ran out of money, the demise of the NRC did not mean the demise of this sectarian orientation toward the anti-war movement. The leadership of SLS was still careening down the same path to political oblivion—and at a rapidly accelerating speed. The crash came at the recently held national convention of CARD (the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft.)

After isolating Libertarians from the rest of the anti-draft movement, and anticipating a leftist takeover, the SLS leadership made matters worse by insisting that virtually every libertarian organization in existence be given seats on the national steering committee. SLS, SIL, ALF, etc., etc., all would have one vote, giving SLS and its few allies a majority. Mueller managed to mobilize about twenty young libertarians for the CARD conference. After all the thunder and lightning, all the media hype, all that money spent, it was a pitiful sight indeed. Hopelessly outnumbered, on his way out as SLS National Director, Milton Mueller let loose with a 13-page pamphlet, "Open Letter to the Anti-draft Movement," signed by sixteen young libertarians. This document was, in reality, meant as Mueller's "Dear John" letter to the Left, as the opportunists in our movement stampeded to the right. The opening paragraph of the "Open Letter" is filled with contempt for the traditions of the anti-war movement, putting out the same line newspaper reporters used to trivialize SLS' own May 1st demonstrations way back in 1979. And we quote:

It is clear that the current forces within CARD are preparing to re-enact the anti-Vietnam war movement. The slogans, political line, tactics and strategy are all the same. Kirkpatrick Sale said of the March 22 Mobilization Against the Draft demonstration that "there is a willful time warp at work... an eerie sense of repetition about it all... They're wearing buttons and armbands

just the way we used to, and they even—I swear it—make the same kinds of gestures..." Like generals preparing to fight the last war, the anti-draft movement readies itself for the Reagan administration.

This statement is utterly amazing, considering the source, for a number of reasons. First of all, the one organization which fits Mr. Kirkpatrick Sale's sneering description is none other than the NRC, SLS' very own front group. The chief activity of the NRC, toward the end, seemed to be manufacturing multi-colored "rain-bow" armbands which were hawked at anti-war rallies. NRC publications were filled with neo-psychedelic graphics, peace symbols, and the curious psycho-babble of "personalized" politics. Secondly, for SLS to attack the March 22 Mobilization—in which Libertarians managed to maintain on the speakers list—was a big blunder. The arguments of the leftists at the conference consisted of appealing to other leftists to "go beyond" the anti-war movement of the 60's—by saddling the movement with every socialist panacea under the sun.

The rest of the "Open Letter" amounts to little more than berating the Left for not understanding the true nature of the Reagan victory. After many months of political isolation and ostracism, Mueller cannot help gloating. The Reagan victory, writes Mueller, means, "The electoral finally repudiated the failing New Deal liberal system and moved toward a new consensus."

Mueller then uses this rightist stick to beat down his factional opponents on the left. Why all this moralizing about the evils of war, when we should be talking to the great "middle American" majority? ("Militarism is beginning to hurt them" ("middle America"), not just far away foreigners, and in their pocketbook, not just their conscience." Mass murder, says Mueller, is too expensive—that should be the credo of the anti-war movement.

Although Mueller's "Open Letter" is prefaced with an appeal to carry on the discussion within the anti-war movement "with tolerance, rationality, and mutual respect"—although Mueller writes, "There is criticism in this document, but its purpose is to persuade"—the whole tone of the "Open Letter" is consistently pedantic, condescending, and sectarian to the core. The "Open Letter," while making a few ritualistic gestures toward "unity," manages to attack every leftist grouping in the anti-draft movement without once really focusing on the primary issue: a single-issue orientation versus the "multi-issue" sectarianism of the leftist program. Instead, the "Open Letter" berates socialists for even daring to exist; an entire section, "The Crisis of the Left," is apparently devoted to proving to the socialist ideologues that they've been wrong all these years, that socialism is a "failure."

(In all fairness, Mueller performs a service when he takes the social democrats of DSOC to task for supporting the US military presence in Western Europe, but the "Open Letter" was not the place for it.)

Of course, this sort of lecturing got SLS exactly nowhere. The "Open Letter," although it took the form of an apparent attempt to win socialists to libertarianism, accomplished the exact opposite of its alleged intentions, further isolating libertarians from independent forces still unsympathetic to leftist heavy-handedness. In published accounts of the CARD conference, SLS leaders complain that every mention of the word "libertarian" brought forth a chorus of hisses from the assembled leftists. We are led to believe the evil leftists were motivated by pure hatred of libertarianism or pure malevolence. However, an alternate theory proposes that perhaps they read the "Open Letter."

The subsequent defeat of the single-issue perspective, and the leftist takeover of the coalition, engineered by the Workers World Party (WWP), led to the formation of the so-called People's Anti-war Mobilization (PAM), a WWP front group. The subsequent three-way split in the leftist "coalition"—with the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and PAM all at each other's throats—is a testimony to what we surmised when SLS failed to put up a real fight at the CARD conference. But for SLS' sectarian foot-stomping tactics, which amounted to abstention from the struggle, the differences between the various left grouplets could have been utilized to our advantage.

One aspect of the "Open Letter" is particularly disturbing—an analysis of which may shed some light on leftist

hostility to Libertarian participation in the May 3 demonstrations. Mueller's harping on the theme of the "middle American" "majority"—"they all work for a living, think of themselves as middle class, and are concerned with inflation, unemployment, and taxes"—was particularly obnoxious, and politically wrong. For Mueller clearly juxtaposes this nebulous grouping to blacks and other minorities, to wit:

The old liberal-labor-minority coalition of the New Deal, they (the social democrats) believe, can be exhumed and, like Frankenstein, made to come alive again. Of course, the anti-draft movement should bend over backwards to develop support among minorities. But this does not eliminate or detract from the need to develop support among the middle American majority. ("Open Letter"; p. 4)

But don't blacks, and other minorities, "work for a living?" Or is Mueller repeating the racist canard that all or most non-whites are "welfare bums"? Don't many blacks, and other minorities, "think of themselves as middle class"—and doesn't everyone want financial stability and independence? Aren't blacks, and other minorities, "concerned with inflation, unemployment, and taxes"?

Mueller's dichotomy between white "Middle America" and the rest of society is a dangerous road to venture on, an utterly arbitrary construct which could discredit us in the anti-war movement for a long time to come. Such arguments give credence to leftist slanders that libertarians are "racists" in anti-imperialist clothing.

For Mueller to construct his argument against the Left in this way is to concede to their claim that they represent the interests of minorities. Whose interests, then, do we represent? If I were a leftist looking for material to slander Libertarians with, I would find in Mueller's "Open Letter" a rich and invaluable source. (Between Sam Konkin and the Institute for Historical Review, and Mueller's antics in the anti-draft movement, leftist smear-technicians could have a veritable field day.)

