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LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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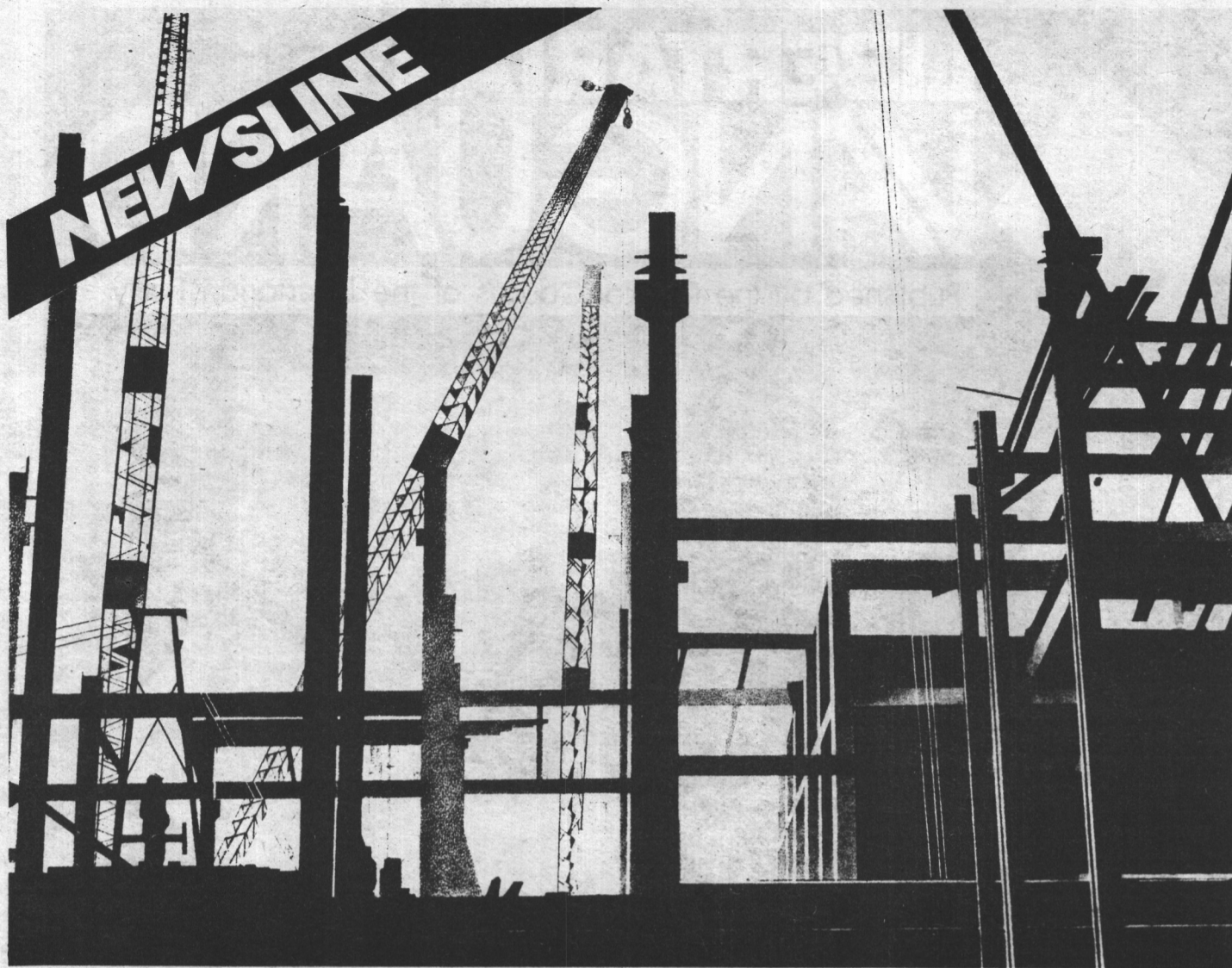
Leaflets distributed by the members of the strike negotiating committee fall into the hands of strike supporters, outside the Lenin Shipyard, in Gdansk.



**IS THE RED TIDE
TURNING?
SEE PAGE 6**



**OIL WAR BLAZES OUT OF CONTROL
SEE PAGE 4**



"Items In Steel", painting by Charles Sheeler

"Reindustrialization"

by Scott Olmsted

The pages of the nation's business journals are all abuzz with a new word. Leading economists have inserted it into their vocabularies faster than they dropped 'Keynes'. The President has used it to label the economic center piece of his re-election campaign.

The word is "reindustrialization", and what it means is that all these people are suddenly aware of just how serious is the trouble with American industry. Never ones to miss an opportunity, a consensus of business, labor, and government leaders is calling for substantial changes in government policies that promise to affect every pocketbook and every tax return.

There is no doubt that major segments of the economy are in trouble. As *Time* magazine reports, "Automobiles, steel, and rubber are all operating at Depression levels, plagued by aging plants, declining productivity, entrenched labor unions, restrictive government regulations and fierce foreign competition." As reported by *Business Week*, the rate at which Americans save is a pitiful 6%, compared to 14% in West Germany and 20% in Japan. Productivity has begun to decline after decades of steady advance, and R&D has dropped significantly as a fraction of GNP.

So what is the solution proposed by those who would "reindustrialize" America? The recommendations include tax cuts to stimulate economic development, reduction of government regulations, establishment of new government agencies for the reconstruction of industry, protection for declining industries, and a "Japan, Inc." approach to cooperation among business, labor, and government. As *Business Week* calls it, "a new social contract" must be written.

This is a mixed bag of remedies. Some portions mean reduced government intervention in the economy and some portions mean more. Let us take the two classes separately.

REDUCING GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

The keystone of this part is massive tax cuts for business to "stimulate" investment. Since taxation is merely the politicians' way of stealing from the people, any tax cut ought to be welcomed solely on moral grounds. But in a purely economic sense we must object to the use of the word "stimulate" to describe the effect of a reduction in the tribute that the shareholders of companies are required to pay the govern-

ment for the privilege of doing business. A tax cut "stimulates" investment in the same way that removal of weights from a runner's shoes "stimulates" his performance.

The tax cut proposal is really a tacit admission that by appropriating the productive efforts of industry, the government has inhibited its ability to create jobs, to adapt to changing circumstances, to innovate, to supply the current and future needs of consumers, and, in general, to carry out the role that it must play in a healthy economy. It is an admission that government is less efficient at all of these tasks when it directs resources than is the free market.

In the same way we must welcome any reduction in economic regulations as a victory for consumers and workers. By preventing the efficient flow of resources through the economy according to the decentralized price signals and substituting the coercion of import quotas, price supports, outright subsidies, antidumping measures, and "Buy American" rules, the consumer's dollar buys less and the average worker's paycheck is lower because they are prevented from putting their labor and earnings to their maximum advantage.

The bulk of the reindustrialization package calls for massive government intervention to support specific projects and industries, and reduce private consumption. A new Reconstruction Finance Corporation is envisioned, its duty to pump money into failing enterprises like Chrysler, Lockheed, or New York City, and "national priority" projects like synfuels. In addition, government would seek out the most promising industries of the 80's and 90's, such as electronics and telecommunications, and then, by means of tax policy and trade measures, encourage investment in those and away from declining industries.

These proposed policies are a mixture of the unnecessary and the insane. It is unnecessary to channel resources away from declining industries and toward expanding ones; the financial markets can accomplish this quite well, as they have done in the past. For the government to push in the same direction would be to encourage *overinvestment* in those industries—and produce more unemployment and disruption down the road as they find the markets not large enough to support their plans.

The rest of the policies are a prescription for disaster. As William Nordhaus, a former member of President Carter's Council of Economic Advisors, says, "Reindustrialization is a Hula Hoop. On

a deeper level, it is a pernicious idea that basically calls for re-enforcing sick industries."

The interventions called for would punish the American taxpayer for the past mistakes of business and government, and cement into place uneconomic enterprises at the cost of lost jobs and less take-home pay. They are an attempt to enlist government subsidies by America's largest, wealthiest corporations for their least efficient business ventures. An RFC would become a drain on the economy, taking money away from productive workers and business and dropping it down a rathole of perpetual money-losers. Rather than aiding in the rebuilding of American industry, these schemes would hasten its decline into a second-rate, unproductive, uncompetitive collection of economic cripples, forever dependent on Uncle Sam to soak up the red ink and keep more efficient foreign competition from finishing them off.

The problem is one of politics, not economics. Intervention in the economy always impedes progress because successful enterprises don't look to government for help—unsuccessful ones do. As Raymond Vernon of Harvard University states, "The American political process almost guarantees that the decisions will be made not on economic grounds."

Probably the greatest danger from the call for reindustrialization is that the nation will adopt comprehensive national planning in which government becomes not merely policeman and meddler, but partner, collaborator, and banker. This is the way that the Italian and German economies went earlier this century, and it inevitably produced debt-ridden, bureaucratic, and militaristic societies. As John T. Flynn wrote in 1944, "Militarism is the one great glamour public-works project upon which a variety of elements in the community can be brought into agreement."

We have advanced much too far down this road as things stand now, and the coincidence of Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter calling for higher military budgets and *Business Week* pitching for more government subsidies while deriding the free market as "outdated" should make us all very uneasy. As Flynn wrote, "The test of fascism is . . . how many of the essential principles of fascism do you accept and to what extent are you prepared to apply those fascist ideas to American social and economic life? When you can put your finger on the men or the groups that urge for America the debt-supported state, the autarchial corporative state, the state bent on the socialization of investment and the bureaucratic government of industry and society, the establishment of the institution of militarism as the great glamorous public-works project of the

nation and the institution of imperialism under which it proposes to alter the forms of our government to approach as closely as possible the unrestrained, absolute government—then you will know you have located the authentic fascist."

ANSWERING ETZIONI

The man who thought up reindustrialization is Amitai Etzioni, a sociologist and former White House advisor. Etzioni recently defended his invention in a short article in *Forbes* (August 18, 1980). It is worthwhile to take some of his main points individually and examine them more closely.

"The economy might require, for a transitional period, government measures to rein in private consumption." This is unnecessary if the impediments to saving are removed. Number one priority should be to stop inflation by ceasing the expansion of the money and credit supply by the Federal Reserve. The disincentive to save from observing the steady shrinking of invested dollars is obvious and very serious. Number two is the removal of all limits on interest rates and all regulation of monetary instruments. The terms of loans and deposits should be strictly a matter of private contract. With these distortions on interest rates removed, consumption would not have to be restrained. It would fall naturally to a lower level as people saved more, and *felt themselves better off for it* because they chose it as the best of their alternatives. Number three should be the removal of the bias in the income tax punishing saving and rewarding consumption. The tax rate on a dollar of income spent today is less than that on a dollar saved because the interest earned on the savings continues to be taxed. As a part of a drastic reduction in taxation, all taxes on interest and dividends should be ended.

"Can we really just release resources to the private sector, or need we guide them a bit, choosing the areas where the manna will fall?" The question Etzioni doesn't ask (nor answer) is *how* we decide where the "manna" will fall. If the past is any guide we must assume that it will be guided to those with the most political clout, i.e., the failing, union-dominated auto and steel industries.

But at a deeper level than just a cynical view of the process of government resource allocation, we must question Etzioni's metaphor of manna for resources released from the chains of regulation and taxation. Though he would like us to regard them as so many pennies from heaven that the government has caught and can now sprinkle on the deserving, those resources are really the *property* of those who created them, and their taking by force of taxation—from workers and stockholders alike—is the moral equivalent of robbery.

"It might be necessary to tilt in favor of productive capacity." This is just the other side of the "reining in consumption" coin. If the rate of saving is in fact below the rate that corresponds to people's preferences about present versus future consumption, then there will immediately begin a tilt toward productive capacity when the distortion of government intervention in capital markets is removed. Favoritism to particular industries or firms is unnecessary and, in the long run, counterproductive, as it is unlikely that the government-sponsored investments are those that can be sustained by consumers' choices in a free market. The end result will be either more economic disruption as these firms fail, or losses to be made up by the taxpayer.

"Rebuilding America's industrial

LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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capacity cannot be achieved by a government policy that is merely passive." This flies in the face of the fact that America's industrial capacity was originally built without a government "industrialization" policy that "reined in consumption" or "corrected the balance between consumption and investment" or "helped industry modernize." It was a policy of almost total laissez-faire that released the incredible forces of innovation and productivity that lifted the average worker from poverty.

THE FALSE PREMISE

The fallacious premise behind the interventionist aspect of reindustrialization is the same one that has provided the now-crumbling foundation for government economic policy over the last 50 years. The premise is that, left to their own choices about their own resources, the actors in the economy will make errors, and these errors can be spotted from the government's economic "eye-in-the-sky" and corrected by its commands.

This simply ignores the economic facts of life. No government agency can possibly have more than a tiny fraction of the knowledge possessed by the millions of participants in the economy. The view one gets by taking in the "big picture" in no way qualifies one to direct the actions of producers, consumers, and investors to their unanimous benefit. Only the market process, sorting out the sustainable, life-enhancing enterprises from the unproductive, resource-draining turkeys, is consistent with the fact that each actor knows his, or her, own situation best.

A REAL SOLUTION

A real solution to America's industrial problems would recognize these facts about market processes and competition and would, therefore, remove the shackles that prevent them from working—while, not coincidentally, restoring justice to the economic realm by leaving individuals to consume and invest the fruits of their labor, as is their natural right.

A real solution would abolish the government agencies that grant monopolistic privileges to some at the expense of others—the ICC, FCC, FTC, CAB, DOE, and other sources of quotas, price-fixing, and barriers to entry.

A real solution would abolish all subsidies to business and agriculture. These are measures which direct capital to the least productive enterprises, for which the taxpayer foots the bill.

A real solution would abolish all impediments to employment and improve the status of the lowest income groups at the same time—for there is no conflict between the long-run interests of business and labor. Measures such as the minimum wage, compulsory unionism, and occupational licensure simply prevent workers from bettering themselves economically while a favored few reap the benefits.

A real solution would abolish the Federal Reserve Board and its power to expand the money supply. Malinvestment and unemployment are caused by the Fed's creation of money and the subsequent effects on interest rates. Such inflation feeds on itself—as more and more new money must be created to offset inflationary expectations—and has the power to utterly destroy the currency. A policy of sound money—backing the dollar with gold—is necessary to restoring confidence in it.

In sum, a real solution would depoliticize the economy. It would eliminate the need for economic actors to demonstrate the fulfillment of some non-economic prerequisite before engaging in economic activity. It would eliminate the power that officials hold over millions of Americans in violation of their rights to life, liberty, and property.

It is no coincidence that the economy has deteriorated as government intervention has grown. Those who attempt to sugar-coat more government intervention by calling it "reindustrialization" are simply proposing more of the poison as a remedy. We should reject their call for favors to the failures and free up the system instead. Government can't solve this problem, government is the problem.

Scott Olmsted is editor of *The Stanford Libertarian*, and a member of the *Student Board of Students for a Libertarian Society*.

