

# Libertarian VANGUARD

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## Elections Fail To Settle War



By Justin Raimondo

El Salvador's recent elections — a media drama enacted against the backdrop of a civil war — were good for everybody but the people of El Salvador.

The Reagan administration was overjoyed — and just as surprised as everyone else — to note that over one million Salvadoreans voted in the elections. The ultra-rightists National Republican Alliance (Arena) party — headed up by flamboyant death squad leader Major Roberto D'Abuissou — also had reason to rejoice; Arena came in second, with 25.7% of the vote and 19 seats in the constituent assembly

which will be charged with drawing up a new constitution. Combined with the National Conciliation Party (PCN) — traditionally the party of the military leadership — the far right has a majority in the constituent assembly. Even if all the other, smaller parties — like Democratic Action (AD), representing small to middle businessmen and El Salvador's would-be middle class, vaguely committed to some ill-defined free market ideas — aligned themselves with President Jose Napoleon Duarte's Christian Democrats, the rightists would still have the edge.

Even the left — which boycotted the elections, and in

some cases made the mistake of actually trying to prevent people from voting — has some reason to rejoice. In the short run, the election is a telling repudiation of the guerrilla movement. Even accounting for the fact that the population of government-controlled areas was often intimidated into voting, the large turnout is a good indication that many Salvadoreans are tired of the violence which seems largely indiscriminate. There was apparent lack of unity in the guerrilla's policy toward the elections; in some areas, guerrillas left the voters alone. But in other areas, FMLN units guarded highways, blew up

buses and tried to intimidate potential voters into going along with the boycott. This tactic had the exact opposite effect. Tired of being told what they could and could not do — first by the junta, then by the rebels — the people correctly saw that to vote would be an act of defiance. This is a big setback not only for the "left" — but for the whole revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism in the region.

However, in the long run, the elections will work to the rebels' advantage. The failure of the supposedly "moderate" Christian Democrats to win a working majority, and the rise of D'Abuissou, could mean the beginning of the end for the U.S.-backed regime.

Already the Christian Democrats are threatening to go over to the rebels if Arena and the PCN form a new government from which they are excluded.

But the U.S. embassy — which is openly acting as a referee between the various factions — is unlikely to let that happen. Undoubtedly the Christian Democrats — who came in first, with 35.3% and 24 assembly seats — will be offered some role in the new arrangement. But the real issues are: what form will the new government take, and what role will Jose Napoleon Duarte have in it?

These are two crucial issues which may divide the new government into such a welter of competing factions that the people may well turn to the guerrillas well before a U.S.-backed "moderate" military coup can be organized.

### The Loyal Opposition

All of the various parties which opposed the ruling Christian Democrats have one thing in common: like the guerrillas, they despise Duarte, although for entirely different reasons.

The Arena party, which

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A FUTILE GESTURE? — Salvadorans, weary of violence, turn out in large numbers in the capital city of San Salvador.

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## For a free Nicaragua

Since the defeat of U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza, the essentially nationalist Sandinista revolution — under tremendous pressure from U.S. imperialism — shows every sign of hardening into a unique variant of martial law socialism.

### Destabilization Plan

On March 10 the *Washington Post* reported that the CIA was planning acts of terrorism and "economic sabotage" within Nicaragua in order to bring down the nine-man Sandinista directorate. A comprehensive plan involving millions of dollars and an invasion force of some 1500 mercenaries has apparently been developed — and, according to "informed sources," the plan has the approval of President Ronald Reagan.

On March 14, saboteurs destroyed two key bridges near the Nicaragua-Honduras border.

On March 15 the Sandinista directorate "temporarily" sus-

pending all civil liberties; all opposition newspapers are subject to street censorship, the right to assemble was suspended, and police were given broad powers of detention and arrest in the name of the "national emergency." And so the climax of the first act in the drama of post-revolutionary Nicaragua has come to an end. The Revolution that was fought to make Nicaragua free is under attack on all sides; and the threat of U.S. intervention looms over the political landscape, overshadowing all else, even the ideals of the Revolution itself.

How did what was essentially a war for national independence degenerate into an increasingly rigid Marxist regime?

The single biggest factor in the Marxification of Nicaragua has been the very real threat of U.S. military intervention, either overt or covert. Reagan and Haig have sought to make an example of the Sandinistas,

openly threatening to "go to the heart of the problem" in Central America by some ominously unspecified action against the Sandinista regime. Washington did not even bother to deny the *Washington Post* revelations; with the self-confident swagger of a schoolyard bully, Reagan administration officials would neither confirm nor deny the allegations of a U.S. destabilization plan, offering only the traditional "no comment" in answer to reporters questions.