By abandoning the single-issue orientation, diverting valuable resources into anti-nuclear opportunism, and finally succumbing to sectarianism, the opportunist leadership of SLS delivered the libertarian cause within the anti-draft movement a serious blow—but not a mortal one. The disarray in which the leftist forces now find themselves—split at least three ways—means that they are under increasing pressure to accept a single-issue orientation, at least temporarily. By reaffirming that orientation—which calls for unity around opposition to US intervention abroad, the arms build-up, and the draft—we can build on our past successes. But this will happen only if we learn from our past failures.

In summing up the lessons of our experiences in the anti-war movement, three important points need to be highlighted.

1) *The importance of building a cadre organization.* The final testimony to the failure of opportunism was the inability of SLS to bring barely twenty libertarians to the CARD conference. For an organization which is supposed to be the "most successful," the "fastest-growing" in the movement, this is curious indeed. The opportunist conception of organization—as a loose federation run, top-down, by a few leaders in an office—came back to haunt us at the CARD conference. If, after the CARD conference, the SLS leadership still rejects the cadre-building perspective, then this is a case of political suicide—and there is nothing more to be done about it. If we are going to have an impact on the anti-war movement, the importance of developing skilled activists cannot be over-emphasized.

2) *Unity of theory and practice.* Those who denigrate "theory," those "nuts-&-bolts" technicians who live in the "real" world, will perhaps lose their contempt for the power of ideas—especially wrong ideas—if they examine the errors made by the SLS leadership. Incorrect theory leads to political disaster. Not only is opportunism wrong, my "pragmatic" friends, it doesn't work! (As a footnote: Another lesson to be learned from this whole episode, especially concerning the increasingly sectarian policies of both NRC and the SLS National Office majority, is the link between sectarian posturing and the classic opportunist appetite. This drunken veering from left to right, these sudden reversals, have a certain internal logic. By repeating "resistance!" like a formula learned by rote, the NRC hoped to attract large numbers of "radicals," and others

attracted by the self-dramatizing possibilities of such a position. This opportunist appetite fed into NRC's sectarian impulses; the more these appetites were starved for success, the shriller NRC's rhetoric became. It was at this point that SLS/NRC openly abandoned the single-issue orientation and sought to impose the resistance strategy on the rest of the anti-draft movement.)

3) *Libertarians can have a decisive impact on the anti-draft movement.* Even with the limited resources of SLS, Libertarians did have a tremendous impact on the anti-war movement—in spite of some temporary setbacks. Disregarding the errors made by the SLS leadership for the moment, we gave leftists a run for their money—although we were out-numbered at the conference, they barely managed to retain control and they almost didn't succeed in their effort to exclude us. If we choose to intervene again, to reclaim the mantle of opposition to war and slavery, perhaps we can give them a taste of their own medicine.

FIGHT THE RIGHT—

These are the Reagan Years, and it is the Right which has state power. This fact alone should tell us just who and what is the main danger to liberty in the US. It is not the Left which is now attempting to militarize the economy and nearly every aspect of American life. It is not the Left which is conducting a government witch hunt of "subversives" and leading the renewed assault on civil liberties symbolized by the unleashing of the CIA, FBI and other US intelligence agencies. It is not the Left which is leading a crusade to "clean-up America" regardless of whether America wants to be purified in this manner.

Today, our main enemies are to be found on the Right—those now in state power whose programs combine imperialism abroad with repression at home.

But our special antipathy for conservatives stems from our understanding that militarism is the principal aspect of the rightwing program—under the aegis of an ostensibly "free market" orientation. It was one thing for the old-state corporate state liberals to defend and seek to expand America's imperial domain—at least they didn't simultaneously utter hypocritical slogans about individual liberty and getting government "off our backs!"

The Reagan coalition consists of outright militarists, Moral Majority types, and Friedmanite pseudo-libertarians who have subordinated themselves politically to the internal discipline of a new ruling alignment. The glue which holds this diverse gang together is slavish devotion to Cold Warrior mythology and sheer power lust. In what should be an ongoing effort to derail the Reaganite consensus, all other considerations must be subordinated to a single purpose. In order to "fight the Right" we need to split the Reaganite realignment—by linking massive tax cuts to massive cuts in "defense" spending, building a mass movement to repeal the income tax, and attacking Reaganism from both the left and the right.

These phony "free market" footsoldiers for Reagan must be confronted politically, and split off from the Reaganite alliance, if the Libertarian Party is to meet with even limited success in this decade. If Reagan and his militarist allies are allowed to co-opt the mantle of the free market, the cause of liberty may not recover for many years to come.

Our tactical orientation toward the Right must therefore focus on an effort to disrupt, destabilize and eventually split its mass organizations, especially the "tax revolt." When NTU honcho James Dale Davidson asks "Do you think we should support the President wholeheartedly, or simply endorse his proposal while calling for even greater cuts?" Libertarians should reject the remotest possibility of giving any support to Reagan's program. Of course, Libertarians should dismiss the idea of "wholeheartedly" supporting Reagan with the contempt such an idea deserves. But we should not make the mistake of counterposing this to giving Reaganism critical support, while calling for "even more cuts." We should relentlessly point out that no real cuts have been made. Far from being cut back, the "public" sector—in the form of the militarized sector of the economy—increases under the impact of resurgent US imperialism. No, we do not "endorse" the Reagan program, not even partially; we expose it for the fraud it is, and we fight for principled leadership of the tax protest movement. Not only do we call for "even more cuts"—we must specify that it is the

members and prospective recruits. At least prospective members will know what it is they are signing if and when they complete the course. As to what such a course would teach—undoubtedly this would be cause for at least some discussion. Moved by the necessity of this project, perhaps we can even begin to finally settle some of the outstanding theoretical questions which have, up until now, remained unsolved. Besides giving an historical overview of our movement, the basic course should deal with our positions on the important political issues of the day. Rather than presented as an entirely separate category of inquiry, the whole area of "strategy" should be incorporated into each lesson, dealt with throughout the entire course. Theory and strategy are not two mutually exclusive domains; "nuts-&bolts" unconnected to ideas are powerless to move anyone or anything.

2) *Establish a Libertarian Party press.* The Libertarian Party will never reach political maturity until after it has established a stable party newspaper. It is here where the real link between theory and practice is demonstrated for even the beginning student of politics to see. For the party newspaper simultaneously serve to develop and disseminate our ideas. How do the Libertarians stand on this or that political question? Is there anywhere, aside from the statement of general principles in the platform, where the curious can find the answer to this question? What about Poland? What about Reagan's budget cuts? Where do we stand on the Family Protection Act? Political events do not wait for our Platform Committee to meet, and decide. In order to be able to respond immediately to events as they occur, we need nothing less than a weekly newspaper. Of course, such a thing can hardly be commanded into existence. Undoubtedly, such a project will go through many stages; perhaps it will start out as a rather modest, but well-done, monthly. Eventually, hopefully soon, it could go bi-weekly. Making the leap from bi-weekly to weekly will be a qualitative step forward, representing the real transition from adolescence to political adulthood. Essentially, the LP newspaper will serve two vital functions. First, it is the best way to communicate our politics to the political periphery which we need to develop and draw into the party. At this stage in our political development we need more qualified activists to fulfill a number of rather specialized functions. Such people are, understandably, more demanding than the average citizen; they require a reasonably complete explanation of our various positions on issues, as well as a clear, consistent world outlook. Secondly, the newspaper's developing distribution system will provide the "skeleton" of a real national LP organization, the organizational backbone which will transform what is essentially a federation of local groups into a real nation-wide movement.