A Message To Our Readers

The depression has hit Libertarian Vanguard. The fact of the matter is that, unless we raise a substantial amount of money in the next month, we will have to close up shop.

We have cut our staff to the bone. As you can see, our experiment with color has ended. This issue is late, and — unless we raise sufficient funds — the next issue will be just as late.

In short: unless we get immediate and fairly substantial support from our readers, Libertarian Vanguard will cease publication.

Although our paid circulation has gone over the one thousand mark, it is clear that the newspaper cannot survive on the strength of subscriptions alone. The only way to ensure the stability of this publication is to ask for solid, ongoing support from those who see it as a tool for building a movement. The way you can do this is to become a Libertarian Vanguard Sustainer. Sustainers give a monthly contribution — in exchange for ten gift subscriptions, a copy of Murray Rothbard's *Left & Right*, and a subscription to *Cadre*, the newsletter which gives you the inside story on the libertarian movement. (You must contribute a minimum of \$10 per month to get the gift subscriptions.)

We have been fighting a losing battle with skyrocketing costs for over a year now. As a last resort, we are going directly to our readers and supporters for the kind of help we need in order to continue publishing. Many of you have been with us since the first few issues; many of you have made contributions to the newspaper before. We believe that the kind of strong support we have received from our readers, so far, means that our continuous effort to improve the content and format of Libertarian Vanguard is making real progress.

This newspaper is a unique voice. No other libertarian periodical has published the sort of comprehensive, up-to-date analysis of international news which is our forte. We were the first libertarian publication to blow the whistle on the New Right, in a series of in-depth articles. And what other libertarian journal deals with issues of interest to blacks, Chicanos, Mexicanos, gays, and other minority groups?

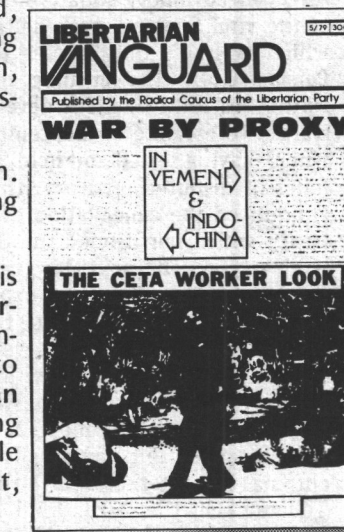
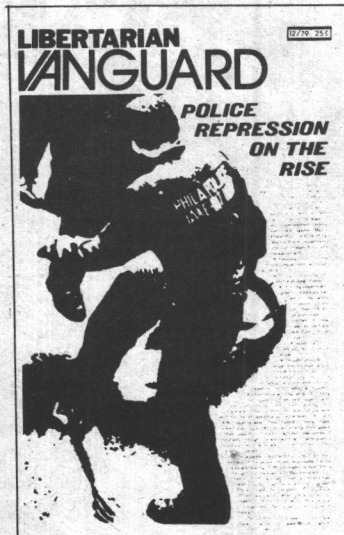
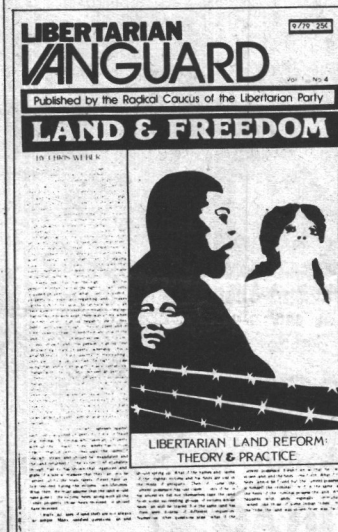
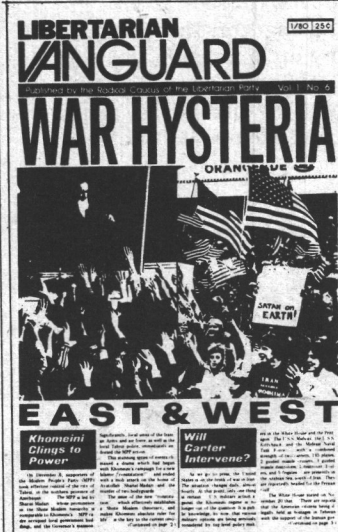
You may not always agree with our politics. But it must be admitted that, by asking — and answering — the sort of questions raised in these pages, Libertarian Vanguard serves the movement well.

How will the newly-emergent libertarian movement face the cold realities of American war preparations, and economic depression? Will we lose our bearings, and our battle — or are we equal to the task of upholding our principles, even if it means going against the tide?

We believe that the answer to this question is linked to the ability of this newspaper to survive. Let's be honest: every major libertarian periodical is subsidized by a few large contributors. But we believe that this is the legacy of the now-distant past, when most libertarians could fit — and, indeed, did fit — into a space the size of Murray Rothbard's living room. Today, in 1980, our movement is growing fast; it can, and one day will, support a monthly, or even a weekly newspaper.

Libertarian Vanguard is the first step in the right direction. Yes, we know we have a long way to go and we are willing to make the journey.

But we won't make it without support from you. This Sustainers Program is our last hope; if it fails, so does Libertarian Vanguard. The path we have chosen rules out dependence on one or two wealthy patrons. Because we want to build a real movement, and because the staff of Libertarian Vanguard values its political independence, we are asking you to fill out the coupon below. Make all checks payable to: Libertarian Vanguard, and send to 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102.

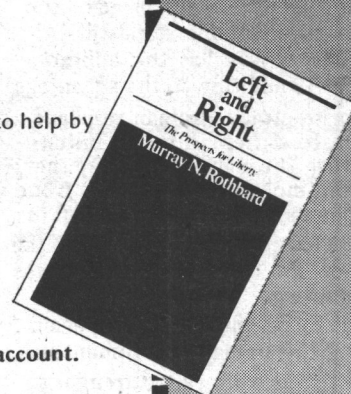


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OIL WAR BLAZES

As we go to press, the Iraqi invasion of the oil-rich Iranian province of Khuzistan (see map) threatens to cut off up to 60% of the West's oil supply. The price of gold—always a barometer of international tension—shot up to over \$700 an ounce. Oil from both Iraq and Iran has been completely cut off. And, as the world watches uneasily, the politico-economic fabric of the Persian Gulf is beginning to unravel.

CHRONOLOGY

In early September, an Iraqi strike force seized ninety square miles north of the vital Shatt al Arab delta area, which is Iraq's only access to the Persian Gulf. The ensuing border skirmishes following this development started to escalate on September 17, when—having seized and held 90 square miles of disputed territory—the Iraqis announced the cancellation of a 1975 treaty which partitioned the Shatt al Arab region. The next day, the first Iraqi violations of Iranian airspace were reported. On September 20, the Ayatollah Khomeini called up several thousands reservists. After a few more preliminary skirmishes, there was no stopping it: on September 22, Iraqi air units attacked ten Iranian airfields, including the international airport in Teheran. On the 23rd, Iraqi forces began the siege of Abadan—the site of the world's largest oil refinery. By September 29, Abadan was in flames.

Air strikes by both nations against oil production facilities have brought the region to an economic standstill. Although Iraq clearly has the military advantage—in addition to the advantage of a surprise attack—Iranian resistance has begun to stiffen. After an initial Iraqi thrust through Khuzistan, the battle front momentarily extends from Kermanshah in the north, to Dezful in southwest Iran, all the way down to the point where the Tigris and the Euphrates meet and merge.

As Iraqi forces bludgeon Iran, again and again, the Iranian government has declared that it will never surrender so much as an inch of territory. "We will continue to fight," said Iranian President Bani Sadr, who has taken personal command of the Iranian armed forces, "until the last aggressor is driven from our territory." The Iraqi government, for its part, has agreed to accept outside mediation—provided such mediation recognizes its territorial claims in advance. A "good will" delegation from

Iraqi soldiers

Islamic nations, led by Pakistan's General Zia, was rebuffed in Teheran; in Baghdad, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein made noises in favor of a ceasefire—provided the Iranians recognized *de facto* Iraqi control of Khuzistan, which is now apparently almost completely fallen to Iraqi armed forces.

ROOTS OF THE CONFLICT

Frontier disputes dating back before the days of the old Ottoman Empire are a primary source of the present conflict. Until the mid-1950's, the balance of power in the region was tilted in favor of Iraq. Supported by Britain—at that time the big imperialist power with the most local authority—Iraq controlled the entire Shatt al Arab area, according to the terms of a 1937 treaty. After the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy, in 1958, the balance of power began to shift. The rise of Shah Reza Pahlavi as the US surrogate superpower in the region led to the Shah's demand that the frontier be moved mid-stream in the Shatt al Arab waterway. In 1968—after the socialist Baath party came to power in Iraq—Iran formally demanded an end to the 1937 pact. Subsequent border clashes were taken up by the United Nations Security Council. On March 6, 1975, agreement was reached; with the Algerians acting as mediators, Iraq gave up its claims to the Shatt al Arab, in return for an end to Iranian aid to Kurdish revolutionaries in Iraq.

Two other factors figure prominently in the current war. First, there is the indigenous movement within Khuzistan (called Arabistan in Iraq) for some measure of autonomy, up to and including complete independence. The much-publicized takeover of the Iranian embassy in London, during the height of the hostage crisis a few months ago, was the work of Arabs demanding autonomy for Arabistan. Ethnically, most Arabistanis are Arabs—as are most Iraqis. Iraqi ambitions have been fueled by the ongoing battle for Arabistani

autonomy. However, the idea that local guerilla organizations will welcome the Iraqis as liberators begins to lose plausibility as one takes the second factor—the religious factor—into account. The Iranian revolution against the Shah was, essentially, a nationalist movement energized by Shiite theology. It is the minority Shiite sect of Islam—fundamentalist, militaristic, and generally unforgiving in practice—which poses the chief threat to the hegemony of the majority, moderate Sunni sect. Centered around disputes which can trace their history all the way back to the days of Mohammed, most divisions in the Islamic world of the present day stem from the fragmentation of Islam. Thus, because the majority of Iraqis are Shiites, the Sunni-dominated Baath party has observed the Ayatollah Khomeini's dreams of exporting his revolution with extreme displeasure. For months prior to the Iraqi invasion, Radio Teheran broadcast speeches by Khomeini himself denouncing Iraqi President Saddam Hussein as an "infidel", and calling for the Shiite majority to rise up in arms. In this context, the war takes on the aspect of an Iraqi "preventative" first strike, aimed at defusing a possible revolt at home.

ism was still largely intact. A latifundist, neo-feudal system of land ownership was enforced on the peasantry by the same bureaucracy which had administered the region in the name of the British Empire. Even after the "Revolution" of 1958, in which the "Free Officers" staged a military coup against the monarchy, this basic apparatus remained largely intact. These military men were heavily influenced by the National Democratic Party, a "Fabian" socialist group generally left-of-center. The rise of the "Free Officers" further deepened the divisions between urban and rural areas, as Iraq became dependent on imports for food. Clearly, oil was the wave of the future; the question was—how was that "black gold" to be mined, and by whom?

After a ten-year struggle between "moderates" (who wanted a severely limited private sector) and "radical" Baathists (who pushed for unlimited expansion of the public sector) the Baathists won out. That struggle involved a three-way fight between the NDP, the Communists, and the Baath party, presided over by one General Qasam and the Army. After first uniting with the Communists against the Baathist/Nasserite threat, Qasam excluded the Reds from his government and denied Communist demands for elections and an end to censorship. The Baathist advocates of Iraqi "Nasserism"—armed with Pan-Arabic slogans, like "socialism before unity", with a leftist coloration—gradually increased their influence in the highest levels of the state apparatus. The Baathist coup against Qasam—carried out with the help of the CIA, in February of 1968—was the culmination of a decade-long trend toward the expansion of the public sector in direct proportion to the expansion of the oil industry. The July 1964 nationalization decree transferred, overnight, the largest and most profitable business enterprises to the public sector. Private capital was rooted out of productive investment. The result was chaos, and economic paralysis.



IRAQI SOCIALISM

The Iraqi decision to press its territorial claims by military means must be seen in the context of the Baathist "ideology of development," and its consequences. The fulminations of Radio Teheran, although enunciated in terms of a religious *jihad*, fall on fertile soil. Politically, the ruling Iraqi Baath party is in trouble. The failure of Iraqi-style socialism to meet consumer expectations in a rural, agricultural society undergoing state-sponsored forced industrialization makes comparisons to the Shah inevitable. Indeed, it appears that the Iraqis have overtaken their Iranian neighbors by means of invoking the same measures more consistently. If the Shah's version of state capitalist development created huge disparities of wealth, as well as a peasant flight to the cities, then Iraqi state socialism produced exactly the same results—only more so. In 1958, after the overthrow of King Nuri Said, the legacy of British colonial-

Although rhetorically committed to fighting "imperialism"—which, in Iraq, means the state capitalist partnership between colonial governments and big oil companies—the Baathists have stronger links to the oil companies (all except Exxon) than even their more "pro-Western" successors. Although the Baath regime flirted with the Soviet Union in the early 70's—contracting for the development of the oil-rich North Romailia province—the Baathists were and are extreme anti-Communists. The price of CIA support for the 1968 coup had been the physical annihilation of the Iraqi Communist party: ICP leaders were hung in public displays of unabashed brutality. But this slaughter reflected only internecine warfare between rival managerial elites and ideologies. Whereas the ICP was eager to direct the program of forced industrialization for the benefit of the Soviet Union, the nationalist Baathists and other Nasserite formations (like the

Arab National Movement) wanted the same program for different reasons. After the Baath victory, the state monopoly Iraqi petroleum company's share of the gross national product jumped to over 60%. All economic power was given over to a two-person committee, consisting of President Hussein and Minister of Planning Adnan Hamdami. These two men not only direct the oil sector, but have ultimate authority over economic planning—in an economy in which the private sector is weaker than in Poland. The source of all high-level employment is the Iraqi state apparatus. In large-scale manufacturing, the public sector employs 60% of all unskilled workers, 78% of all skilled workers, and 93% of all technicians and highly skilled experts. The public sector also accounts for 84% of those in services, and 68.2% of those in administration and marketing.

This burgeoning state apparatus is guided by the official line of the Baath party, summed up neatly by Hamdani himself: "The Baath party is not just a ruling party; it has an ideology based on rapid development of the economy in a limited amount of time. For this we need large revenues." The growth of the Iraqi managerial elite—identical, in outlook, origins, and composition to its counterparts both East and West—was ensured by a government decree which guaranteed government jobs to all university graduates. Trade unions set up by the state exist to co-opt worker discontent. The Iraqi bureaucracy, bloated beyond the point of no return, is notoriously corrupt, inefficient, and entrenched.

Three factors threaten the current hegemony of Iraqi socialism: 1) The growing disparity between town and countryside; 2) The growing disparity between the bureaucracy and the majority of people and; 3) The divisions along religious grounds, between Shiite majority and Sunni minority, which Khomeini has attempted to exploit.