What was undoubtedly a deliberate leak, orchestrated by the more virulent hawks in the Reagan foreign policy establishment, doomed what was left of the liberal/moderate private sector opposition within Nicaragua to political oblivion. Included in the leaked destabilization campaign was a multi-million dollar slush fund slated for oppositionists willing to tow the U.S. line. If the KGB itself had been plotting

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# Guardian Angels under attack

It was 11 p.m. in Newark's crime-ridden Dayton Street housing project. Frank Melvin, a young black Guardian Angel, had been in the area with nine other members of the volunteer community organization which is pledged to fight crime and assist the poor and elderly, fixing a leak in an apartment. Two police officers were also in the area, investigating a burglary. According to eyewitness accounts, Melvin ran toward the site of the alleged burglary. Before he was shot he cried out, "Stop, I'm a Guardian Angel."

Police maintain that patrolman Milton Medina shot Melvin from a rooftop as the young black man ran toward another policeman. The Guardian Angels — including several who were on hand — maintain Melvin was killed by another police officer from street level. After refusing comment for 10 hours, Newark police director Hubert Williams finally admitted that one of his men had indeed shot and killed 26-year-old Frank Melvin; Medina was taken off street patrol, but was not suspended.

"The officer who fired the fatal shot was not on the roof and was not officer Medina," said Guardian Angel leader Curtis Sliwa, at a news conference held on the steps of Newark's City Hall. Sliwa maintains that the nine Guardian Angels with Melvin that night agree that the shooting was a "knee-jerk" reaction by a white officer to the presence of a young black man at the scene of an alleged crime. The Angels who were there that night assert that Melvin was killed from about 10 feet away, according to Sliwa, "for no apparent reason" — other than the fact that Frank Melvin happened to be black. Most of the Guardian Angels are black and Latino, with 2100 members in 33 chapters across the country.

**Angels Descend on Trenton**  
The Guardian Angels have called for the New Jersey District Attorney to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the murder of Frank Melvin. On January 3, hundreds of Guardian Angels and supporters traveled to Trenton, the state capital, to press their demands for a full investigation. Attorney General James R. Zazzali, meeting with Sliwa and his wife Lisa — who is second in command of the group her husband founded — Zazzali refused to appoint a special prosecutor, but promised to "monitor" the whitewash which is sure to come.

Sliwa's response was to call

the Newark police department a "bozo operation" engaged in an obvious cover-up. Sliwa maintains that the "county prosecutors who are affiliated with the Newark political machine" cannot and will not conduct an impartial investigation.

In response to what is becoming a massive public outcry at yet another racist slaying, the FBI has announced that it will conduct a preliminary investigation into the shooting. But the Newark political machine Sliwa denounced as intent on a cover-up is stubbornly refusing to give an inch. Although the Newark office of the FBI said that the request for an investigation had come from the U.S. Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, Essex County prosecutor Schneider says he won't turn over the case file "to anybody, not the FBI, not another prosecutor's office nor any other law enforcement agency."

Frank Melvin was the father of two children; he was buried January 6.

### Defend the Guardian Angels!

As we warned last year at this time: "Police terror is the trump card of the U.S. ruling class; if all else fails — the smears, the cries of 'vigilante,' the threats of the transit cop 'union' — there's always sheer physical force. Of course, this trump card is played only as a last resort — but no one, especially libertarians, should have any illusions about the capability or willingness of the U.S. ruling class to utilize the most extreme methods of repression."

The LV article ("On The Side Of The Angels"; *Libertarian Vanguard* Feb/March 1981) went on to predict the inevitable confrontation between the Guardian Angels and the police monopoly: "The political importance of defending the Guardian Angels... cannot be overemphasized.... Because Sliwa and his organization are a reproach to the [police] — and the system they serve — police attacks on the Guardian Angels are very likely."

As crime soars along with the unemployment rate, the inability of the police to protect the population from genuine criminals is underscored by futile enforcement of victimless crime laws. While "law & order" politicians call for further curtailment of civil liberties, chipping away at what is left of the Bill of Rights, as the answer to the crime wave these very same politicians are



Wide World Photos

**GUARDIAN ANGELS MARCH** — Carrying a flag-draped mock casket, Guardian Angels march in Trenton, N.J. to ask the State Attorney General to investigate the shooting of Angel Frank Melvin.

openly hostile to volunteer groups like the Guardian Angels. The Angels — unlike their tax-subsidized counterparts — ignore victimless

"crimes"; their sole concern is to fight violent crime and crimes against property.