3) *Start publishing an internal discussion bulletin.* It is literally impossible to run a serious political organization—that is, a cadre organization of activists—without publishing some sort of internal discussion bulletin. Now we in the LPRC are not champions of ultra-"democratic" decentralism, and we certainly do not propose to turn the LP into a debating society, forever doomed to re-enact the anarchist/minarchist debate. But a political line is not something which can be handed down from on high; a certain amount of interaction is necessary in order to establish the LP position on some particular question. Part of the reason for the generally low theoretical level of our movement—and the subsequent rise of "low-tax liberalism"—is this utter lack of any internal life. Theory needs to be demystified. If libertarian ideas are our primary tools we must all become thoroughly familiar with them—indeed, we must all have access to the process of formulating those ideas and their application to the real world. In this way, an internal

If and when these sweeping reforms are ever implemented, they will undoubtedly require re-structuring the internal decision-making process of the LP. A full presentation of our views on the "organization question" is beyond the scope of this article. But it can be seen from the nature of our proposals that they assume a much higher level of political development. Whatever the specific character of the LP's internal structure after the proposed program is implemented, these changes must facilitate the process whereby the elected leadership can routinely make important political decisions quickly, efficiently, and reliably.

The discussion in our party—the debate which will continue well beyond the Denver Convention—ranges from the "low-tax liberal" controversy down to the many organizational and procedural questions which arose during the 1980 campaign. But behind all the various particulars, two mutually exclusive conceptions of the Libertarian Party loom over the political landscape, overshadowing all. On the one hand we have the opportunist "votes-are-everything" conception of the LP, which has dominated the LP bureaucracy until now. Under the control of this "low-tax liberal" group, the LP has taken the form of an electoral machine, a creature capable of living only in or around voting booths. This poor, deformed creature, who only comes alive every two years (at most), spent over \$5 per vote in the last Presidential election.

On the other hand we have the conception of the LP, in this period, as a principled mass party, which contains an ever-growing number of knowledgeable, principled activists, and which is presently allocating many resources to electoral activity. The measure of political success, from this perspective, is not sheer numbers of votes, (contributions, or whatever). This emphasis on recruiting new cadre and maintenance of veteran activists, not just petition circulators, is the crucial difference between the two conceptions. Far from being an overspecialized creature who eats only opinion polls, this party of a new type will be a well-balanced vehicle—sturdy enough for the trip down the long road to liberty.

INTO THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Assuming we have successfully dealt with "first things first," assuming we have a reasonable facsimile of our LP organization—what then? What strategy can guide us through the Reagan years and beyond? Once we have consolidated our own organization, there is no doubt about what course we ought to chart. In the face of the moral and military rearmament of the US ruling class, symbolized by a shift to the right by the country's ruling institutions and heightened Cold War tensions; there is only one place for us to go: into the anti-war movement. For war is the great collectivizer, it is the State souped-up to full operating capacity; war is the very essence of statism itself, describing perfectly the relations between the rulers of a nation and their "citizen"/subjects.

Our strategic orientation means facing toward the anti-war movement, making opposition to US intervention abroad and repression at home the themes of our major activities. Our initial tactical ploy, however, must take other factors—such as our small number of skilled LP cadre, the hostility of the Left, etc.—into account. What we are proposing is a limited initial intervention, coordinated on a national basis, which focuses on repression at home as a consequence of the war hysteria. We should target Senator Jeremiah Denton and his Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism (see "The New McCarthyism," elsewhere in this issue) in particular, working with existing organizations whenever we can—setting up "front groups" when necessary.

In this way, we can make rapid gains initially by carving out our own niche in the anti-war movement, and then moving to expand our base from there.

We can learn some vital lessons by examining the history of Libertarian intervention in the anti-war movement. In the late 1960s, Murray Rothbard called for a similar "turn" toward the anti-war movement. Rothbard describes what ensued:

When the New Left began to emerge around 1965, it appeared far more libertarian on crucial issues than the conservatives, for the following reasons: (1) its increasingly thoroughgoing opposition to the Vietnam war, US imperialism, and the draft—the major political issues of that period, in contrast to conservative support for these policies. And (2) its forswearing of the old-fashioned statism and Social Democracy of the Old Left led the New Left to semi-anarchistic positions, to what seemed to be thoroughgoing opposition to the existing Welfare-Warfare post-New Deal corporate state, and to the state-ridden bureaucratic university system. . . .

An so began the "pro-New Left" line in the libertarian movement. . . . There was considerable growth in the next few years in libertarian groupings, in New York and elsewhere, particularly among college youth, many of whom

were not only converted from YAF conservatism to anarchism but also adopted the pro-New Left orientation. In 1968, Karl Hess shifted from Goldwaterism to Randianism and then on to anarcho-capitalism, lending his considerable charismatic talents to attracting college youth.

... What happened increasingly, with this group and others, was that an alliance with the New Left had propelled a large number of these youthful libertarians into becoming leftists in fact, ranging from Maoists to leftwing anarchists.

Rothbard links these defections to the weakness of the subjective factor, and is self-critical enough to write "I must plead mea culpa here. I think my error was two-fold," writes Rothbard:

(a) . . . gravely overestimating the emotional stability, and the knowledge of economics, of these fledgling libertarians; and, as a corollary, (b) underestimating the significance of the fact that these cadre were weak and isolated, that there was no libertarian movement to speak of, and that therefore hurling these youngsters into an alliance with a far more numerous and powerful group was bound to lead to a high incidence of defection. In New York and Washington, the defection was led, partially sub-rosa, by Karl Hess who, after a few short months as an anarcho-capitalist, hurtled into real leftism of the leftwing-anarchist-Maoist-syndicalist variety. ("Toward A Libertarian Theory of Social Change"; Unpublished manuscript.)

Today, more than ten years later, our movement is no longer weak and isolated. Although we have our problems, it is clear that the theme of the Denver Convention is a verdict we can safely make: Libertarianism, as an organized alternative to all varieties of statism, is truly here to stay. After the MacBride campaign, the LP made the big leap; from a loose federation of local circles we had evolved into a real national organization. After easily defeating an early sectarian trend—which opposed all electoral activity, and all attempts to go beyond the "circle spirit"—it looked like the LP was in a good position to lead a strong mass movement.