The forced industrialization scheme of Iraq's central planners—based on the fortunes of the state oil monopoly—clearly calls for the re-acquisition of lands lost under the 1937 treaty with Reza Pahlavi, in the eyes of the Baath party leadership. Apparently, the technocratic dreams of the new managerial elite have not been realized fast enough. Rapid, forced industrialization efforts by the state—egged on by the big Western oil companies—has led to the rapid depopulation of the Iraqi countryside, and a poverty-stricken peasantry. A subsequent dependence on food imports parallels the Polish dilemma (see "Is The Red Tide Turning?" elsewhere in this issue.) In spite of Baathist nationalist rhetoric, Iraqi socialism means delivering the fate of the nation to the interests of foreign states to a degree unparalleled in Iraq's history.

This war of conquest, initiated by the Baath leadership, serves to divert the attention of disgruntled elements within Iraq away from the failure of socialism—while seeking to give their nationalistic, neo-Nasserite rhetoric some real substance.

SUPERPOWER CONTENTION & "THIRD CAMP" DEVELOPMENT

Iran's threat to close the Straits of Hormuz—the key to the West's oil supplies—has raised the specter of US intervention. For this would be a direct challenge to the Carter Doctrine, which claims that the US has a "vital interest" in the Persian Gulf region in, one assumes, the same way it has a "vital interest" in the oil fields of Texas. Pressure for a quick settlement—which would leave Iraq with its conquests largely intact—is being applied by both superpowers. The USSR has refused to step up sales of spare parts to the Iraqi armed forces, and has denounced the invasion as being only in the interests of the US. The US has declared itself officially neutral, but that was fully expected in an election year. Privately, the Western powers are discussing the possibility of a joint military force which would intervene to keep the Straits of Hormuz out of Iranian hands. What really worries Washington, however, is the possible break-up of Iran into separate nations. This, our Cold Warriors assert, would be an open invitation for the Soviets to come marching in.

In fact, the roots of the crisis lie in the arbitrary imposition of pre-colonial

borders over autonomous peoples. The nation-states "Iraq" and "Iran" are completely arbitrary constructs, carved out of the remnants of the region's colonial legacy. The Kurdish people have been fighting both the Iranians and the Iraqis for decades; and they are just one of many national minority groups within both nations fighting for their independence. Both Iran and Iraq play, on a micro-political scale, roles identical to those assigned to the two big superpowers, the US and the USSR, on a worldwide scale. These people are seeking independence not only from local tyrants, but also from Washington and Moscow.

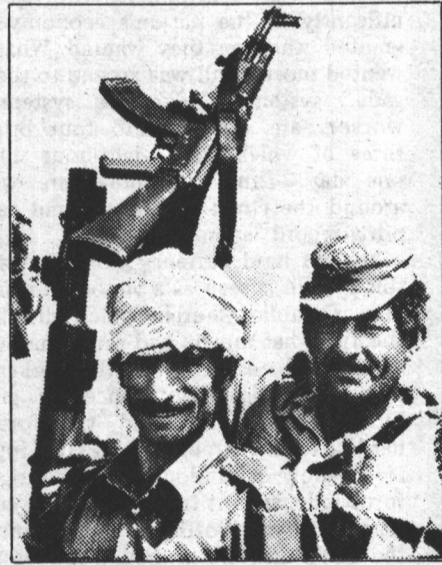
The danger of US military intervention in the Persian Gulf region has never been greater. As of this writing, the Iraqi army is driving eastward. The conquest of Khuzistan is virtually complete. Most Arab nations are siding with the Iraqis—and Iran has stated that, if aid to their enemies in Baghdad doesn't stop, they will widen the war. Egypt, which has the largest army in the Middle East, has pledged to defend any and all Arab nations against what it terms "Iranian aggression"—and has, repeatedly, called for US military intervention.

The immediate buttressing of Saudi Arabian defenses with four AWAC Boeing 707-type aircraft, which would detect any incursion into Saudi airspace within minutes, was announced on September 30—along with the fact that Secretary of State Muskie is consulting with Iraqi officials on the terms to be imposed on Iran, apparently, by force of arms.

This violation of our alleged "neutrality" indicates the real position of the US in this conflict. The timing of the Iraqi invasion seems far from coincidental; in an election year, at a time when the hostages and the availability of oil, not to mention the "post-Vietnam syndrome", are big issues, the likelihood of direct US Military involvement has increased a hundred-fold.

The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) opposes US military intervention in the war, and calls for cutting off all US aid to Middle Eastern countries, from Saudi Arabia to Israel. We demand that the US abandon all bases in the Persian Gulf, including those in Oman and Bahrain. We call on the American people to reject the so-called "Carter Doctrine"—which will lead us into war faster than you can say "Vietnam".

Conjuring up the bogeyman of the "Soviet threat"—as our warhawks are at-



tempting to do—does not conform to the facts. In fact, the USSR has worries of its own: in Poland, in Afghanistan, in the Soviet Union itself. After all, they didn't intervene when tens of thousands of Iraqi Communists were killed in the Baathist coup—and they would reap even less by intervening now.

No, the ultra-conservative Kremlin bureaucracy is not about to send the Red Army into the oil fields. If such a danger exists, then a far more likely scenario is that it will be the US Army—or Saudi and Egyptian surrogates—which will "protect" its "vital interests" in the region.

The attempt by the US to play the role of the great peace-maker in this situation is just a gossamer-thin cover for its obvious pretensions to hegemony over the entire Persian Gulf. The moment the movements for revolutionary autonomy begin to make gains, the US will move to crush them. This is the essence of the war danger, as well as the central issue confronting the people of the Middle East, and that is why we stated in the January 1980 issue of *Libertarian Vanguard*: "In the struggle



between the Ayatollah in Qum and the President in Washington [or, for that matter, the Baathists]—in the rush to choose sides between Khomeini and Carter—radical Libertarians choose the side of the Kurds, the Azerbaijanis, the Baluchis, the Turkomans, and all the oppressed people of Iran [and Iraq]. The fight for autonomy in Iran [and Iraq] is the key to the radical Libertarian position on the Iranian crisis—as well as the key to the future of a free Iran.

"Any breakdown of the Iranian [or Iraqi] state into smaller parts is objectively a good thing; the revolt against the Shah was also a revolt against state-centralized, state-enforced "modernization" programs and land theft by the government on a grand scale in the name of "progress." Any attempt by Khomeini [or President Hussein] to do what the Shah couldn't pull off—that is, maintain an unwieldy ship of state by means of centralized state authority—will meet the same fate; utter defeat.

The battle for regional autonomy is the context in which demands for basic democratic rights must be made, in Iran [as well as in Iraq], at this point; as dissident minorities realize that they have a common interest in defending religious and cultural diversity, the extension of that principle to politics will not be so difficult. That is why the Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) gives qualified, critical support to the Iranian revolutionary movements for autonomy and basic democratic rights; in the hope that a pluralistic society in Iran will prove fertile soil for the growth of an Iranian libertarian movement. [1/80: p. 4; "Khomeini Clings to Power."]

THE FIGHT FOR AUTONOMY

It is not enough for Libertarians to simply oppose US military intervention abroad, and to call for official US "neutrality". Libertarians are not, and can never be, "neutral" when it comes down to issues such as these. In the context of the present world situation—where a brushfire war somewhere in the Third World can quickly escalate into a war between the superpowers—we cannot abstain from history in the making. Objectively, *somebody* is serving the interests of the two superpowers in the Persian Gulf region—and, conversely, *somebody* else is serving the interests of local autonomy and nonalignment.

It is instructive to observe that the Kurdish Democratic Party—which has fought a protracted military struggle against both Iraq and Iran for decades—is now fighting the Iraqi army alongside Khomeini's "Revolutionary" Guards. The inability of the weak Iranian central government to control outlying regions makes rule from Teheran preferable to Iraqi domination—where the iron hand of Baghdad's central planners would make short shrift of autonomist sentiments. On a higher level, Iraq's ties to *both* superpowers must be contrasted, sharply, with Iran's fierce opposition to both the US and the USSR. Dramatizing once again the fact that a given regime's foreign policy can and must be judged *separately* from its domestic policy, Iran's even-handed opposition objectively serves the interests of nonalignment and peace. In an epoch characterized by superpower domination on a world scale—in a world contended by two giants, locked in combat—any tendency which aims to break that political monopoly can be supported. *Independence from the superpowers* is a program which, if implemented, could *break* that monopoly—and abolish the system of nuclear terrorism which enforces the world statist pecking order.

Finally, the *convenience* of this war, as

a pretext for US intervention, cannot be ignored. Certainly—what with the taking of the 50 American hostages, the "Carter Doctrine", and the upcoming Presidential elections—the Iraqi invasion couldn't have been scheduled more propitiously, as far as our own hard-liners are concerned. Probably the Iraqi Army is doing a better job than the CIA might have done. Indeed, the CIA has openly admitted operating a clandestine radio station in Iraqi territory which does nothing but exhort the Iranians to overthrow their present government. In addition, an army of several thousand pro-Shah Iranians, led by deposed Iranian Army officers, is now poised on the Iran/Iraq border. Led by General Oveissie—who ordered the death of several thousand anti-Shah demonstrators in the streets of Teheran, in November of 1978—these forces are reportedly financed by Princess Ashraf, the deceased Shah's sister.

The outbreak of war in the Persian Gulf—a war which threatens to involve the US—echoes a recent column by Jack Anderson, which purported to reveal a "top secret plan to invade Iran." On August 18, Anderson's column reported: "The tentative invasion date has been set for mid-October. Sources say the president has assessed the political consequences and has concluded the invasion would be popular with the electorate." Anderson goes on to claim that his assistant, Dale Van Atta, "has seen documents so secret that the code word used to classify them is itself classified. A 'cover plan' has been devised," says Anderson, "to disguise the true intent." The next day, in a follow-up column, Anderson goes into more detail: "For planning purposes, D-Day has been set in October on the eve of the election. Deceptive cover plans and alternate plans have been devised. These alternate plans have interlocking elements, which would explain the military preparations without betraying their true purpose. For example, the Saudi Arabian rulers are so worried about an Iranian-style revolt that they have asked the US for military support. Carter has secretly agreed to the request . . . But top secret documents identify Carter's real target as Iran." (8/19/80.)

Jordan—a close ally of the US—has just joined Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in openly extending both moral and material support to Iraq. President Carter has decided that the Saudis need a few more planes, and 96 more US pilots. If Anderson is right, and Carter is counting on a mid-October blitz to save him at the polls, then certainly the Iraqi invasion is a perfect "cover".

But one needn't have access to "top secret" documents in order to understand the fact that the "nation" of Iran is an arbitrary construct, programmed to self-destruct as a matter of course. Carved out of the old Ottoman Empire by the Western powers, it arbitrarily binds separate peoples together—thus fueling age-old disputes which, in the Middle East, go back to the wars between the many sons of Mohammed.

The victory of the revolutionary movements for regional autonomy requires the downfall of two tyrannies, one after the other. First, Iraq—in alliance with several US client states, like Jordan and Egypt—must be defeated. If the Kurds and others can exact the right price from Khomeini—a moratorium on domestic repression, some measure of local autonomy—then a united front against the immediate Iraqi threat is the right road to take. As for the tyrant Khomeini; let him arm the Kurdish rebels in his holy war against Iraq. In doing so, he seals his own doom.



certain events have the sweep, and drama, of fiction; in and of themselves, they are political metaphors, which can chart the flow of history in motion. Such is the case with the recent events in Poland—where, for seventeen days, a general strike threatened to topple the Communist Party ruling class, as the world watched in stunned admiration. It was the suddenness of the revolt which startled the West—and it was the grim, stubborn determination of a well-organized mass movement, and of the Polish opposition, which caught the West, not to mention the Kremlin, completely by surprise. The world-historic importance of the Polish upsurge is everywhere felt, and nowhere adequately explained. Yet it is the key to understanding the present balance of world forces. Like lightning at midnight, the Polish explosion illuminates the international landscape; for a single moment, frozen in time, the real contours of the world statist system are visible for all to see.

Background



It was the fourth time, in less than three decades, that the Polish Communist state started to crack. With each new rebellion, the crack widens—this time threatening to spread the spirit of revolution to embittered Czechoslovakia, and perhaps the rest of the Warsaw Pact nations as well.

In June of 1956, thousands demonstrated in the Polish city of Poznan for better working conditions and pay raises; apparently there is such a thing as a "red sweatshop" in this sort of "worker's paradise." Fifty workers were shot, hundreds more imprisoned. In December of 1970, food prices skyrocket. Mass demonstrations erupt in the Baltic ports and other areas; 200 are shot by police units—and Wladyslaw Gomulka tumbles from power, to be replaced by Edward Gierek, who annuls the price hikes. Six years later, Gierek decrees price hikes—and is faced with a revolt even more widespread than that which toppled Gomulka. Each time, after making largely illusory "concessions", the political bureaucracy and the new Polish managerial caste, defeated the strikers by alternately threatening them with the prospect of Soviet intervention and co-opting their largely economic demands.

This time, however, the Polish insurgents made their demands explicitly political: not only did they demand pay raises and better working conditions, they also demanded the right to organize unions free from government control, an end to censorship, and the freeing of political prisoners. From the day the Gierek regime raised meat prices, on July 1; to the date the Interfactory Strike Committee and the regime signed an agreement (August 30), more than 350,000 Polish workers went on strike. The strike movement spread from Warsaw, then south to Lublin, where 80,000 workers declared a general strike. The army was called in, ostensibly to "maintain essential supplies." It was then that the Polish Communist leadership (in Poland the party is called the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) set up a commission to deal with the workers demands. For the first time, the government-controlled press makes a reference to the rebellion; two weeks later, virtually every taxicab driver, bus driver, and garbageman in Warsaw was on strike. Then, on August 14, workers took over the Lenin Shipyard, in the Baltic port of Gdansk—and the PUWP hierarchy began to remember the fate of a man named Gomulka. Gierek returned, rather quickly, from his vacation on the shores of the Black Sea. At this point, the general strike had acquired an explicitly political character—something which, after only a month and a half of unrest, placed the current revolt lightyears ahead of the three previous eruptions. After initial attempts at isolating the leadership failed—nobody listened to the huge government propaganda campaign the PUWP launched, and the strikers were merely emboldened by the arrest of Jacek Kuron and seventeen other members of the Committee of Social Self-Defense (KOR/KSS)—the Communists agreed to negotiate with the strikers.

The list of demands drawn up by the strike leadership makes it clear that this was nothing more than an attempt to somehow "reform" the socialist system;

quite obviously, the strikers were not interested in abolishing the "dictatorship of the proletariat", only in, somehow, making it more efficient. Although the political demands promulgated by the Interfactory Strike Committee stole the spotlight, it cannot be denied that mass support for the strike materialized because Poland's planned economy is on the brink of disaster. Unable to command whole industries into existence, the PUWP high command is heavily in debt to Western banks; eight out of every ten dollars earned through exports is owed to international bankers. Thus, most food is exported—and food for home consumption is heavily subsidized. It was the inability of the regime to continue those subsidies which led to price hikes—and a nationwide rebellion.