When the built-in inefficiency and brutality of any

## Calif. Libertarians boycott Ron Paul over D.C. vote

For the 1982 California Libertarian Council convention, held in February, the convention committee invited Ron Paul, Republican member of the House of Representatives, to speak at the main banquet. A substantial number of libertarians boycotted the banquet in protest of a recent vote cast by Representative Paul. Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns distributed a leaflet explaining the situation in detail. Here is the text of that leaflet: Late last year the Washington, D.C. City Council voted to legalize homosexual acts between consenting adults. Since all D.C. city ordinances are subject to review by Congress, the so-called Moral Majority and other right wing groups attempted to get the ordinance overturned. It is a sad commentary on the politics of the current Congress that this repeal effort was overwhelmingly successful. It is an even sadder commentary on the "libertarian" credentials of Rep. Ron Paul — the banquet speaker at this convention — that he caved-in to pressure on this important issue by voting in favor of overturning the D.C. ordinance.

In answer to questions from Libertarians regarding his vote, Rep. Paul attempts to excuse himself on two counts: 1) the ordinance reduced the penalty for rape, and 2) the ordinance allegedly legalized sexual relations between students and teachers. But this is an in-

adequate evasion. The fact is that the ordinance would have reduced the penalty for rape from mandatory life in prison to 20 years. This reduction was strongly supported by feminist and anti-rape groups because few juries would give rapists life sentences — and thus convictions for this offense were almost impossible to win. The effect of the life sentence requirement was to let rapists go unpunished.

Congressman Paul's second allegation regarding an alleged attempt to legalize sex between students and teachers is completely untrue. In fact, the exact opposite is the case. The D.C. ordinance expands the scope of prohibitions concerning sex between "inferiors and superiors" — i.e., a nursing home attendant taking advantage of bed-ridden patients, a teacher taking advantage of students — by making the law gender neutral. Previously the law only dealt with males taking advantage of females.

At a time when gay people are under attack from the New Right, it isn't so surprising that Republican politicians are running to jump on the bandwagon. Ron Paul, a Republican Congressman facing a tough re-election campaign in a conservative district, is no exception. But by inviting him to be the only speaker at this convention's major event the convention committee is making a clear political statement. By so

government activity — from managing the economy to policing the streets — becomes unavoidable, voluntary institutions created by free cooperatives will rise to do the job.

But these free cooperatives must be defended — because the State monopolists, in this case the police, are not about to give up their monopoly without a fight. Frank Melvin is the first casualty in a war which has only just begun. The Libertarian Party (Radical Caucus) is definitely taking the side of the Angels in what is a war which pits the State against the people.

The politicians — both the right and the left — don't like the Guardian Angels one bit. Cops, unions, the "law & order" crowd, the left — and, of course, pickpockets, rapists and murderers — all hate the Guardian Angels and are doing their best to stop them.

Support your local Guardian Angels. Join the campaign for a full investigation of the murder of Frank Melvin. The attack on the Guardian Angels is a direct attack by predominantly white police against a group of black and Latino youth, as well as a concerted assault on everyone's civil liberties. "Law & order" politicians have a vested interest in turning the current crime wave into a tidal wave; only then will they be able to ram through repressive legislation like the newest version of SB-1, a revision of the Criminal Code opposed by every civil libertarian. Only a self-organized community can or will stop the rising tide of crime; only by linking up this movement with the campaign against police repression can we begin to make our cities livable again. □

## Libertarian VANGUARD

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LIBERTARIANS PROTEST TAXES — Florida Libertarians in one of 10 demonstrations organized by LPRC member Diane Pilcher. Photo by Janie Pilcher.

# Revived militarism Busts U.S. budget

*Editor's Note: As we go to press Senate Republicans and Reagan have called for \$95 billion in tax increases over the next three years and Republicans and conservative "boll weevil" Democrats in the House are balking at the possibility of \$40 billion in Social Security cuts. We can't predict the exact outcome. But we can assure you that taxes are going up with Reagan's approval.*

The Congressional Budget Office has announced that President Reagan's staff underestimated the proposed deficit for fiscal year 1983 by \$29 billion, warning of "continuing large and growing Federal deficits into the foreseeable future."

In spite of Reaganite rhetoric about reduced Federal spending and a balanced budget, the budget office calculates that the President's budget would result in spiraling deficits, from \$111 billion in fiscal year 1982 to nearly \$140 billion in fiscal 1985, far more than the figure handed out by Stockman, Regan & Co.