If we can stem the rising tide of right-opportunism in the LP and put "low-tax liberalism" where it belongs—in the trash-bin of History—we have a chance to redeem our earlier experiences in the anti-war movement of the 60s. We can make a decisive impact on the anti-war movement of the 80s if we consciously effect LP intervention on a national scale. What is needed is a nationally-coordinated group of LP members who have made this intervention their special task. But what is more: nothing less than the total support of the national and state parties is required if such a plan is to bear fruit. The strategic primacy of this campaign must be more than merely acknowledged by the LP leadership. This new emphasis to our political work should be the leitmotif of all other LP activities, especially electoral campaigns. Our publications, our public statements, each and every item on our political agenda must be decisively affected by this turn toward the fight against militarism.

Again, there is much to learn from the history of our relationship to the anti-war movement—a history which neither began nor ended with the New Left phenomenon of the 60s.

LIBERTARIANS & THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT: PART II

A few months after the founding of Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS), it was clear to everyone on the paid staff that SLS would allocate many resources to maintaining a formidable presence in the then-emerging anti-draft movement. In those early days, which culminated in over fifty May 1 anti-draft demonstrations in rather diverse locations, we actually imagined that we were generating a real mass movement. Those May 1st actions built and expanded the activist base of SLS; suddenly, an entire network had sprung up. *Liberty*, the SLS newspaper, (a publication which, by the way, improved with each issue) hammered away at not only the draft, but the rightward shift in U.S. foreign policy which began during the last phase of the Carter administration.

But SLS was—and still is, to this day—in no better condition than the early, pre-LP

movement which lost so many members to the membership—an educational seminar held somewhere in the parched California desert—was essentially a failure. (At any rate, what might have been a sincere beginning was never followed up—a fact which characterized most SLS activities during this period.) At one point, an entire SLS chapter went over to the Progressive Alliance, a social democratic/pro-China Maoist coalition of Marxists.

The timely and wholehearted intervention of SLS into the then just-emerging anti-war movement built the foundations of a libertarian youth movement in the US. But this limited success seemed to create unlimited problems. The chief problem was lack of cadre. There was too much to do, and never enough people to do it. To build a transmission belt from the mass movement to our own, SLS built a series of front groups, which eventually stabilized into the National Resistance Committee (NRC).

As the government played a game of cat-&-mouse with the anti-draft movement, the SLS leadership began to get impatient. After a year's existence, they still hadn't been somehow catapulted into the leadership of a mass student movement. After a few invigorating shots of initial media hype—a quote from *Newsweek* was prominently displayed on all SLS literature—the leadership felt let down. Instead of working to consolidate and work with the gains of the past initial period, they looked desperately around for a bandwagon—any bandwagon—to jump on.

That bandwagon wasn't long in—and it didn't take them very long to jump right on. In the spring of 1979, the SLS leadership made a sudden, fateful turn. The anti-nuclear movement was, increasingly, the object of media attention. Under the influence of Dr. John Gofman, the SLS National Office majority started to advocate a turn toward the anti-nuclear movement. In order to facilitate this diversion away from anti-draft/anti-war activities, SLS National Director Milton Mueller and his associates concocted a "theoretical" justification for this—after the fact, of course. Mueller maintained that nuclear power plants must be shut down because, a) they were made possible by state intervention, a fact which therefore supposedly proves such an industry could not exist in a libertarian society, and b) because nuclear power itself cannot be made safe, not now nor in the foreseeable future. This last contention was allegedly buttressed by the "scientific" expertise of Dr. John Gofman, a Big Name in anti-nuke circles who the SLS leadership claimed to have won over to Libertarianism.

A small but vocal minority within the ranks of SLS, as well as in the National Office, vigorously opposed this unprincipled and untimely turn. But to no avail. Murray Rothbard resigned from the SLS Board, and the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus supported the SLS minority. Intense pressure to capitulate to the Gofman line was applied to LPRC members on the SLS National Office staff, with Gofman's "science" now installed as Mueller's own version of Lysenkoism.

After a belated effort to create a Libertarian presence in the anti-nuclear movement—which never amounted to much more than spending a lot of money on producing lots of literature (some of which was written and typeset but never laid out) and getting John Gofman to mention libertarianism during speeches at some anti-nuke rallies—the whole thing came to naught. The SLS front group, the Committee to Repeal Price Anderson, was never anything but one individual—who is, appropriately enough, now a member of the Citizens Party.

Nothing was gained by the anti-nuke turn, but much was lost. Most importantly, the momentum gained by all our work in the anti-draft movement had long since fizzled out. By failing to follow-up our early success, by going along with the "low-tax liberal" trend which was beginning to develop at this time in the LP itself, the SLS National Office majority handed the anti-war movement of the 80s to the Left on a silver platter. The Left was given crucial time to marshal their forces, achieve a kind of unity, and successfully defeat libertarians in a contest for leadership of the new anti-war movement.

As the draft and growing indications of US intervention in El Salvador became big issues, SLS woke up from its anti-nuclear haze long enough to realize they'd been outflanked—but it was too late. The Left began locking SLS members out of anti-war coalitions all around the country.

rilla coalition oppose this orientation, insisting that the rebels must negotiate from a position of military strength—and that, no matter what, US imperialism must be thrown out of their homeland. Many leftists see the call for elections, in the context of the junta's rightward shift, as being a ploy to bring the rebels out into the open for a repeat of the 1932 slaughter of several thousand rebels. Others speculate the junta is hoping the electoral issue will split the opposition and lure dissident elements back into Duarte's government.

AGAINST ABSTENTION

In the June 1981 *Libertarian Vanguard*, we attacked *Libertarian Review* for being soft on the guerrillas. (See "El Salvador: Junta Launches Holocaust, p. 5.) We indirectly criticized editor Roy Childs for writing what seemed to us to be an apology for the guerrillas. However, Part II of that article has now been published in the June 1981 issue of *LR*—making our error plain for all to see. Either Childs has changed his line, or we were looking for differences where none existed. However, in his latest installment, Childs goes veering off in the opposite direction. Far from apologizing for the Marxist-Leninist-led guerrillas, now Childs seems to oppose them. After attacking ultrarightists, moderate rightists, neoconservatives and corporate state liberals for supporting US intervention in El Salvador, Childs trains his guns on the Left.

The radical left hates the Reagan foreign policy, the existing junta and all its supposed "reforms, and hopes that those guerrillas who are Marxists actually win, and carry through with a Castro-style revolution of the sort which has lately caused tens of thousands of refugees to flee Castro's despotism, for the chance to live a better life.