Although, in most cases they were unaware of it, the Polish workers were not only protesting the economic failure of the present regime, but the ideological failure of Marxism as a social system. The economic conditions which provided the context of the strike—an acute shortage of consumer goods—are certainly not limited to the Polish "worker's state." In fact, Polish housewives spend an average of three and a half hours *per day* waiting on line for various items—an ugly everyday reality not only in Poland, but throughout the Warsaw Pact nations. The PUWP central planners care not one whit about the needs and wants of the consumers; it is only in a *laissez-faire* economy that, in line with the objective laws of the free market, producers *must* reflect the values of consumers. If a Polish central planner decides that capital-intensive industrialization and the development of high technology products for export is the way to go, he need only take political factors (such as the policy of the Kremlin, and of the PUWP) into consideration. *Purely economic information cannot be transmitted in a socialist economy*; that is, prices are merely edicts, made according to the whim of the managerial elite and their masters in the Kremlin. Managers and bureaucrats fixated on the requirements of a five-year "plan" are, for all their "scientific" pretensions, merely groping around in the dark. No "central plan" can take into account the nearly infinite, entirely subjective factors which go into the concept of the "economy" and the "market"—there are too many variables. Under such an irrational system, shortages are *inevitable*. Poland, Cuba, the USSR itself—all of them are dilapidated monuments to what used to pass for the most exalted idealism. Today, that "ideal" is a threadbare wreck. Whether or not it will drag its last, embattled adherents down with it, along with a third of the world's surface, is now an open question.

The economic pattern of forced industrialization and rapid economic development, and the accumulation of a large debt—resulting in "austerity" for the people—is a policy which both the PUWP and the Shah of Iran sought to implement, at great cost.

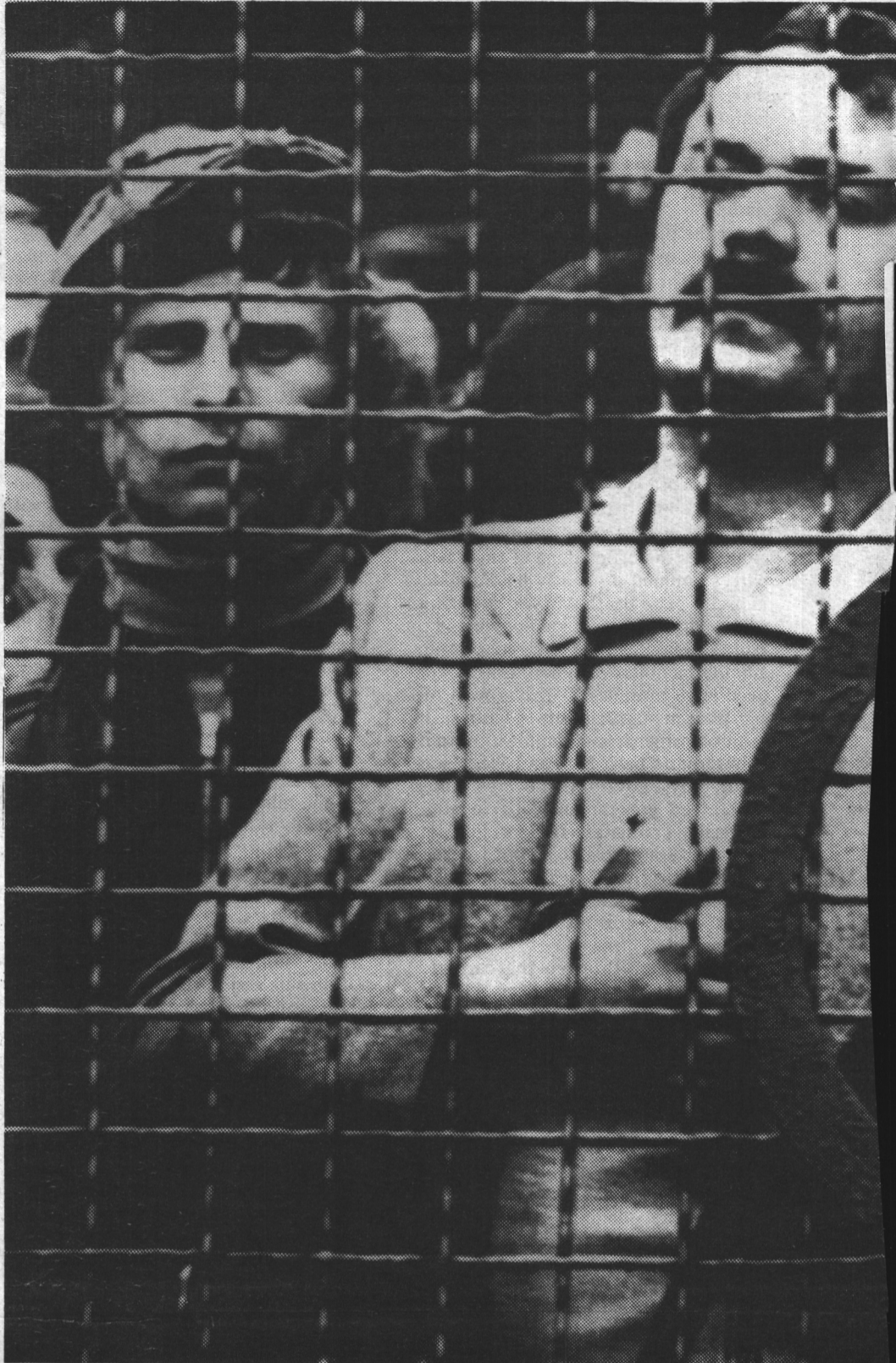
Although Jimmy Carter, Zbigniew Brzezinski and the Shah himself did not notice the vulnerability of the Peacock Throne, one cannot attribute the same blindness to the Shah's Polish counterparts. After a certain point, the PUWP leadership couldn't capitulate fast enough; *anything* to prevent an open confrontation between socialism and its victims.

The "Settlement"



On August 31, in the city of Gdansk, Mr. Lech Walsea, "wearing a crucifix over his yellow turtle-neck shirt, used a foot-long red and white pen, a souvenir of Pope John Paul II's visit here last year, to endorse the documents before Mr. Jagielski (PUWP chief negotiator) signed," according to the *New York Times*. Thus, for the time being, the foundations of Polish socialism—although shaken—are still intact. In spite of unprecedented concessions granted by the Gierek regime, the hegemony of the PUWP is unbroken. While the Polish people were promised that censorship would be significantly relaxed, food would be made more readily available, and special privileges for bureaucrats would be abolished, it is clear that these sort of expectations may very well feed the cycle of discontent and open defiance. The Polish regime can only go so far; politically, it cannot afford to let the Polish "liberal opposition" take the ideological offensive. If the Poles can look forward to their very own "Prague Spring", then they will have a while to wait. Eco-

Striking coal miners stand outside the gate of the Lipcowy Mine



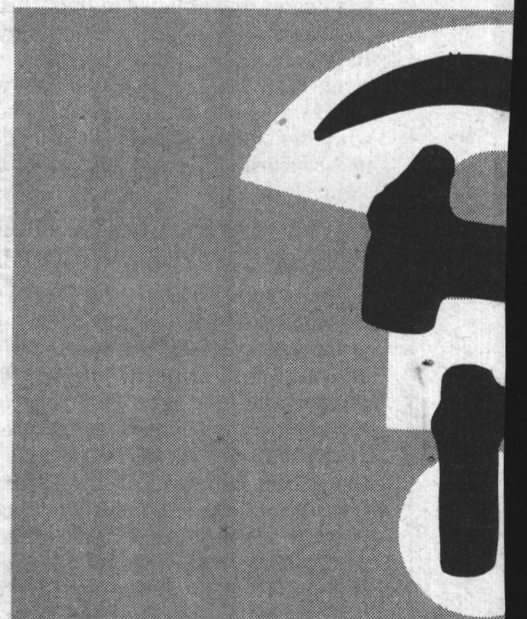
nomically, the regime is in no position to guarantee a chicken in every pot—or even every other pot, for that matter.

The Silesian coal miners—who figure significantly in the nation's economy—were granted whatever they wanted. What they wanted most of all was an end to the "brigade" system. Under this system, the workers are divided into four brigades, three of which work eight-hour shifts in one day. Thus, the mines are worked around the clock—so that Poland can export record amounts of coal, its main source of hard currency. The abolition of this system is seen as a victory for the Roman Catholic Church—which didn't like the fact that miners had only one Sunday off a month—as well as for the workers.

The most significant concession granted by the Communists—and, therefore, the hardest for the Kremlin and PUWP loyalists to swallow—is undoubtedly the right to form independent trade unions, in competition with the "official" unions. Initially, the PUWP negotiator argued for reforming the existing trade unions. To this, Lech Walsea replied: "I think there's been a misunderstanding. We are talking about new unions and you are talking about modernizing the old ones. That's turning the cat around by its tail." The government then, reluctantly, accepted the new unions, but argued that their concerns must be narrowly economic. The settlement that was finally reached defined the function of the new unions as "defending workers rights". According to the *New York Times*, they have the right to "publicly express an opinion on long-term national planning issues that effect workers, such as budgetary allocations, and to run their own study centers and print their own publications." To indicate just what the new unions are up against, the *Times* goes on to quote a retired PUWP official: "You must never forget just how strong the party is. It's all very good to fight it when you have thousands of workers tying up the country and the whole world press watching every move. But what happens afterward, when things settle down? How is the pressure to be resisted day after day, the kind of pressure that grinds you down?"

It is indeed possible that free—or quasi-

IS THERE TURN



free—trade unions could provide an organizational basis for a genuine political opposition, which already exists to a large extent in Poland. Of course, hundreds of thousands of people do not spontaneously exhibit the level of organization and determination shown by the Polish people. The Polish "liberal opposition"—a various lot, lumped together by the Western press by the all-purpose "dissident" label—was obviously the real motive force behind the spirit of Gdansk. But can such an opposition force resist the overwhelming authority of the PUWP? The real question is: does the "liberal opposition" have the ideological, as well as organizational stamina to resist "the kind of pressure that grinds you down"?



RED TIDE WINNING



Church & State



Opposition to the Communist tyranny in Poland is centered, primarily, in the Roman Catholic Church. In the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, priests said Mass daily; religious artifacts and makeshift shrines adorned the strike headquarters; and it is no accident that Lech Walsea signed the final agreement with the Red hierarchy brandishing a foot-long pen which was a souvenir of the Pope's recent visit. Historically, the Church has always

sought to protect the people from the commissars; yet, in principle, it is committed to peaceful coexistence with a regime which would like nothing better than to relegate the Church to museums and history books. Indifferent to a constant barrage of anti-Catholic government propaganda, over 90% of the Polish people have strong cultural and religious ties to the Catholic Church. This fact alone—the fact that a rival center of Polish life exists, in competition with the PUWP—is enough to make the Church the focal point of the “liberal opposition.”

A group of Catholic intellectuals grouped around the weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*, is representative of the Catholic opposition. Tim Garton Ash, writing in the *British Spectator*, dishes up a little slice of life: “Here [in the offices of *Tygodnik Powszechny*] the leaders of ZNAK, the movement of Catholic intellectuals, sit ceaselessly arguing beneath pictures of four popes, Mary Queen of Poland, and Franz Joseph, last Emperor of Austria. [p. 22; 9/79.]”

There are four openly Catholic ZNAK supporters in Poland's entirely decorative “parliament”, who speak out for freedom of religion.

But the position of the Church is, in the final analysis, ambiguous at best. It is true that Polish Catholicism is a powerful force which, historically, has served as a locus of anti-Communist sentiment. But the conduct of the Church as an institution, within the socialist *status quo*, is another matter entirely. In fact, the Polish Primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, attempted to put a brake on the rebellion at the very moment when the supremacy of the PUWP itself was being challenged by a united front against the Polish New Class. It is significant that, in an unprecedented action, the government television station broadcast a sermon delivered in late August, in which the Cardinal states: “We must constantly multiply the effort of work, consolidate its moral level and the feeling of vocational responsibility so as to have proper order.”

That the Communists were using the Church to get the workers back to work was—and is—hard to deny. The Church later denied having prior knowledge

of the government broadcast of the sermon, and claimed that significant portions of the Cardinal's remarks had been censored. “But an examination of the texts,” says the *New York Times*, “did not show any major discrepancies in tone. The most substantial material omitted from the broadcast appeared to involve remarks on the failure of the regime's anti-religion campaign.” (9/23/80)

That the Cardinal chose to pontificate on the virtues of toil at the height of a general strike—a strike which, ironically enough, included among its demands a provision requiring that the Church be given access to the state-controlled media—did not warm the hearts of the more politicized opposition elements. “It was clearly a mistake,” says Jeczek Wejroch, a writer for the Catholic monthly *Wież*. It did not correspond to the mood. Reaction to it was very bad among the workers. The aim appeared to be getting people back to work, but it was not the right moment.”

The Church and the Communist hierarchy have one thing in common—fear of Soviet intervention. Indeed, the entire Polish drama was enacted in the shadow of the Kremlin. That the mass movement refused to brake, and, instead, pressed its demands all the harder, is proof that this policy of obligatory gradualism is wrong, even in the face of the Red Army. In fact, the Red Army did not intervene—and it was due to the uncompromising stance of the strike leadership, and the rank & file, that was undoubtedly a major factor in the Soviet decision not to intervene. The affair in Afghanistan would have paled in comparison to a civil war in Poland, and this undoubtedly occurred to the Soviets.

The “Liberal” Opposition



KOR, the Committee for Social Self-Defense, originated in the aftermath of the 1976 revolt, when workers were being harassed by the secret police. Since then, although it has attracted a small working-class base, it has made steady headway in the Polish intellectual “underground”, Poland's very own counterculture. KOR consolidated, really, around necessity rather than ideology; a fact which is, alternately, both a strength and a weakness. Born in the midst of a tremendous political upsurge, KOR focused on opposition to censorship. Coordinated by KOR cadre, the so-called “Flying University” was developed—a clandestine alternative university, organizing lectures and systematic courses on a wide variety of subjects, all of it free of the Polish thought police. This intellectual black market would be an amazing achievement in an allegedly “free” country like the US—that it exists in Poland, of all places, is breathtaking. This is an example for all freedom-loving people everywhere to follow; clearly, these people, unlike many libertarians, know how to build a movement—not with slogans learned by rote, but through the power of *ideas in action*.

Although KOR is lightyears away from libertarianism, the “Flying University” is a genuinely libertarian institution, and a powerful force for revolution. Born of necessity, its very existence gives substance to the anti-statist movement, and simultaneously seeks to objectively expand the embryonic private sector which exists on the fringes of Poland's socialist economy. Thus, it is fighting on two fronts for the future liberation of Poland.