Record unemployment is turning both blue and white-collar workers away from the President; high interest rates are alienating the middle class; in spite of official denials by prominent economists, people are beginning to talk about "the depression" quite matter-of-factly, just as if they were talking about the weather. The coalition of "Main Street Americans" Reagan called for at a rally of diehard conservatives — the Feb. 26 session of the Conservative Political Action Conference — seems to be falling apart at the seams.

The "New Right" wants Reagan to push "social issues"; they want a constitutional amendment outlawing abor-

tions, prayer in public schools and "pro-family" legislation. But their narrow concerns are lost as Republican leaders face an economic crisis which could give the Democrats both houses of Congress.

"We must begin to ask ourselves tonight how we can forge and wield a popular majority from one end of this country to the other — a majority united on basic, positive goals with a platform broad enough to endure long into the

## The ruling elite has absolutely no use for the free market.

future, far beyond the lifespan of any single issue or personality." Barely midway through his first term in office, a candidate who campaigned on a platform of fiscal austerity and a balanced budget is now asking Republican congressmen to vote for raising the debt ceiling. Those who worked for Reagan's election — those rockribbed conservatives who took Reagan's vow to "get government off our backs" seriously — are getting mighty restless. Aside from the single-issue pressure groups, like the anti-abortion crowd and the "pro-family" vultures grouped around Jerry Falwell, many Reagan supporters were taken in by Reagan's "free market" rhetoric.

But the pro-free market faction within the administration is the least influential and will be the first to be demoted out of existence — already Martin Anderson, Doug Bandow and other quasi-libertarians have resigned or been forced out. The openly militarist wing of the conservative movement — best represented by groups like the American Security Council, funded by major arms manufacturers — has dominated the Reaganite coalition from the start. Reagan's quarter-trillion-dollar "defense" budget is a monument to the hegemony of the "national security" bureaucracy.

It is no accident that the highest deficits in U.S. history coincide with the biggest military expenditures ever. Although Reagan is hinting at some sort of compromise, proposed cuts in military spending are not likely to affect the budget significantly.

Huge deficits mean that the government will literally monopolize credit, crowding out corporate borrowers and preventing the long-awaited economic recovery. As the public sector continues to grow, a huge parasite feeding at the public trough, the private sector shrinks and plant closings, unemployment and economic disaster result. The competition for funds will keep interest rates high, discouraging job-producing expansion by big business and devastating housing, farmers, and small business.

In spite of election-year verbiage extolling the virtues of a balanced budget and the evils of government intervention, Reagan is a true conservative: when it comes to defending the Empire, money is no object. And as for the evils of government meddling in the economy — although the U.S. auto industry is on the rocks, the armaments manufacturers like General Dynamics and Lockheed have more business than they can handle. The whole armaments industry is, of course, totally dependent on tax dollars; as such, it is the cutting edge of the growing public sector.

In spite of growing pressure to make significant reductions

# Abolish the Income tax!

By Murray N. Rothbard

Most Americans have come to the basic libertarian insight that the federal government — the major embodiment of the State in the U.S. — has grown monstrously large. Throughout the land, we hear the cry that government "get off our back." Yet the government's swollen budgets expand at a rapid rate, regardless of party or of the rhetoric of each Administration. Its ever-growing number of bureaucrats foist petty and great tyrannies upon us, even as they eat out our substance. The government is everywhere: controlling, regulating, cartelizing, subsidizing, repressing, spying, and outlawing. In the name of "defense," the government is registering young men, probably will soon be drafting them, and is feverishly building up fearsome weapons of mass destruction that could easily destroy the human race. This military might is being used to intervene everywhere around the world, as the U.S. attempts to mold every other nation in its own image. Government is piling up ever higher deficits, which crowd out private investment, cripple productivity and economic growth, and channel the savings of the public into wasteful government boondoggles.

How then can we do it? How can we get rid of Big Government?

It is all too clear how not to do it: urging piddling piecemeal cuts of individual budget items. Let the Office for the Study of the Sex Life of the Moth be cut by 5 percent, and TV is bombarded with images of weeping bureaucrats, scientists, and moths — all warning that the pursuit of knowledge, national security, and the moth population will all vanish if the cut is not restored.

No, the way to get rid of Big Government is to cut off its water: to slash drastically at its source, and let the bureaucrats rearrange whatever trickle might remain. And that water rests on one mighty and crucial source: the justly and widely hated income tax. The income tax, personal, corporate, and social security (which, of course, acts like an income tax and is in no sense "insurance"), amounted in fiscal 1980 to over 90 percent of federal government revenue.