It is true that the Marxists are in control of the guerrilla coalition; but this doesn't necessarily mean the imposition of a "Castro-style" regime after the US is driven out. In any case, the main danger to liberty in El Salvador is not the Left—it is the Right, backed by US imperialism, which poses the main threat to the physical survival of the population. Curiously enough, the subhead under which this attack on the Left appears is called "Reality vs. the Intellectuals." But what is the reality of the situation in El Salvador? Who is fighting the genocidal junta, the junta that slaughters children and nuns? This, of course, is the reality that the intellectuals at *Libertarian Review* will not face: the overwhelming reality of an American Empire which is the main danger to peace and liberty, and the mortal enemy of every national liberation movement on earth, from Poland to El Salvador.

To anyone interested in political realities—as opposed to the above-it-all abstentionism of Washington-based intellectuals—it is clear that

Salvadorans have to make a choice. No Libertarian could choose the junta and still remain loyal to the libertarian cause. Either we support a revolution against a foreign-backed dictatorship, or else we become footsoldiers for Reagan. Childs lectures us on the supposedly equal danger posed by Left and Right:

[The Third World] badly need[s] change, but they most assuredly do not need the changes proposed by those at Right-wing cocktail parties and think-tanks, who turn a deaf ear toward the cries of those tortured and oppressed by Rightist regimes abroad, or those at Leftwing cocktail parties and think-tanks, for whom there are no enemies on the left, and for whom charges of Communist atrocities are always myths to be explained away.

This is, quite simply, wrong. Although the Left is fighting for socialism in El Salvador, the present

junta has outstripped them on that score. Thus, a military victory to the FMLN would hardly change the economic situation. In fact, the Third World—and specifically El Salvador—does need the one major change proposed by the Left: the end of US intervention. Since the US had done more to discredit and betray the cause of capitalism in El Salvador than any other single force—including the Marxist guerrillas—and since it is the FMLN which is fighting one of the most brutal dictatorships in the world—it is true that at present our enemies in El Salvador are not to be found on the Left. For whatever libertarians may exist in El Salvador—either now or in the future—the main task now is to defeat the junta. Having gotten rid of the main danger to liberty—US imperialism—it will then be appropriate to split off from the united front and fight any attempted Marxist take-over.

Roy Childs rightly calls for land reform in the Third World. "Land titles derived from neo-feudal conquests ought to be given back to the people from whom they were stolen . . ." We applaud this stand, and await the time *LR* will call for the application of these principles to the US itself. Childs also correctly emphasizes that: "These reforms cannot and must not be implemented by Americans, however well-intentioned. They must be understood, grasped and fought for by the people of the Third World themselves."

But how will the people of El Salvador understand, grasp and begin to fight for these libertarian ideals if our movement equally condemns those who fight US imperialism and those who serve their masters in Washington? How is this lofty idealism to be translated into actual political reality if we insist on repeating State Department disinformation about "communist atrocities" in El Salvador? What are these alleged "atrocities" and exactly when and where did they occur? Childs provides no details. How can we build a libertarian movement in Latin America if we fail to face the number one political reality of that region: the overwhelming dominance of US imperialism? Childs' real error concerning the revolution in El Salvador, and the Third World in general, comes out in the following: The editor of *LR* writes:

The reason we face Marxist revolutions in the Third World is that the Marxists have seen the world conflict always in long-range terms, and have done their homework.

What we are facing in the Third World is not a "Marxist revolution"—it is an upsurge of national-ism often led by leftists of one sort or another. From Ireland to Namibia to El Salvador, the people of the Third World are arrayed against US imperialism and its client states. The Marxists, of course, have used these nationalist movements for their own purposes—but their dominance is far from inevitable.

As we said in the last issue of *Libertarian Vanguard*: The people of El Salvador have no choice: they must either overthrow the junta, or face another 1932-style slaughter. There can be no moral or political neutrality in a battle of this kind. If we must temporarily join forces with Marxist-Leninists to fight the junta and its US supporters, then so be it. As far as the people of El Salvador are concerned, anything is better than a rightwing junta propped up by US imperialism.

A victory for the revolution in El Salvador would be a major defeat for US imperialism—the main danger to peace and—right in Washington's own back yard. On a world scale, such an event would be an inspiration to national liberation movements everywhere, and would objectively strengthen the movement for national self-determination which is a threat to both superpowers. □

WE'RE BUILDING A MOVEMENT!



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TEN YEARS LATER: AN ACTION PROGRAM FOR THE 80's

by the Editorial Board of *Libertarian Vanguard*

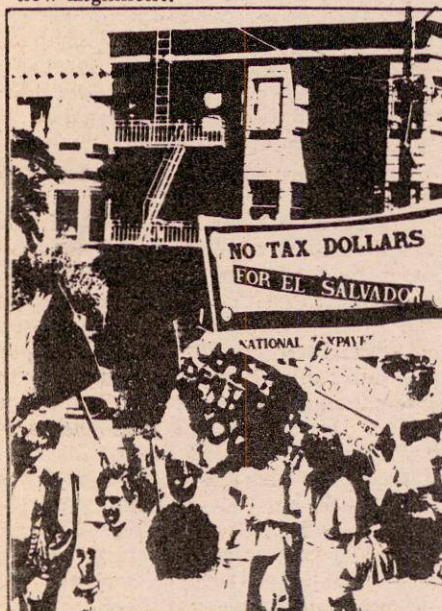
A decade after the founding of the Libertarian Party, the crisis of statism is reflected in the crisis of the Libertarian movement itself. As the US ruling class turns ever more rightward, as the Empire braces itself to make the leap from decline to revival, our movement is put to the decisive test. How Libertarians respond to the challenge of the Reagan Years will determine the character and direction of the LP for many years to come.

No political organization exists in a vacuum. The debate which is now taking place within the Libertarian Party is a response to the dramatic political shift which is taking place on a world scale. Internationally, this means Imperial America is going on the offensive. The US/China alliance, "drawing the line" in El Salvador, a projected Rapid Deployment Force strike at the Arab oil fields, US support to rightwing "authoritarian" regimes in opposition to leftist "totalitarian" nations—all are aspects of the extreme measures being taken by the US ruling class in a last-ditch effort to shore up the Empire. The Reagan victory means that the hardline Cold Warriors will get a chance to do what they've always wanted: "win" their holy war against the USSR and thus achieve a world where all roads truly lead to Washington, D.C.

On the home front, the militarization of the economy is proceeding at almost the same rapid pace as the concerted assault on civil liberties. An unleashed CIA means repression at home as well as abroad (see "The New McCarthyism," elsewhere in this issue). An ostensibly "free market" conservative Republican administration is building the mightiest war machine on earth under cover of a crusade to "get government off our backs." Left and Right are polarized—with the most authoritarian conservatives clearly in the ascendancy.