Through the mimeographed newspaper *Robotnik* [the Worker], through various KOR-inspired youth groups, KOR's influence spreads. The Peasant Self-Defense Committees—which, according to the *New Republic*, “challenged the government's continuous and insidious efforts to penalize the individual peasant and force him to join state collective farms (comprising only 20 percent of the entire agricultural population)” —were a KOR project.

KOR's politics are eclectic and unformed—understandably cautious, that is, like the first crocuses forcing their way up through half-melted snow. For example, the KOR declaration released on July 11, attacks “an irrational economic system” which it dares not name. It denounces “the pricing system, which runs contrary to all economic laws, but has been maintained for decades . . .” But KOR backs off: “There must be radical changes in the economic system and the way in which decisions concerning the entire society are made. The Committee for Social Self-Defense,

KOR, does not take a position on the direction this reform should take. We are convinced that only a country-wide discussion can decide this.” This sort of vague agnosticism aside, KOR goes on to defend the small foothold the private sector has managed to maintain. KOR declares: “Given that the immediate cause of the present tension is the situation of the food market—especially the market for meat—we must put a stop to the policy that brings about the individual farmer's bankruptcy (the principal food producers.) Private ownership of land must be guaranteed with freedom to buy and sell land. All forms of agricultural production (family farms, cooperatives, and state farms) must be dealt with in the same way, as regards supplies, sales, prices, credits, taxes, and the right to recourse to justice.” (Emphasis added.)

Where Lech Walsea stands is much less clear. Although he has obviously been very much influenced by the KOR leadership, his ties to the Church are much stronger. And, as of now, he has much more of a mass base. Walsea's strategy is obviously to work within the system; the agreement he signed, in Gdansk, explicitly acknowledges the political supremacy of the PUWP and the subordination of the economy to the state. Ideologically, he is a bridge between the “liberal opposition” groups like KOR and reform-minded elements within the PUWP—the purely managerial section of the Polish ruling caste which seeks to run the system more efficiently, with the least amount of trouble. This wing of the PUWP was manifested in a document published last May by a short-lived discussion group called “Experience and the Future”. In this document—endorsed by 140 scholars, scientists, industrial managers, among them 51 PUWP luminaries—Poland's ills are cataloged and blamed on official corruption, a rigid educational system, and an economic caste system which elevates PUWP officials and managers far above the status of an ordinary citizen. This liberal faction of the PUWP was, in fact, propelled into power by the Polish events—and, as the crisis reached its climax, the hardliners fell by the wayside. First, the Central Committee lost three members, including the head of the trade union secretariat; then, Prime Minister Babiuch was dismissed. Now, Gierk himself is gone, due—the authorities claim—to “health problems.” Conservative, but basically pragmatic, the new PUWP leader, Stanislaw Kania, was formerly the chief of internal security.

The Real Balance Of World Forces



The red tide is turning. The cracks in the so-called Communist monolith have widened into huge fissures. In spite of efforts to seal off the rest of the Communist bloc nations from the dizzy-

ing euphoria of the events in Poland, it is all to no avail. The spirit of Gdansk—the spirit of revolution, a revolution against socialism, which will one day reach into the Soviet Union itself—cannot be censored out of existence. The “Red Menace”, which our rightwingers would have us believe is the main danger to world freedom, can't even control its own subject peoples—yet they say the Kremlin is strong enough to attempt world conquest. They tell us that the Soviets are ready to gobble up the Middle East, not to mention Western Europe—and yet, the Kremlin is helpless in the face of two rebellions right on their borders. How long can these old-fashioned Cold Warriors close their eyes to the facts?

The fact is, the Red empire is receding. Communism is a paper tiger. The Polish events are symptomatic of a worldwide trend, a metaphor for the emerging balance of world forces. Nationalist revolutions, as in Iran, are a threat to the interests of both superpowers. Increasingly, the US and the USSR find the political interests of their respective ruling classes *converging*. Both have a strong stake in maintaining the delicate *status quo*; both have a roughly equal interest in making sure the Poles don't overstep certain bounds.

It was not the Red Army which restored “order” to Poland—it was the Western bankers. This privileged class of corporate statist—who, for all intents and purposes, function as an arm of Western state capitalist governments—most definitely did not want to see the Polish upsurge get “out of hand.” This is the “liberal”, “reasonable” faction of

(continued on page 12)



SLS National Director Milton Mueller (standing, at left) leads an unsuccessful effort to bar Williamson Evers (standing, right) from running for Student Board at the recent SLS National Convention.

photo/Jonnie Gilman

MOVEMENT UPDATE

Which Way For Campus Libertarians?

The first National Convention of Students for a Libertarian Society—held in Ann Arbor, at the University of Michigan, August 1-4—dramatized the dilemma of a libertarian movement in crisis. The crisis was, literally, defined in terms of black-&white—for once. All 95 registered delegates received two draft proposals for an SLS statement of principles: the “official” one authored by the present National Office staff, and the other authored by Murray N. Rothbard, Bill Evers, Eric Garris, Justin Raimondo, and George H. Smith. In terms of content and style no two statements could have been further apart and yet still remain within the parameters of our movement.

Members of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) have been active in SLS, almost from its very inception. Both Bill Evers and Murray Rothbard were among the founders of SLS; in addition, Eric Garris and Justin Raimondo served on the National Office staff. SLS members also active in the LPRC have been instrumental in building chapters from San Francisco State to New York University. It was the LPRC fraction in the SLS National Office which successfully initiated *Liberty*, the SLS newspaper—over the initial objections of the present leadership. LPRC members spear-headed the May 1st anti-draft actions, which dwarfed—both in size and scope—the National Office’s much-heralded “National Resistance Committee”, which made a largely non-existent effort, to mobilize a substantial number of pickets around post offices during draft registration.

The organizational problems which have wracked SLS, from time to time, have always threatened to eclipse the real political differences developing, not only within SLS, but within the wider libertarian movement.

The draft statement of principles submitted by the SLS National Office typified the careless, unserious approach of the present leadership to libertarian theory. The mechanical attitude of the National Office bureaucracy toward politics, and ideas in general—which downplays theory, worships pure “action”, and wants only to know whether an idea is catchy enough to “sell”—does much to explain why it took the present “leadership” nearly two years to come up with a statement of principles. In spite of efforts by LPRC members working in the SLS National Office to get out a comprehensive statement—in 1979—explicitly anti-intellectual prejudices carried the day. A year later—after LPRC members were purged from the National Office [see *Libertarian Vanguard*; 12/79; p. 11] the leadership decided it was time to hold a National Convention. Shortly before the Convention, they had dashed-off a proposed statement—flawed beyond repair.

Filled with verbose paens to something called “humanism”—a vague, undefined term which can, and does, mean anything to anyone—the National Office draft proposal was not, however, merely

innocuous. For all of SLS National Director Milton Mueller’s rhetoric about “forging a strategic vision”, there was not a single mention of the special oppression minority groups suffer in this country. Instead of offering a solid program—a program that the advocates of “action now!” could act on—the leadership explicitly attempted to keep the final draft of the statement as general (i.e. vague) as possible. In this

way, the penchant of the leadership for jumping on just any old bandwagon—and their contempt for theory, educational activities, and cadre-building—is justified and explained. The white, middle-and-upper-class college students—who have been targeted, not only by the SLS bureaucrats, but by other elements in our movement—are supposedly sitting ducks for this kind of washed-out “liberal” pap. Third world students—who have heard a lot of promises—are rightfully skeptical of the undefined. Of course, as their behaviour on the Convention floor demonstrated, the National Office bureaucrats have already written off the possibility of recruiting Third World students.

ON THE CONVENTION FLOOR

The floor fight over which draft proposal would serve as a working document was intensified by the effort on the part of the National Office to depict the LPRC as interested only in “disrupting” the Convention. “We did come up with a final statement,” writes Milton Mueller in *SLS Action*, “but too many important issues went undiscussed. The problem was compounded by the last minute submission of a completely new Statement by the Radical Caucus.” It was clear at the Convention that the leadership did not expect a comprehensive contribution to the debate to emerge from anywhere within SLS. That such a challenge did arise was clearly perceived as a threat, as the most recent issue of *SLS Action* (the SLS internal “discussion” bulletin) makes perfectly obvious. In the “official” convention Report—in an issue of *SLS Action* devoted almost entirely to polemics directed at the LPRC—*ad hominem* attacks are the order of the day. According to the “official” line—and insofar as the hundreds of SLS members who couldn’t fly out to Ann Arbor that weekend know—the LPRC was motivated by “petty personal vendettas”. That issue of *SLS Action*—which doesn’t even pretend to be anything other than a National Office soapbox—is filled with phrases like “at this point National Office people became suspicious of the motives of the RC faction . . .” [p. 3].

Most SLS members were eager, however, to debate the issues—regardless of what the National Office wanted. Although the “official” story has it that LPRC supporters constituted “only about 5% of the convention”, the motion to substitute the LPRC draft as the working document of the convention won nearly 30% of the vote. A solid 30% of the delegates voted with LPRC floor leaders on a regular basis.

Two interrelated, but formally separate issues were the focus of the convention, and they were: 1) What ideas will SLS embody? 2) What form will the organization take?

Since the National Office is determined to attract upper-middle class “liberal” types from the anti-nuke movement, no matter what the price, they have to play at “democracy”. Of course, real power is vested in those who are paying the bills—represented by a “policy board”. In spite of attempts by the SLS hierarchy to put a “democratic” face on bureaucratic manipulation and outright deception, the text of a memo from SLS Secretary/Treasurer Tom Palmer to “policy board” members Bill Evers, Walter Grinder, David Theroux and Ed Clark tells the real story: “In order to complete the paper work on SLS, I need \$10 from each of you. As soon as I get the \$10 I will forward it to Robert Dondlinger in Wichita. I will be sending letters out soon inviting a number of students to serve on a ‘student board of directors’ which will make policy recommendations and participate in the organization. Ultimate decision making power will rest with the stock holders and ‘policy board’, however.”

This memo—widely circulated among the delegates—had a real impact. Only by making some concessions to the LPRC proposal on organization did the National Office head off what threatened, at times, to turn into an open rebellion of the majority. Thus, the motion to delay voting for seats on the Student Board until a Constitution was written—delineating the extent of that Board’s power—was narrowly defeated. Essentially, the National Office did not come to the Convention with a solid proposal on organization. LPRC supporters narrowly missed winning approval of a proposed structure plan which would have made *Liberty* editor an elective office, in addition to the National Director and two other full-time National Office spots. Eventually, a compromise was reached: the National Director is to be elected by the membership, while the Student Board has veto power over all SLS policies.

In retrospect, it looks as if the National Office types wish they had put off the Student Board elections. LPRC supporters won three seats (not bad for “only about 5%”!) Two ardent supporters of the National Office won seats; the other five are, generally, independents. Both the first and second alternates are dues-paying LPRC members. The newly elected Board consists of: Jeff Friedman, Cooper Henson, Linda Wahrman, Mark Brady, Tyler Cowan, Chris Sciabarra, Scott Olmsted, David Beito, and Bill Evers. Brady’s nominating speech for Evers was interrupted by Milton Mueller, who maintained that Mr. Evers had no right to run for Student Board, since he had not yet resigned from the mysterious “policy board.” Palmer—in what was for many the dramatic high point of the Convention—ruled Mueller out of order. A yelling match then ensued between Mueller and the Chair, to the utter

amazement of the delegates, which ended only when the Convention rejected this attempt by the National Office to simply shout all opposition down.

LINE OF DEMARCATION

These organizational disputes were, however, only skirmishes in what was, and is, an ideological conflict. This conflict—a division based on visions of our movement’s future which are poles apart—centered around four major issues. These consist of the following:

1) “Humanism” versus “dogmatism”. This phony dichotomy—dragged out and trotted around by Milton Mueller in the current *SLS Action*—is a classic opportunist ploy. Of course, what the philosophers-in-residence at the National Office mean by “humanism” is conveniently undefined. In fact, it is clear that the convenience of such an elastic theory is its chief attraction; it can stretch fundamentals beyond the breaking point. For opportunists, theory is merely an elaborate cover story, a rationalization, an after thought. Mueller is quite explicit in his *SLS Action* article, and we quote: “. . . Dogmatism is one more manifestation of the sharp separation between ideology and experience, between theory and practice, which now plagues the libertarian movement. Theory comes later, as people sort out and attempt to explain what is happening to them.”

[Emphasis added.] That last phrase describes the utterly aimless course laid out for SLS by the National Office, during the past year, with unusual candor and precision. What better way to describe the ideological oscillations of the present SLS National Office staff, as they chase one political fad after another in a desperate effort to build a mass movement the day after tomorrow?

The alternative to this intellectual silly-putty is—our opportunists maintain—“dogmatism”. Although they are reluctant to tell us just what they mean by “humanism”, they are very clear about “dogmatism”. Obviously, this catchphrase is a euphemism for moral conviction. “This radical idea of liberty enters somewhat chastened times,” our young but world-weary opportunists assert in their draft statement. “We have learned much from the terrible experiences of the 20th century. Behind us lies a wake of discarded utopias and panaceas become nightmares. [This is humanism?] We do not wish to assert that libertarianism is capable of solving all problems at a single stroke. [What’s wrong with trying?] We must avoid at all costs, the transformation of libertarianism into a reified doctrine that claims it will automatically bring about justice, by means of a rigid and mechanical application of its tenets. To do so would be to dehumanize an ideal that has its only anchor in the nature of humanity.” Preentious drivel about “the nature of humanity” aside for the moment, this Byronic affectation is merely a particularly unimaginative way to side-step fundamentals when they get in the way of immediate, short-term gains. No one has ever asserted that libertarianism is a worldview unconnected to acting individuals, or that it will “automatically” bring about justice. It is true that moral conviction, alone, hanging in mid-air, is powerless to affect social change—yet, conversely, social change in a libertarian direction is impossible without a movement confident of the rightness of its cause. Historical analysis, a theory of the State, and concrete political activities on behalf of libertarianism are all derived from ethical, philosophical fundamentals, and cannot precede them. The tepid agnosticism favored by the opportunists is useless in the face of statism—only a moral crusade on behalf of liberty is capable of stopping the statist juggernaut. It is curious that those with such a public fondness for “historical analysis” could fail to notice such an elementary truth.

The last two sentences of the section from the SLS draft statement quoted above were deleted on the Convention floor, over the strenuous objections of the National Office.