The discussion within our own movement, from the controversy surrounding the Clark campaign to the contention between the "Austrian" and "Chicago" schools, takes place against a backdrop of a world in crisis. The principal aspect of this crisis is the danger of nuclear war, and the militarization of American life. Within the ruling class itself, a titanic struggle for power is taking place, with the apostles of "detente" and superpower convergence now in the minority and the more extreme militarists firmly in control of the new alignment.

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These, then, are the *objective conditions*—the context in which strategic concepts must be developed and implemented. But at this important historical juncture, the gap between what is necessary and what is possible is widening at an alarming rate. For, on the eve of the crisis, when the *objective conditions* are *over-ripe*, the *subjective conditions*—the LP and the libertarian movement *itself*—are far from equal to the tasks before us.

THE SUBJECTIVE FACTOR

Under the impact of what is widely perceived as a forced march to the right,

many ostensibly Libertarian organizations and individuals cannot jump on the bandwagon fast enough. The Cato Institute policy memo authored by Ed Crane which brands some liberals and the left as "anti-American," echoing the Edith Efron line (see "Opportunists Move Rightward" (Part II); *Libertarian Vanguard*; July 1981; p. 20) was only the first slide rightward. In a letter to supporters of the National Taxpayers Union, NTU chairman James Dale Davidson openly expresses this opportunist impulse in the purest form imaginable. Davidson writes:

If you support President Reagan's budget and tax cut proposals, now is the time to do something about it. Someone from my office will be calling you in a few days to explain how you can help.

First, though Reagan's spending-cut package seems to be moving along in Congress, his tax cut proposals are in trouble.

Reagan has proposed to cut marginal tax rates by 30% across-the-board. If passed, this cut should offset inflationary tax-increases over the next four years but leave you little better off than you are now.

Do you think that we should support the President wholeheartedly, or simply endorse his proposal while calling for even greater cuts?

The danger is, we may not get any significant tax cut passed unless those of us who believe in fiscal responsibility stick together and continue to fight for reform. And that brings me to the second part of my request to you. . . . In the past, you have been a member and a generous contributor to the National Taxpayers Union. But why stop now—when we really are close to victory?

Although Davidson would have us believe that NTU's strategic orientation is an open question, in fact nothing could be further from the truth. During the recent "battle of the budget," NTU came out publicly for the Reagan proposals—without any qualifications, without mentioning the "defense" budget, just another cog in the Reaganite coalition. The Feb. 1981 issue of NTU's newspaper, *Dollars & Sense*, features a triumphant Reagan superimposed over a Congressional-looking dome. Inside, the copy measures up to the promise of the packaging. On page two we have an article entitled "President Reagan and the New Congress Need Your Help," and we quote:

As you know, the new President has pledged to eliminate "waste, fraud and mismanagement" from the federal budget, but it won't be easy.

Apparently, an organization which has been financially and politically supported by Libertarians is now devoting its energies to making life easy for Ronald Reagan. A number of LP members and supporters work on the NTU—but seem to have little influence over NTU's public pronouncements. To those libertarians who remain within NTU in order to turn the organization around, we offer encouragement—and a warning. Encouragement, because entering and becoming active in such organizations is a necessary part of our political work. However we would append the following warning: those who would undertake such a difficult task would do well to remember which movement it is you are supposed to be building. It is one thing to enter an organization insofar as one is inclined to influence other, looser groups on the right or the left—it is quite another to be absorbed into that movement, co-opted, turned into a footsoldier for Reaganism. Elsewhere in *Dollars & Sense* we are treated to an article on Reagan's cabinet appointments which sounds like it was ghost written by the Republican National Committee. In a charming portrait of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, the man who will oversee the biggest military budget in the nation's history and the one hawk in the cabinet with the biggest wingspread, is portrayed as "a good team player" who is a "fiscal conservative." After three long paragraphs



Libertarians have been a strong, highly visible tendency within the new anti-war movement. The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus took a leading role organizing the 1980 March 22 anti-war rally in San Francisco, which mobilized over 5000.

which depict "Mac the Knife" as a militarist version of Howard Jarvis—he called for the abolition of several welfare programs"—the mildest rebuke is appended as follows:

On the other hand, Weinberger is known for his personal loyalty to Reagan, so the President can count on Weinberger to efficiently carry out his proposals to increase the military budget.

But what about NTU? Can NTU be counted on to carry out Reagan's rearmament program — by beating the drums for Reaganism at home and effectively clamping up about interventionism abroad? It is true that NTU has opposed many "defense" boondoggles in the past—the question is, will it continue to do so in the future?

In fact, NTU should now be emphasizing massive cutbacks in the "defense" budget. In fact, NTU should now be emphasizing massive cutbacks in the so-called "defense" budget if it truly desires to achieve a meaningful tax cut. According to our sources, a real struggle has broken out within the NTU leadership between the conservatives, who want to build a lobbying organization and the libertarians, who see themselves as "radical gadflies." This, of course, is why Davidson keeps up the pretense that NTU's



"wholehearted" support of the Reagan program is still an open question. By reducing our political task to a crusade for "fiscal responsibility," or as Davidson puts it, a "fight for reform," this kind of political tunnel-vision reduces our political choices to either the status quo or calling for "even greater" cuts of an unspecified nature. Where are these "even greater" cuts to be made? Why not mention the "defense" budget? In fact, Davidson doesn't explicitly acknowledge this option anywhere in his letter.

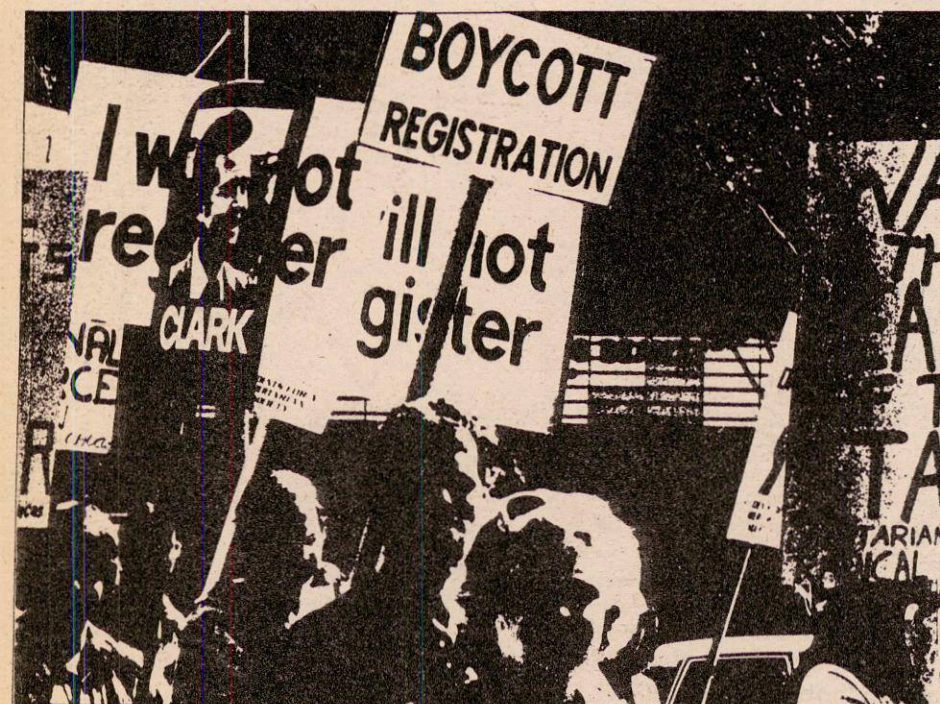
If Davidson is bold enough to put the question to us — "Do you think that we should support the President wholeheartedly, or simply endorse his proposal while calling for even greater cuts?" — we should give him an unqualified answer. Not only

should NTU call for even greater cuts — it should go after the military budget with a vengeance, while explicitly condemning US intervention abroad and targeting the civil liberties violations of the IRS as the exact equivalent of similar violations like the new Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism (SST) which is threatening a New McCarthyism. We need to start building our own movement by *linking issues*, especially when dealing with organizations like NTU — the rightwing equivalent of the trade union movement if one substitute the "downtrodden taxpayers" for the "downtrodden proletariat."

Davidson's yearning to be one of Reagan's cheerleaders is an extreme form of the same opportunist disease within the Libertarian Party itself. Ed Clark's "low-tax liberalism" is the mirror image of Davidson's efficiency-expert conservatism. Now that the "defense" budget is going to be under intense scrutiny, one can hardly wait for the NTU to crank up its crusade to make the Pentagon war machine more "efficient" — certainly a task which no Libertarian worthy of the name would ever want to see achieved. Will NTU come up with a plan to economize on sending arms to El Salvador's junta. Why, after all, can't we privatize the CIA? Perhaps James Dale Davidson and the cost-benefit analysts at NTU will come up with a way to cut the cost of covert actions, like assassinations, propaganda campaigns, media plants, break-ins, etc. Surely there's a cheaper way to do this. Surely the private sector can deal with a little thing like an assassination much more efficiently than the CIA. One can hardly imagine what Davidson means by "the fight for reform" in the context of real-world politics. Certainly he is not calling for an assault on the "national security" State, nor is NTU exposing the fact that spending "cuts" are simply being transferred to "defense."

Of course, we can hardly take the NTU to task when the Libertarian Party itself has not been immune to the opportunist impulse. The symbol and ultimate consequence of this impulse was the 1980 presidential campaign of Ed Clark for President. What unfolded during that fateful campaign was not a series of utterly random "errors," "miscalculations," and "waffles," as is now being maintained in certain quarters. "Low-tax liberalism" was a term coined by Ed Clark, not by us. This "low-tax liberalism" seems to be an internally consistent set of principles. Clark maintained that we could not have free and open immigration until we abolished welfare. He later said that we couldn't abolish welfare until we had something called "full employment" — which, like "heaven," the Garden of Allah and "a New Beginning," sounds nice but means nothing.

Davidson's "fight for reform" and Clark's "low-tax liberalism" are merely a low-level version of the same bi-partisan consensus which calls for running a tighter ship of state — while embarking on a global offensive to push the frontiers of the Empire further still.



TURN TOWARD THE MASS MOVEMENTS

The roots of opportunism are to be found in the history of our movement, as well as the impact of current events. "Low-tax liberalism" is not an episodic event, isolated in time; divorced from history. The historic split between theory and practice, is the history of the 19th century classical liberal movement's eventual degeneration—and virtual disappearance. Two world wars later (and another one looming on the horizon) the classical liberal movement had been decimated both in England and in America—by the end of World War II there was hardly a libertarian on two continents who had not capitulated to imperialism or else been effectively silenced by the war hysteria and the subsequent demise of the movement.

But the movement was kept alive, during the "lean years," by a small group of intellectuals, with a few independent publications like *New Individualist Review*, the early *Innovator*, certain local YAF publications like *Commentary on Liberty*, as well as the *Libertarian Forum* and the old "Objectivist" movement. After the historic split with the Right, the initial euphoria eventually gave way to out-



right disorientation. Many of the early radicals wanted to enter the anti-war movement immediately—which they then proceeded to get lost in, never to be seen or heard from again. Without a real national libertarian organization to coordinate activities—fleshed out with a number of cadre who have the political knowledge and acumen to initiate such an organized entry—such strategy was formally correct, but *tactically misconceived*. The strategic orientation toward the anti-war movement in an effort to recruit cadre was generally correct, but this was never explicitly acknowledged as a *party-building* activity. That is, our alleged activities in the anti-war movement of the 60's were never con-

ceived as a means to an immediate end: the construction of a radical libertarian party in the US on a firm theoretical and programmatic basis. Several organizations rose and fell, merged and split, without any one real center of political activity arising until after the Objectivist debacle and the formation of the Libertarian Party.

In 1972, when the LP was formed, the concept of strategy had almost never been discussed, let alone settled. Indeed, the comic-opera anarchist-versus-minarchist debate was then at its peak. In 1972, libertarians were split over *ends* as well as means. The early LP attracted many libertarians who saw the electoral road to liberty as a panacea, a straight-line path to "Freedom in Our Time." In addition, sectarian forces within the LP—some of whom were explicitly dedicated to destroying the LP and some of whom could not make the transition from local "circles" to a national framework—only strengthened an opportunist impulse with a long history. What started out as a correct emphasis on electoral campaigns eventually became a fixation which brooked no competition; no other political activities were ever seriously conceived at the national level.

Coordinated Libertarian work in mass organizations of taxpayers and various peace coalitions has never even been considered by the national LP leadership as one possible form of activity, not even as a secondary program subordinated to electoral work. By abandoning the anti-war movement to the New Left, and by leaving the anti-tax organizations in the clutches of the New Right, we doom ourselves to isolation and eventual extinction.

This exclusively electoral formula for success is responsible for distorting the development of the Libertarian Party—and has now given rise to "low-tax liberalism," a full-blown opportunist program which makes the historic split between theory and practice in our movement into a fetish. No one is contesting the fact that the electoral arena must be utilized as a party-building tactic. But to elevate electoral activity into an all-embracing strategic orientation, is utterly incompatible with libertarian politics and the political realities of the Reagan Era.

Besides leading directly to opportunism in search of votes the exclusive focus on electoral politics leads to distortions in the development of the LP. In tandem with "low-tax liberalism," this "votes are everything" doctrine has led to a rather curious obsession with "nuts-&-bolts," which is all form and no content. Adamantly apolitical, concerned only with a mechanical, "How-To" perspective, this mentality has given rise to a whole tendency which includes many of our ablest cadre. Hopelessly overspecialized, without anything but "low-tax liberalism" to guide them, this is the group which needs to be won over to radical libertarianism if the LP is ever going to intervene in the mass move-

ments of the 80s.