2) Nuclear Power. This issue goes to the crux of the matter—and involves a question which has, essentially, nothing whatsoever to do with the merits and demerits of nuclear power as an energy source. Because government propaganda used the power of the “peaceful atom” to justify the arms race, our devotees of

"historical analysis" conclude that "the very structure of the nuclear industry is so thoroughly wedded to the government that nuclear power. . . is tantamount to government-controlled power." Of course, this is nothing but determinism. Obviously, there is no necessary link between nuclear power and statism. "But the assertion that somewhere, someplace, a nuclear power industry might arise that is economically viable and aggresses against no one tells us nothing about *this* nuclear power industry, where it came from, and what to do about it," writes Mueller. But why not *privatize* these assets? Apparently, if it were up to him, no such industry would even get the *opportunity* to arise. Unlike other sectors of the economy—like the banks—the nuclear power industry cannot be freed from the taint of the State, according to Mueller. Presumably this is what is meant by frequent references to "the inherent dynamics of state power" one finds in the National Office statement. This "dynamic"—the irresistible pull of impersonal historical forces, or some such thing—demands that SLS "work with [the anti-nukers] to oppose further dependence on nuclear power." This completely unlibertarian conception is a major theme of the National Office statement—a theme which, when applied to the realm of international affairs, is truly disastrous from a libertarian point of view.

3) *International Politics*. "While the US empire lays static," [!] intones the National Office draft statement, "the Soviet Union—following the bent of all powerful governments—has become imperialistic to an increasingly obvious degree. The Soviet Army, once dwarfed in size by the American military, launched a furious arms build-up that achieved rough parity with the US during the 1970's. Its military has grasped for the ability to project power beyond its borders. But the most staggering demonstration of the Soviets' newly aggressive posture was the invasion of Afghanistan." [SLS Action: July 1980: p. 5] [Emphasis added.]

Thus, we have the SLS National Office lining up with Ronald Reagan, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and the Committee on the Present Danger. This is where the "inherent dynamics of state power" leads you. Following the bent of all opportunists, one winds up sailing in whatever direction the wind is blowing. This is the mentality behind the myth of the "Soviet threat", bedrock Cold Warrior ideology, the same line the perpetrators of a war for oil in the Middle East will be using if and when the time comes for them to use it. For an organization which purports to be the cutting edge of the anti-draft movement, this is a curious position to uphold. Point 10 of the National Office draft statement ["An International Libertarian Movement"] attacks the Right: "The Right would take us back to the 50's, and reforge all the vicious and unlibertarian instruments of the Cold War; new weapons, revitalized intelligence agencies, a build-up of interventionary [sic] forces, a renewed draft, a stampede of fear at home." It seems that the National Office has joined in that stampede. If they think the Right would "take us back to the 50's," they ought to read their *own* rhetoric. That rhetoric dovetails the classic Cold Warrior document NSC-68—the infamous 1949 National Security Council position paper, cited by Alan Wolfe in *The Myth of the Soviet "Threat"* as the chief cornerstone of the rightwing theory that "an unbreakable connection existed between totalitarian conditions at home and an expansionist foreign policy abroad." The following quote from NSC-68 is so similar to the National Office draft statement position that it is worth quoting here: "The Kremlin's policy toward areas not under its control is the elimination of resistance to its will and the extension of its influence and control. It is driven to follow this policy because it cannot . . . tolerate the existence of free societies; to the Kremlin the most mild and inoffensive society is an affront, a challenge and a subversive influence. Given the nature of the Kremlin, and the evidence at hand, it seems clear that the ends toward which this policy is directed are the same as those where its ends have already been established." [Cited by Wolfe.] [Emphasis added.] This is where "the inherent dynamics of state

power" leads you—right into the arms of the National Security Council. It also leads to nonsense like: "The era of national liberation struggles in the Third World is drawing to a close, ending the Cold War competition carried on between the US and the USSR." This is uttered on the eve of draft registration! "The old dialectic between Western intervention and nationalist revolution is diminishing," the National Office informs us. At first, this kind of talk is merely baffling; but, as one reads through the "International" section of the National Office draft statement, a pattern emerges: US responsibility for the Cold War is constantly downplayed. By "creatively" borrowing from the tattered intellectual baggage of New Leftish-sounding clichés, they "dialectically" sneak in sweeping pronouncements without offering so much as a shred of evidence, historical or otherwise, such as: "Nineteenth century colonialism finds its 20th century counterpart in domestic socialist governments serving as the economic and international pawns of their Soviet or Chinese mentors." Their polemic against the "Left"—they tar everyone who considers the US the main danger to world peace with the "leftist" brush—breathlessly announces that the socialist bloc, also, can be guilty of imperialism. "If state capitalism and state socialism both exhibit the same relentless drive toward international dominance," the National Office declares, "then it must be the common denominator—the dynamics of state power—not the 'contradictions of capitalism' which are the roots of war." But if statism is more developed in the socialist countries, then surely it's drive for world domination is even more "relentless" than that of the US. If we take the National Office position to its logical conclusion—although one gets the feeling that these dictums are not intended to be applied consistently—one winds up positing the bogeyman of "Soviet threat", along with Senator Jesse Helms, Norman Podhoretz, and the Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party.

Fortunately for the National Office—because *this* is where their real politics came out of the closet—the Convention didn't get to this section. In the face of possible US military intervention in the Middle East, or elsewhere—especially if Reagan pulls it off in November—this sort of opportunism is absolutely unforgivable. *This* is what happens when "theory comes later."

4) *Land Reform*. The LPRC succeeded in adding a new section to the final statement, which incorporated some of our ideas on land reform. [See Point 10 of "The Ten Points of the LPRC" elsewhere in this issue.] The following was approved by the Convention: "We recognize that chicanos and Native Americans have been robbed of real estate that is rightfully theirs. Because of past land theft and original claims not based on homesteading, many landholdings in America are illegitimate. In cases of theft (for example, large-scale expropriations carried out against Mexican-Americans in the Southwest United States), we support restoration to the victims (or their heirs). In cases of invalid claims, we advocate reopening the land to homesteading. Our critics may protest that we want to 'give America back to the Indians'—but this is no argument against us. Land that justly belongs to Indians must be returned to them. This is the only way to cleanse a tainted private property system of the stain of conquest and wholesale robbery."

But the rest of that proposed section—brought up on the Convention floor by Chris Sciabarra of NYU—which applied the same principles to black people in this country was vehemently *opposed* by the National Office bureaucracy. Here is the text of the LPRC proposal: "(18) We recognize that historically certain racial, religious, and other groupings have been especially oppressed. Indeed, racism and intolerance are twin brothers whose mother is the State."

"(19) In our own country, this unholy family has wreaked havoc in our society—and is responsible for the tragic incompleteness of an otherwise glorious American Revolution. The fact that slavery continued for nearly one hundred years after an American Revolution made in the name of individual rights was a major factor in the betrayal of that revolution's ideals. In order to support the continued exist-

ence of slavery, a ruling elite that countenanced—even approved of—slavery had to hold sway in American political life and culture. We are still experiencing the consequences of this, right up to the present day. And we shall continue to experience these consequences until the historic injustice of slavery is finally rectified.

"(20) There is only one way to finally settle the slave problem: by ensuring that America's blacks can reclaim their lost inheritance. The descendants of African slaves—who were kidnapped and brought to this country by the tens of thousands—must receive the land in the South that is their just due. African slaves were forced to work plantations—the titles to which were largely based on feudal land claims. The slaves were the real owners of that land and their heirs and assignees (largely their descendants) alone have valid claims to that land today. Since the feudal land claims of the slaveholders were and are illegitimate, that land must revert to those who mixed their labor with the land, or their heirs. We must and we shall redeem in our own day the abolitionists' promise to the freed slaves of the land to which they were fully entitled."

The motion lost. The arguments used by the National Office—Mueller declared "the so-called land 'reform' program was actually a blueprint for a racial civil war" [!]—could just as easily be used against the land reform section which dealt with Chicanos and Native Americans. When this was pointed out on the floor, Mueller exercised his white skin privilege to announce that such a proposal "would not be of interest to blacks" [!]. For the leader of a political organization which has not a single black member to make such an announcement is not merely arrogance; it is objectively racist. To assume that blacks are less interested in justice than Chicanos or Native Americans is worse than opportunistic—much worse.

THE FUTURE OF SLS

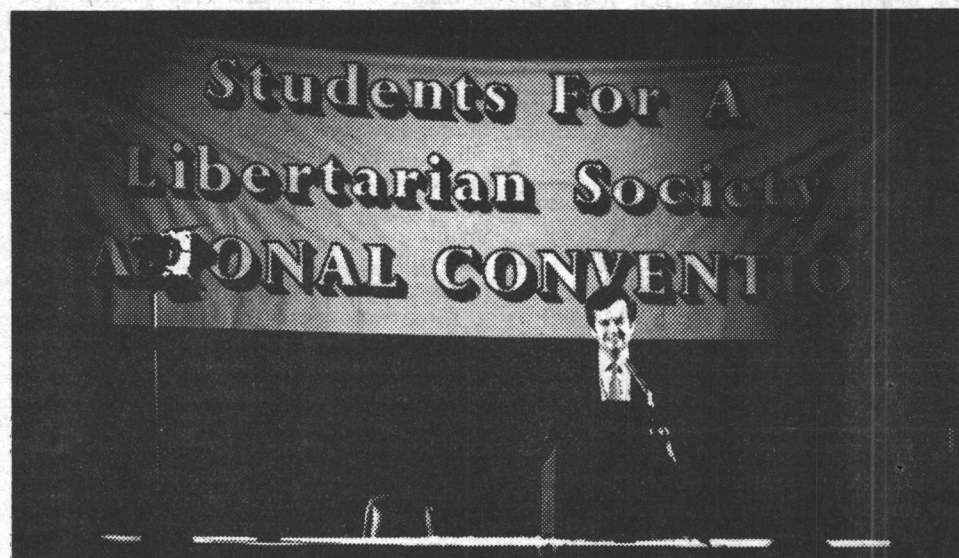
In the aftermath of the Convention, the National Office is working overtime to inoculate their membership against the "outside agitators" of the LPRC. The most recent issue of *SLS Action* is largely devoted to a gleefully subjective "analysis" of the Convention proceedings. This long polemic is printed alongside the mail ballots for the National Director election; the two candidates are Eric Garris and Milton Mueller. Both candidates were supposed to have gotten 200 words apiece to make their case. Ignoring the fact that many SLS members are also LPRC members and supporters, no provision was made to even pretend that this issue of *SLS Action* is anything more than a factional document. Far from being an "internal discussion bulletin"—the way it was originally conceived—

—the tendency to suppress honest disagreements among libertarians—will not succeed. The more the National Office openly utilizes the machinery of SLS to overwhelm any and all opposition, the more they will isolate themselves from their own membership. "We believe," writes Mueller in *SLS Action*, "that a latent authoritarianism often finds expression in doctrinal purity." Ignoring for the moment the question of who "we" might be—although one suspects Mueller means to speak for SLS—let us subject this assertion to a little "historical analysis", to use a favored phrase. In fact, there hasn't been much "latent" authoritarianism in SLS—all of it has been *blatant*. And all of it—using *SLS Action* inappropriately, banning dissenting articles on the nuclear power question from *Liberty*, attempting to impose a "policy board" which could over-rule the democratically-elected Student Board—can and should be laid directly at the doorstep of the National Office. When Mueller lectures us on the origins of authoritarianism, one can only answer: *Well, he ought to know!*

Opportunists downplay the power of ideas, and have nothing but contempt for theory, precisely because they need plenty of room to perform the sort of mental gymnastics characteristic of opportunism. Their only weapon is ignorance. As the movement develops—as, in spite of all obstacles, the quality and quantity of our cadre improves—they will resort more and more to bureaucratic methods. Unfortunately, the National Office of SLS is moving very quickly in this direction. We urge all SLS members to write letters of protest to *SLS Action*; in addition, we call on the Student Board to assert itself, and ensure that democratic debate within the organization is strictly maintained. Libertarians have had bad experiences with bureaucratic youth organizations; many libertarian cadre now in their 20's were, at one time, members of the rightwing Young Americans for Freedom. In order to stop what the conservatives saw as an impending libertarian *coup*, the YAF National Office bureaucrats simply read us out of the organization. A few years later, YAF wilted on the vine. Today, it is largely a paper organization.

SLS deserves a better fate. By trying to paper over honest differences among libertarians—and by attempting to characterize any and all criticism as "disruption"—the National Office only compounds the problem. And the problem is not "disruption"—the problem is, in fact, the cheap opportunism of a politically disoriented leadership, which cannot decide from one moment to the next which political fad to follow.

But there *is* hope for SLS. Although the entrenched National Office misleadership is sure to oppose any attempt to reform the organization from within,



SLS Action is being used by the National Office to ensure Mueller's re-election.

That nearly 30% of those attending the Convention agreed, generally, with the LPRC Draft statement—as radical a document as it is—makes the National Office a bit uncomfortable. The composition of the new Student Board—which has yet to meet—makes them even more uncomfortable. The fiction that the LPRC is a "Leninist" organization out to "destroy" SLS—assertions actually made by Mueller at the Convention meeting of the Student Board, after the Board voted to grant the LPRC the right to rent the SLS mailing list—cannot stand up to the facts. The organizational sectarianism which is the handmaiden of opportunism

such an attempt must be made. We urge all LPRC members and supporters to join—and become active in—SLS. If you are already a member, then we urge you to vote for Eric Garris for SLS National Director. The ongoing degeneration of SLS is a sorry sight, indeed—for example, at a time when war has erupted in the Middle East, and the possibility of US intervention is very real, the pages of *Liberty* are devoted to the problem of youth unemployment! Of course, this is no surprise, considering the Cold Warrior mentality which runs rampant throughout the "International" section of the National Office draft statement. And yet, it is still a tragedy. Will SLS members wake up? Only time will tell.

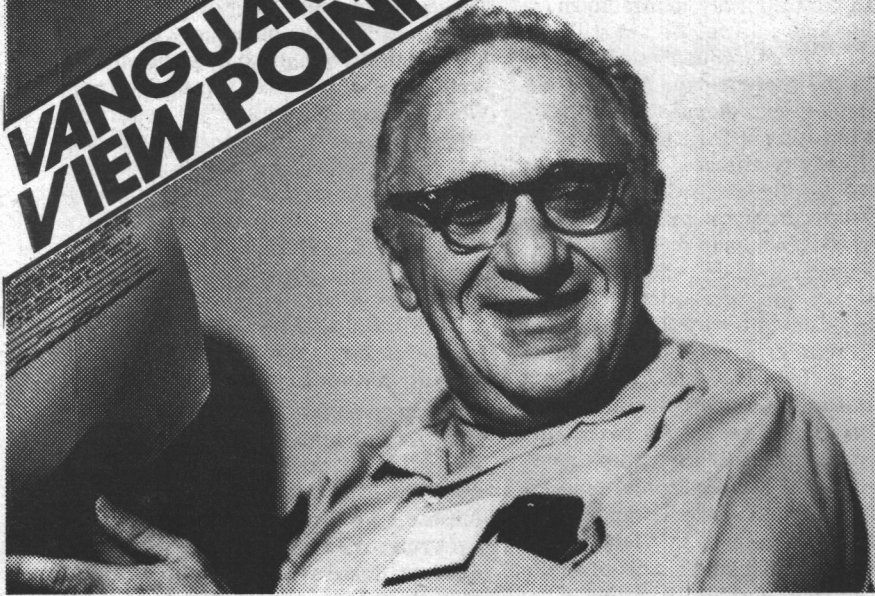


photo of Murray Rothbard by Janine Gilman

Advance To Liberty by Murray Rothbard

Editor's note: This article is the full text of Dr. Rothbard's keynote address to the first state convention of the Libertarian Party of California held in the wake of achieving ballot status.