For these are the invaluable cadre, the heart and soul of the movement itself, which we desperately need to keep going. At the heart of the debate in the LP over the Clark campaign are two, mutually exclusive conceptions of the Libertarian Party. Ironically, the first hints of the coming debate—the first hint at these two different concepts—was expressed in a spirited exchange between *Reason* editor Bob Poole and LP activist Tom Palmer. Although, today, Palmer is one of the biggest defenders of the Clark campaign, back in March of 1977 he had the right line. Attacking the very policies he now defends, Palmer made a cogent case for keeping one's principles "flying high."

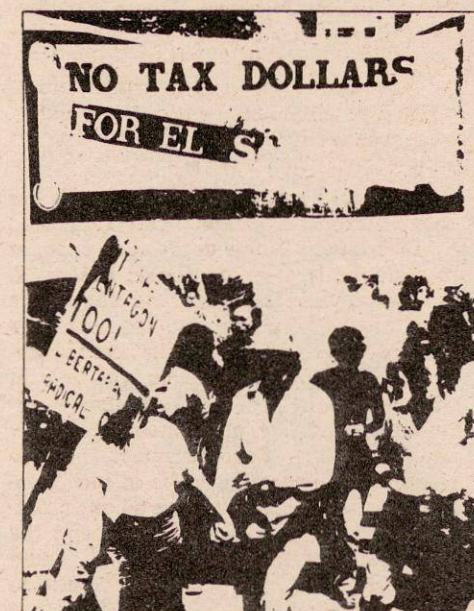
After all, one of the most important steps toward our goal is to "create" more libertarians. We must expand our ranks or be doomed to failure.

Poole contents himself with leaving development of leadership to such organizations as the Cato Institute and the Center for Libertarian Studies. Yet, from what field will they reap if the Libertarian Party is restrained from proselytizing and attempting to expand the ranks of libertarians. Further, what are these leaders to do if they have no movement to lead? ("The Fallacy of Gradualism: A Reply," by Tom Palmer; *Libertarian Forum*; Vol. X, No. 3; p. 2) (Emphasis added.)

The opportunist conception of the LP is essentially *not* a movement-building strategy. By underestimating the strength and stability of the statist system, they advertise the virtues of a "quick victory," totally neglecting the requirements of what will most likely be a protracted conflict. After all, what do we need a movement for if a quick victory is right around the corner?

In stark contrast to this rather superficial view, radical libertarians see that the greatest shortcoming of our movement is the desperate shortage of cadre, which results in severe limitations on our ability to actually participate in and influence the big mass movements.

We desperately need to turn toward the mass movements—the rising tax revolt, which has yet to peak, and the new anti-war movement, which is just being born. Nothing else can save us from isolation, irrelevance, and eventual extinction. Just as important, such a turn toward political reality would act as a corrective measure,



partially offsetting the disorienting influence of "low-tax liberalism" while breaking the grip of electoral reformism and generally tending to reverse a very bad case of arrested political development.

FIRST THINGS FIRST

But we cannot take this much-needed turn toward the mass movements without first attending to a serious internal problem: the growing problem of opportunism within our own ranks. The rise of "low-tax liberalism" as a fully-consolidated deviation from libertarian principles, the

elevation of the opportunist impulse into a systematic revision of the libertarian worldview, makes practical political work of the most fundamental kind almost impossible. For opportunism consists of tailoring principles to the special requirements of various (somewhat arbitrarily defined) "constituencies," reversing the process whereby rational political decisions are made. (Of course the radical libertarian takes the exact opposite tack; we first formulate the theory and then translate theory into practice.)

For a movement dominated—or even strongly influenced—by any form of opportunism to attempt serious, nationally-coordinated work in the mass movements is to court disaster. In such a case, the chances of losing our own activists in the strong current of movements like the tax revolt, or the anti-war movement, are equal to the possible benefits to be gained. Dominated by an opportunist policy of tailoring after the spontaneous tax revolt instead of providing real leadership, whatever gains to be had are *always* minimized. Before we can even begin to function like a real political organization, which is truly "here to stay," we must rectify the political line of the LP and build a cadre organization capable of generating a mass movement. Our entire conception of the LP must change, in the most fundamental sense; we must break with the Democrats and Republicans not only in the formal sense, but also in terms of our day-to-day political operations. We must build a party of a new type if we are to be the agency of radical social change. Society will not move, by itself, in a libertarian direction. Left alone, without organized conscious opposition, the public sector will expand and grow like the kudzu plant, the notorious weed which grows back faster than you can cut it down. As the champion of the private sector, the Libertarian Party must direct the spontaneous mass movements and sentiments (against war, against inflation) *toward itself*. In this way, under principled Libertarian leadership, the mass movement is a transmission belt from the political "mainstream" directly to the LP. The paralyzing effect of "low-tax liberalism" and opportunism on our movement can be seen if one imagines putting this transmission belt in *reverse*, so that instead of building our own movement potential new recruits (and even some of our own cadre) are diverted into the more powerful mass movements, dominated—in the case of the tax revolt—by the New Right misleaders and their political allies now in power. (In the case of the anti-war movement; substitute the not-so-New-Left for the New Right, and make that: "and their political allies the currently out-of-power Democrats.")

In order to lessen the impact of "low-tax liberalism" opportunism on our movement, the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) Central Committee proposes that the LP implement the following program of internal reforms. We would like to preface our proposals with a word about the internal situation of the LP. Although we believe that one of the prerequisites for rectifying the political line of the LP is a change in the current national leadership, we do not believe electing principled libertarians to high party office will, in and of itself, accomplish the task. Yes, we think that an oversight committee with ultimate veto power—not appointed by the candidate—is an absolute necessity if the unity of the LP is to be preserved. But we do not believe that such a mechanism, even in tandem with the replacement of the current opportunist leadership, will cure the patient of the disease. What is needed is nothing less than an all-out effort to educate our own membership—oldtimers and newcomers alike—in the fundamentals of Libertarianism. Not "low-tax liberalism" or "pro-peace conservatism"—but *no-tax* Libertarianism. Toward that rather ambitious end, we propose the following three initial steps.

1) The development of a comprehensive course in the basics of Libertarianism. Such a course, to be made available to all LP

LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD-Correction Sheet
August-September, 1981

Pg. 3, Col. 1, Line 7 should read:
"Reagan's record 'defense' budget--
1.5 trillion dollars over the next
five years--and US intervention in
the Third World must somehow be jus-
tified."

Pg. 12, Col. 4, Line 1 should read:
"...movement which lost so many key
cadre to the new left. The first
attempt to educate the membership--
an educational seminar held somewhere
in the parched California desert--
was essentially a failure."

Correct LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD address:
1800 Market, San Francisco, CA 94102.