August 16, 1980

This is a very happy occasion for me. Over five years ago, in the winter of 1975, I gave the keynote address to the state convention of this party. It was held at a small rundown motel in Santa Monica. Now here we are, at our long-awaited first convention as a permanent legal party. What a long way the party has come in a mere five years!

I remember the occasion vividly, because it was one of the first times I had ever been to California. As a New Yorker born and bred, I had the usual New Yorker attitude toward California. Any place west of the Hudson was considered "the dunes", and California I thought I knew all about from all those beach blanket pictures of long ago. I knew that everyone in California spent their time tooling down the highway at Malibu, with Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello ready to leap into the water with their surfboards at the first cry of "surf's up!" Their attention was entirely devoted to the endless quest for the "perfect wave". That winter we drove across the country to L.A., and were snowbound in Gallup, New Mexico. I had to take a bus from there to L.A. so as not to miss my keynote address. The bus drove through the night: I staggered out of the Greyhound Terminal and took a cab to Santa Monica, and I remember clearly my astonishment at getting out at the motel on the beach. It was 85 degrees, and up there in the sky there was a white, hot, blinding thing. Good Lord, it was the sun blazing down! New Yorkers spend their lives shielded from that monstrous thing by layer upon layer of cloud, smog, and dirt.

Since then, I've learned to love California, I lived here for nearly three years, and I now consider California my second home.

Building A Movement

I have become famous, or infamous, over the last few years for giving speeches on the case for optimism at Libertarian gatherings. I am going to spare you that case here. For one thing, I'm sure you've heard it all before. But more importantly, what we need at this point is not another pep talk, but rather a strong note of caution and concern. Caught up as we all are in the euphoria of this presidential campaign, we are understandably in danger of forgetting some truths that will be vital for the continued advance and even survival of our party and of our great cause of liberty, which is after all why we are all here in the first place.

First, we are in danger of neglecting the state and local parties. This great state convention is a perfect occasion for sounding this note of warning. The major purposes of any libertarian political campaign are to educate the public in the principles of libertarianism, and to draw more and more active and dedicated libertarians into the Libertarian Party. In that way, education of the public and recruiting into the party go hand in hand, each reinforcing the other as we advance onward to liberty. But we cannot build the state and local

parties if, wrapped up in the glamour of the presidential race, we neglect our state and local candidates or our state and local party structures.

There has been an understandable but unfortunate tendency to concentrate our money and more importantly our energies on the national campaign to the neglect of the vital task of nurturing and building candidates and our party at the grass roots level. We need to devote more of our resources to the grass roots, and to organizing at the local level.

There is danger, too, in devoting so much of our resources to a TV campaign for the presidential ticket. Clearly media publicity is extremely important, but there must be a balance, and desperately needed attention to grass roots campaigns and party organizing is in peril of getting lost in the shuffle.

It is important to heed the lesson of the history of the New Left. In his significant recent book, *The Whole World Is Watching*, Todd Gitlin, one of the founders of the New Left in the 1960's, is trying to figure out what went wrong with that seemingly mighty movement; how could it have collapsed so quickly? He concludes that the major problem was that the New Left leadership, having attracted far more media attention and publicity than they had ever hoped, began to concentrate all their energies on keeping that attention going. In love with their star roles they began to alter and tailor their programs to keep media attention. And they began to neglect the slow, hard work of grassroots organizing in order to wallow in their new glamorous roles as media attractions. As a result, when the first crisis occurred, or when the media lost interest and went on to another fad, the bubble burst, and it turned out to everyone's astonishment that underneath there was nothing there anymore. The New Left had disappeared. It is vital for us to heed that lesson, and not to neglect either libertarian principles or grassroots organizing in an attempt to keep the media listening and watching. Or else we too will wake up one morning to find that there is nothing there, anymore.

Those who push for virtually exclusive concentration on TV and the presidential campaign say they hope that the glamour and attention will automatically strengthen the state and local parties. But it hasn't worked that way in the past. It didn't work with the New Left, and it didn't really work after our last presidential campaign. Nor did it work after the great Clark campaign for governor in 1978. Let us put it this way: ever since we ran our first Hoppers-Nathan presidential campaign in 1972, our party has been growing enormously in total number of votes, in media attention, and in financial contributions. But it has not been growing enough in what really counts in the long-run: total number of party members, and by this I mean of course real, active members, and not simply signatures to meet legal ballot requirements. Here is one vital measure of our long-run success as a party and as a force to roll back statism and to achieve liberty. Our record here is cause for concern and for rethinking of our efforts and our priorities.

Another problem that has troubled all of us for a long time is that while we get a continuing influx of eager new members, we lose a lot too, a dropout rate that ac-

counts for our poor overall growth record. We must find a way to greatly reduce the dropout rate and to try to bring our former members back into the party. I have no easy answers to this grave situation. One problem is that many of our activists "burn out", and leave us—frazzled, tired, fed up.

One way to solve the burnout problem is for all of us to adopt the attitude of steady work and lifelong commitment to the cause. All too many people get converted to liberty, become wildly enthusiastic, join the party, and burn themselves out in a flurry of intense enthusiasm and activity. Sometimes they just get too tired and quit, never to be seen again. Other times, they come in expecting quick victory in one or two years, and then get discouraged and quit when that victory fails to appear. We must all realize that, while the conditions for the achievement of liberty are good, we will not achieve victory in a few months or even years. When we become Libertarians and dedicate ourselves to the cause of liberty, we must realize, from the very beginning, that we are engaging in a lifelong commitment. We should do so joyously, for there is nothing more satisfying than fighting for the greatest cause of all: human liberty. We should do so hoping for great things, but expecting only lifelong activity in the cause. We should become Libertarians just as we commit ourselves to any lifelong career. When people adopt a career, they don't expect that all their goals will be achieved in two years, and then it's on to something else. In the same way, we must commit ourselves to a lifetime career as Libertarians.

And if we adopt and encourage this kind of mind-set, then we will not be likely to exhaust ourselves and burn ourselves out in a few months. If we become doctors or lawyers or computer programmers, we don't expect to work 80 hours a week for some months, and then collapse. We learn to pace ourselves for the long haul. We must learn to allocate our energies as lifelong Libertarians.

Let A Hundred Flowers Bloom

Many people burn out because they become discouraged at differences of opinion, in-fighting, and factional disputes within the party.

The problem is that many people, on discovering the wonders of Libertarianism and finding like-minded people, enter the party in the naive belief that since we are all Libertarians and agree on fundamental principles, that all will always be peace and harmony in the Libertarian family. Then, when they discover that this is not so, they become sadly disillusioned—and soon enough end any connection with the movement or with Libertarian activities.

We must all understand that there is nothing wrong with disagreement in any organization—that such disagreements are inevitable. Even if each of us agrees on basic axioms and principles, there are bound to be many and vigorous disagreements on how to apply these principles, and still more, on the proper strategies and tactics in trying to put these principles into effect. As soon as any of us joins any group of more than two persons: whether business firm, bridge club, or Libertarian Party, there are bound to be differences of opinion between the individuals on how to proceed. For the fact of joining a group means that the group must make decisions, decisions which commit every member, and therefore it becomes important for each individual or sub-group to try to win out over other factions who disagree on courses of action. Since the group as a whole must make unitary decisions, and since each decision commits every member, it becomes important for each individual faction to try to win out in deciding what to do, passionate arguments and even power struggles between factions become inevitable. And the more important the disagreement and the more passionately each faction is convinced it is right, the more intense the conflict will be. Few people really care about differences on what color to paint the office. But many will care deeply about fundamental disagreements on program or strategy.

In the history of libertarian political parties in this country, there are several glorious instances of factions within the party who made it their business to forcefully remind their fellow party-members of libertarian principles and how they were falling away from these principles.

When in Jefferson's second term the Jeffersonian Democratic-Republican Party

began to betray their own libertarian principles by driving for war against Britain, for a navy, for an inflationary central bank, for protective tariffs and public works, the "Old Republican" faction, headed by such a great Libertarian as John Taylor of Carolina and John Randolph of Roanoke, arose to battle against the betrayal of Jeffersonian principles by Jefferson's own party.

Later, inside the libertarian Jacksonian Party, the "Loco-Foco" faction in New York fought against those democrats who wanted to abandon principle, and support inflation, central banking, tariffs, and big government generally. They got their name because the party bureaucrats had the lights turned out in their assembly hall. Undaunted, the principled libertarian faction lit candles, called "Loco-Focos", and continued the meeting.

And, finally, the Northern Democrats faced the slavery issue in the 1840's and 50's, they split into the principled wing, who opposed the admission of any more slave states into the union, and the "realist" wing, called the Hunkers, who favored the expansion of slavery. The Hunkers said: "It's not that we're for slavery but as long as it exists, we have to live with it. Any other position is too radical, and would lose votes for the party."

By the way, the Hunkers accused their principled libertarian opponents of being abrasive trouble-makers barn-burners, people who were willing to burn down the barn to get rid of the rats. The Barnburners wore that name like a badge of honor. They knew that their vital role, troubling as it may have been, was to work to restore the primacy of principle within their party.

If conflict or disagreement within any group is inevitable, then many Libertarians give up in despair and decide that all groups of any sort are evil, and that each individual should pursue the Libertarian goal by doing his or her thing strictly on one's own. But this is a counsel of futility. For it is simply a fact of life that very few goals can be accomplished without cooperation with fellows also dedicated to the same goal: whether it is making profits in a steel company, playing chess, or advancing an ideological cause. We just have to realize the fact that nothing of importance can be accomplished without group cooperation, that all groups, even non-ideological ones, are bound to have disagreements and intramural conflicts, and that as far as possible we should relax and enjoy it, or, as Californians would say, "go with the flow."

We should also realize that, while business firms have plenty of inner managerial conflicts, as we can see every day in the business press, they are necessarily limited by the feedback test of profit and loss. Managers have to try to increase profits and avoid losses, and their policies are subject to quick feedback tests which force them to correct their ways or else go out of business. Non-profit institutions, ideological or not, political or not, have no such quick reality tests, so there is much more scope for longer and more intense disagreement. There is grave danger that some of us may rush to substitute votes for profits as a test of success. Of course, we are after votes, but never at the expense of principle.

Far from disagreements within the party being something to paper over, hide, or suppress, instead the only sound and healthy policy is to encourage them to be aired. Only in that way will party members be able to learn what is going on, formulate their views in interaction with others, and make knowledgeable and intelligent decisions. For there is another basic difference between a political party or any membership organization, on the one hand, and a corporation or trustee-run institution on the other. Corporations and most non-profit organizations are hierarchical, run from the top down, with basic and ultimate direction in the hands of the top leadership. Successful political parties have to have participation and involvement in decision-making by the members. It becomes all the more vital, then, for parties, to insure that there is free flow of information and free exercise of opinion and disagreement among party members. Otherwise, party members, kept in the dark, will be reduced to observing and merely ratifying the decisions of the leadership.

All of us, therefore, should welcome the formation of caucuses and varying tendencies within our party. And I say this about all factions and caucuses, not just ones with which I happen to agree. Libertarians and our party are now so big that it is inevitable and healthy that varying and even conflicting tendencies have appeared within them. Disagreement is an inevitable consequence of our growth. We must there-

fore welcome all the diverse tendencies in our party, we must listen, read, and discuss these disagreements, so that each of us can be better informed and make up our own minds on these important questions. Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend. Far better such healthy diversity and disagreement than any kind of closed and monolithic structure with everyone below reduced to taking and following orders. We don't want that kind of deadening goose-stepping conformity for our great party. But we must always be alert. Power, any kind of power, tends to corrupt, and, as Thomas Jefferson warned us two centuries ago, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

But to make intelligent decisions, we must all be well informed. If our burnout rate is troublesome, the continuing influx of newcomers also poses a different kind of problem. For it is vital for the continued survival of our party as a *Libertarian Party* that we educate ourselves continually in the principles of Libertarianism and how these principles apply to ongoing and to new political issues. If we need to educate older members, how much more vital is education for the new members as they pour into the party, and who are usually far less familiar with the ideas, the personnel, the books, the political culture of the Libertarian movement and party. Yet, there are few organs or institutions in the party engaged in this kind of educational process. This process must be stepped up, which is one reason that all caucuses are valuable, because each in its own way performs a vital educational function for party members. For how can party members educate the outside world in Libertarianism and recruit others into the party without such educational institutions and mechanisms within the party itself? In the long run, it is disastrous if the only time political issues are discussed is at platform committees and conventions for two or three days every two years. Discussion of Libertarianism and how it applies to political issues must become a continuing and permanent part of the life of the party.

Here again we see the essential importance of local and grass-roots institutions in the party. This kind of continuing education can only occur at the grass-roots—in state and local party organizations. We can't wait for national headquarters or national officers to do the job for us. We must rededicate ourselves to building organizations locally and state-wide in California, and urge the other states to follow suit. California is the flagship Libertarian Party in the nation; let it serve as a beacon-light and an example to the other parties. Let us not burn ourselves out in the euphoria and glamour of the presidential campaign: let us not neglect the vital task of building the California Party and working and voting for state and local California candidates. This state convention is a perfect time for us to rededicate ourselves to that task.

Against Opportunism

If we are in danger of neglecting grassroots education, organizing, and candidates amidst the hoopla of the national campaign, we are equally in danger of forgetting our glorious platform and even our basic Libertarian principles. We are not, after all, a hack party, like the Democrats or Republicans. To us, our platform is not simply the work of pressure groups to be forgotten the next day and remain unread the rest of the campaign. As the party of principle, our platform is the embodiment of our Libertarian principles and the way we apply these principles to all the important issues of our day. Our platform, national and state, must be held up as our most vital document in every political campaign. It must not be buried or hidden or apologized for in embarrassment as reflecting a remote, ultimate goal far removed from the current campaign. Our national platform was crafted last year expressly to guide all of our members, institutions, and candidates; it is and should be understood as being directly relevant to every campaign, for the platform not only states the basic principles, but goes on to apply them in detail. Any compromising, any waffling, any undercutting or contradicting of our platform should be met with the sternest rebuke by each and every party member.

For it is inevitable that people running for office might be tempted—for the sake of seeming short-run advantage or trying to maximize votes—tempted to waffle, abandon, undercut, or contradict our principles and platform. Our platform might appear radical and not very respectable, the only way to make it sound respectable eventually is to hammer away,

and educate the public and the voters in these principles. And even if we get fewer votes that way—and I am not at all convinced that that is the case—we would then be secure in the knowledge that whatever votes we *did* get were votes for Libertarianism, and not simply votes for respectability. The object of this whole business, after all, the point of the Libertarian Party, is not—repeat *not*—simply to get the maximum number of votes for our candidates. The object of our campaigns is to get the maximum number of votes for *Libertarian principles*. If we are just interested in votes and votes alone, we should hike back to the Democratic or Republican parties. That's where the votes are.

The temptation to candidates to waffle on principle is inherent in our situation. In the long run, we must correct this problem by a basic structural reform in the Libertarian Party. There must be some institutional, day-to-day methods by which the party and the party organs can control political campaigns. We cannot long endure a situation where someone is nominated for an office, and he and his campaign committee then promptly take the ball and run with it, ignoring the party, party structures, and even the party platform. The party must be able to control the candidate, we need this kind of accountability, and not the other way around. Suppose, for example, that a communist or a Klu Kluxer or some other non-Libertarian manages to win a party primary. Or suppose even that a genuine Libertarian falls prey to temptation once he wins a nomination. We must not allow them to continue unchecked: for one thing, the party is supposed to be an institution that educates the voting public in Libertarianism. If we allow unchecked action by candidates, they might well be educating the public in something very different from Libertarianism. In the months and years ahead, we should all devote a considerable amount of thought to how this structural reform can be achieved.

Uphold Principle

Let us turn to a few principles and programs of the Libertarian Party which are in danger of being forgotten in this year's campaign. I select just a few of the important ones on an unfortunately long list, a list that includes the abolition of the FBI, the abolition of the environmental protection agency, the repeal of the income tax, and the eventual repeal of all taxation. But I would like to deal at a little greater length with three Libertarian policies which we are in danger of forgetting.

First, as Libertarians we favor open and unrestricted immigration. And that means now! Our national platform calls for "the elimination of all restrictions on immigration". America was a beacon-light of freedom when we pursued our original policy, from the beginning of the republic until World War I of free and open immigration. We are a lot richer now than we were then. Immigrants are some of the most hard-working and productive members of our society. They come here looking eagerly for a chance, and when they get that chance they work hard for themselves and their families. Free immigration is both the Libertarian policy and the American heritage, we cannot betray them. Yet there are voices, and there are candidates, in our party who say that immigration must be restricted because it adds to welfare costs. This argument is both morally shabby and incorrect. Immigrants come here to work. If we are worried about the welfare system, let's abolish *that*, and not meet the problem by punishing harmless and innocent Mexicans and other immigrants, who are trying to take part in what is supposed to be the American way of life.

That brings me to the welfare system. Our national platform is clear on this question. "We oppose all government welfare, relief projects, and 'aid to the poor' programs. All these government programs are privacy-invading, paternalistic, demeaning, and inefficient. The proper source of help for such persons is the voluntary aide and efforts of private groups and individuals." It should be clear from the very language of the platform that we favor the abolition of welfare not because we hate the poor, as leftists like to charge, but because we oppose coercion and aggression in all walks of life. Countless studies have shown that the welfare system hurts rather than helps the poor, so that both the taxpayers and the poor suffer from its toils. As other passages in the platform make clear, we favor liberating the poor and everyone else from the crippling confines of prohibitions, regulations, taxes, com-

pulsory licenses, and minimum wage laws, which prevent the poor from obtaining jobs or from rising into the ranks of entrepreneurs.

It is simply nonsense, the product of a fruitless quest for respectability, for some to say that "we cannot cut welfare until private institutions fill the gap." Yet there are voices, and candidates, in our party who say exactly that. No one is going to pick up the welfare tab, which is misdirected from the start. It is even worse to say, as some candidates have done, that "We cannot cut welfare until we achieve full employment." This is economic illiteracy. I thought that this Keynesian term had died an unlamented death, until Libertarians, of all people, began to pick up on it. "Full employment" can never be achieved. It is equally absurd to say, as some have done, that tax and budget cuts will make America so prosperous that no one will be on welfare anyway. Welfare payments give a powerful incentive to remain unemployed, since the advantage of working over not working—that is, monetary gain—gets reduced or disappears altogether. There is no magic route, no painless, respectable route to solve this problem except by eliminating the welfare system itself. If Keynesians and other liberals don't like this fact of life, then it's just too bad. We can never convert them or achieve liberty, unless we set forth our principles honestly and fearlessly.

My third example of Libertarian neglect is the issue that most Americans say is the Number One problem today: our chronic, permanent, and accelerating inflation. What can be done about it? There's only one solution that is consistent both with sound economics and with Libertarian principles. Fortunately they go together. Let me quote from our glorious platform. "We recognize that government control over money and banking is the cause of inflation . . . We therefore call for the repeal of all legal tender laws and of all compulsory governmental units of account. We support the right to private ownership of gold and contracts for gold. We favor the elimination of all government fiat money and all government minted coins. All restrictions upon the private minting of coins should be abolished so that minting will be open to the competition of the free market. We favor the use of the free market commodity standard, such as gold coin denominated by units of weight. We favor free market banking. We call for the abolition of the Federal Reserve System, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation . . . etc."

Now this is *not* a program divorced from the realities of the political world. Rep. Ron Paul, Republican of Texas, has just introduced a bill in congress to this effect. Do we dare to do less, do we dare to lag

would be a tragic irony if, like Richard Nixon who proclaimed himself a Keynesian, Libertarians should pick up the Keynesian baton just when it is falling apart. For the balanced or unbalanced budget has very little to do with inflation. Inflation is caused by the Federal Reserve creation of new money, and the Fed can inflate even when the budget is balanced. Conversely, deficits do not have to be financed by inflationary creation of money.

But it is said that the people understand about balanced budgets, but not about money. It is true that balancing the budget is a very respectable and non-controversial position. Eighty to ninety percent of the public favor it, and even Jimmy Carter keeps promising it, although it is of course as far away as ever. But respectable or not, holding out a balanced budget to the people as a cure for inflation is just plain wrong. If we neglect the money and banking system, and the importance of gold over government paper, we lose a vital opportunity to really educate the public on the cause of inflation. Let us, for heaven's sake, have the guts to tell the public the truth about what is going on. If we don't do it, if we don't uphold sound economics and Libertarian principle, who in the world is going to do it?

Critical Support

Come now to what is probably the most difficult part of this keynote address. In American politics, the custom is that once a candidate is selected, all members and factions of the party must get behind the candidate. But suppose that the candidate begins to violate the principles and the platform of the party: what then is the party member who is concerned about principle, especially in a party devoted to principle, what is he or she supposed to do? One answer—the traditional custom in American politics—is of course promised assiduously by party hacks who put their own power over principle. This doctrine holds that whatever the heresies and sins of the candidate, every party member must swallow his or her conscience, bury principle for the duration of the campaign, and act first and foremost on the doctrine of loyalty to the party and its candidates above all other considerations.

Loyalty is of course an admirable quality: but there is one thing more important than loyalty to one's group or organization or party: and that is loyalty to one's cherished beliefs and principles. Recently, headlines were made in the financial press about the firing last winter by the Ford Motor Company of its vice president and chief economist, Bill Niskanen. Niskanen had persisted



behind a Republican Congressman?

To put it another way: inflation is caused solely by the expansion of the money supply by the government. The Federal Reserve System is the agency solely responsible for this legalized counterfeiting and only the return to the gold standard and the abolition of the Fed can halt this process.

But there are voices, and there are candidates, in our party, who say that inflation is solely the product of deficit spending, and that if we balance the budget we will end inflation. This is Keynesian malarkey, whether uttered by Keynes or by Libertarian candidates. Keynesianism is losing out even among economists, and it

in arguing for free trade after Ford had decided to lobby for a protective tariff against Japanese autos. He was told that, at Ford, people get along by waiting for the decision of the company and then coming up with arguments to support that decision. There is plenty, there is too much, of this spirit of blind autocratic conformity in corporations and other institutions in American life. We don't want that kind of spirit in our Libertarian Party. We don't want a party of goose-stepping conformity, we don't want to insist that our members bury their individual consciences, that we must keep silent when we see our own principles and

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Polish workers march through the streets of Warsaw

Is The Red Tide Turning?

(continued from page 7)

the Western ruling class, who advocate "detente"—and who see, very clearly, that their interests objectively converge with the rising managerial elite of the Soviet bloc. Gierek knew that his friends in the West would not desert him; after all, what are friends for? While the whole world held its breath, waiting for the Red Army to march through the streets of Warsaw, it was the re-scheduling of massive loans from Western banks which prevented a general strike from becoming a full-scale revolution. It was only the reasonable expectation that Red Poland's creditors would frown on the possible loss of \$20 billion which permitted Gierek to make big economic concessions to the striking workers. That is the lesson of Gdansk.

This blatant collusion by East and West—which saved a Communist regime from the fate it so richly deserves—should do much to break down the Cold War mentality which still misguides many libertarians. The still-birth of the Polish revolution was presided over by the West, with the Kremlin playing the role of doctor's assistant. It is true that the Soviets extended economic aid to their beleaguered puppets—but the Russians just don't have the resources to make a significant difference. In the end, the fate of the Gierek regime was decided in the West—not in Gdansk, not in Moscow.

The historic dichotomy between the so-called "FreeWorld" and the Communist bloc is a myth that ought to be

dispelled in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary—the Polish events being only the clearest, most recent example. What we are up against is neither the "Red Menace", nor an allegedly anti-Communist cabal of Western "capitalists"—what we are faced with is an international statist system which is fast becoming an economic and political reality. Because the objective interests of the Russian and US elites tend to coincide more and more—that is, as the tide of nationalist revolutions tends to rise all around the world—significant sections of both ruling elites are attempting to forge a *de facto* alliance. This is now the dominant trend, in Washington as well as in Moscow. (On the other hand, the rival trend represented by Brzezinski, and also by the even more rightwing policy advisors surrounding Reagan, is even more dangerous; emboldened by the proximity of power, these types seek open military confrontation with the Soviets. Their response to the Polish uprising was strangely muted, considering the classic rightwing support for the liberation of the "captive nations." The reason for this ought to be clear enough to Libertarians: the passivity of the USSR in the face of a revolutionary situation brewing on their border did nothing to reinforce the myth of the "Soviet threat.")

The Polish tyranny would not last one week without material aid from its Western supporters—the international financial interests centered in the International Monetary Fund and other

banking cartels, which prop up favored regimes on a worldwide scale. Although the threat of Soviet military intervention cast a dark shadow over Warsaw's version of the "Prague Spring", ultimately other factors were decisive. These other factors—forces which transcend out-dated and irrelevant national boundaries—are the nucleus around which an international statist order is developing and expanding. To those genuinely anti-Communist Libertarians still blinded by Cold War propaganda, we in the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) say: Who really sold out Poland? Who propped up a Communist regime which was teetering on the brink of revolution? Who, ultimately, was the main danger to those Poles who were, and are, fighting for their freedom? In the end it was the West, not the Red Army, which intervened on behalf of the Gierek regime.

Let those who take issue with the LPRC's contention that it is the US (rather than the Soviet Union) which is the main danger to human freedom examine the situation in Poland. Today, the existence of an international statist system is an undeniable reality. That system is headquartered in the West, not in the East; the Polish drama's anticlimax taught us that, if it taught us anything at all.

Revolutions which are not merely proxy wars conducted by the super-powers are a threat to both ruling elites—but it is only the US which has the resources to police the world on a grand scale. Because the US is still reaping the gains made by the American Revolution—which unleashed the tremendous productive forces of a quasi-free market economy—it can afford to bail out tyrants whose policies have brought them to the edge of collapse. Because socialism doesn't work—be-

cause it has produced nothing but ration-books and the Gulag—the USSR stands by, helpless, as their Polish satellite threatens to veer out of the Soviet orbit. All over the world, the failure of Marxism in practice is leading, inexorably, to the ideological "immiseration" of Communism, and all varieties of statism. The intellectual poverty of the Marxists, as they try to explain each new atrocity in the context of their meaningless dogmas, is obvious to all those who care to look. Those who look forward to the liberation of Poland—and who, simultaneously, call for a ban on trade with the Communist bloc—fail to recognize that the abundance of Western consumer goods is an invaluable ideological factor in the continuing destabilization of the Polish regime. Designer jeans, not the MX missile, will bring down the commissars.

The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus supports the fight of the Polish people against the Communist regime—a fight which has been undercut not only by Gierek's masters in the Kremlin, but by Gierek's other masters in the West. We urge our readers and supporters to oppose the use of tax money to aid the Polish regime—and, furthermore, we urge US withdrawal from all international banking cartels, such as the IMF and others, which are responsible for the continuing plight of the Polish people. It is these vultures who, in concert with their Red allies, seek to impose "austerity" on the Polish people. Why the Polish people should have to pay for the failures of a planned economy they never chose—and why they should accept "austerity" instead of revolution—is a question the Western elite dares not answer.

One hopes the Polish people will answer it—in no uncertain terms.

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Advance To Liberty

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policies violated. We Libertarians are individualists, and may we always remain so! We must and we shall speak out against injustice and violation of Libertarian principle, whether it is outside our party or within it. Loyalty to principle, loyalty to truth, must always be our guiding star.

If any of our party nominations were ever captured by a communist or a Klu Kluxer, I don't think any one of us would be confused about what we should do. Party loyalty would clearly and obviously go by the board, party nominee or no party nominee, and we would all of us denounce this person and repudiate him or her in no uncertain terms.

These extreme cases are clear-cut. What to do, however, if some of our candidates violate some party principles but not others? What then? Here, our course of action becomes less clear and more complex, but one thing must be realized above all: each party member must follow his or her own conscience and judgement above all. We must not permit any sort of social pressure or moral blackmail to cloud over and distort that precious individual choice.

It will be easier for each of us to make the decision to support the ticket if we make the basic and fundamental distinction between *critical* and *uncritical support* of any given candidate. *Uncritical support* is the conforming, autocratic, goose-stepping, blind loyalty to the group, the sort of loyalty fostered by the bureaucrat and the party hack. But the choice is not only between uncritical and unthink-

ing support on the one hand, or the repudiation of our candidates on the other. The third way is, after weighing all factors, to support our candidates but to do so critically: that is to speak out against violations of principle whenever or wherever they may occur. Critical support of a candidate means that, having weighed all the candidate's strengths and weaknesses, his cleaving to or violation of principles, thoroughly and thoughtfully, the party member believes that, when all these factors are weighed, and all things are said and done, he or she will support and vote for that candidate. As Libertarians, our party candidates should *prefer* thoughtful and critical support to blind obedience. It would be a peculiar kind of Libertarian indeed who felt otherwise.

It is in this spirit that I call upon everyone to support and vote for the entire Libertarian ticket this November—for the Clark-Koch ticket, Dave Bergland for Senate, and for our congressional and local candidates right down the line.

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 others. He is the leading exponent of the "Austrian" school of economics, at least in this country—and was, in fact, a pupil of the great Ludwig von Mises. Prof. Rothbard has been a leader of the Libertarian movement for many years; he is also a member of the LPRC Central Committee.