The income tax is not a permanent part of the American heritage; it was imposed during the Civil War, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and then enshrined in the 16th Amendment in 1913. The income tax has become particularly beloved by the federal government because its rates can be adjusted to soak different groups, because with the withholding provision revenues can be extracted smoothly, and because it alone of all taxes imposes a fearsome and runaway Inquisition over all aspects of our lives, our incomes and our spending.

The IRS has virtually unlimited power to inspect, spy and snoop — to tell us how much we are forced to pay, and to require us to keep the records and fill out the forms to smooth the path for our own pockets to be picked. While all taxation is theft, no taxation permits such absolute despotism over us all as the income tax.

The income tax, then, is the root of the malignant tree of Big Government. Lay the axe to that root, abolish the income tax, repeal the 16th Amendment, and the tree of tyranny will wither and die. America will take a great leap to reclaim the ideal of liberty, of ultra-minimal government, on which this country was founded. □

NOTE: The Libertarian Party's national platform specifically calls for repeal of the 16th Amendment; to date, nine state legislatures have petitioned Congress to initiate the repeal process. Information on the repeal effort is available from Project Liberty, 1041 Cherokee Street, Denver, CO 80204.

in military spending, Reagan is going full-speed ahead with plans to push his program of Pentagon socialism through Congress. "As much as I detest the idea of deficits," Reagan declared on March 3, "I must accept a large deficit if that is what it takes to buy peace for the rest of the century."

Although Reagan is so far holding firm on his three-year tax plan, his insistence on holding the line on military spending undercuts his own economic program. Many conservatives are coming to realize this — and, what is more, they are beginning to view the "national security" bureaucracy with the same distrust directed at other government agencies.

Militarism leads directly to the "Big Government" conservatives claim to abhor. We cannot have a free market economy and an Empire at the same time; the latter can only undermine the former.

Reaganism can only betray the free market. Only libertarianism offers a fully consistent alternative to the bankrupt policies of the Reaganites — who have done more to discredit free market economics since November of 1980 than anyone else.

The Reaganites defend their measly tax cut — which, in fact, means little or no savings for the average taxpayer. The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) calls for the abolition of the income tax as a

first step toward real tax relief for Americans. The Republicans and their Democratic opponents are united on the need for a record military budget — only the Libertarians call for radical cuts in military spending as a matter of principle. An immediate two-thirds cut in military spending would go a long way toward balancing the budget, freeing credit, driving down interest rates, speeding the recovery and cutting the unemployment rate.

But these reforms can't save the system. The ruling elite, which uses the power of government to maintain and increase its power no matter who is nominally elected to office, has absolutely no use for the free market. A major group which benefits from the deficits is the bankers, who pocket the interest and continually lobby for increasing the supply of paper money. A free market economy — where these feeders at the public trough would be deprived of their special, government-granted privileges — is the last thing they want to see.

As Reagan gets ready to sell-out his most zealous supporters — those who took his "free market" rhetoric to heart — they are beginning to understand that Reaganism can only betray. The best among them are turning to the "party of principle," the Libertarian Party — and the radical libertarian politics of the LPRC. □

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# El Salvador

(from page 1)

out-organized the Christian Democrats, with campaign organizations in every province — hates Duarte because they think he's a Communist. This extraordinary thesis was explained by Arena leader D'Abuisson when he compared the Christian Democrats to a watermelon. "It's green on the outside," said D'Abuisson at an election rally in San Salvador, "but red on the inside." Green is the color of El Salvador's Christian Democrats; Arena's party color is white, traditionally the color of rightwing death squads through Central America. During the election campaign D'Abuisson several times publicly looked forward to the day when he could have Duarte and the Christian Democrats tried for "treason."

Given the election results, with the PCN as balance of power, what is likely to emerge from the ashes of the Christian Democratic regime is a coalition government "Italian style." Whether this is the best system for a nation in the midst of a bloody civil war is obvious; but the U.S. has made El Salvador's bed — and now the Christian Democrats have to sleep in it.

And if politics makes strange bedfellows, then it is also true that political bed-partners are often the fickle type. One result of the elections will most likely be the further break-up of the Christian Democratic party into at least three factions. What is left of the more reasonable Christian Democrats — aside from the Social Christian party split-off, who have already joined the rebels — will go over to the guerrillas if D'Abuisson's rise is not checked. Another faction, headed by Duarte, will refuse to support government which excludes its leader. And yet another Christian Democratic splinter will join the Arena/PCN government — leaving open the possibility that Duarte himself may jump the fence, in the hopes of reviving a fading political career.

The rise of D'Abuisson presents a dilemma for the Reagan administration; committed as it is to an ever-widening war in El Salvador, how can they back a man who heads up El Salvador's death squads and who was banned from traveling to the United States because he was considered too "dangerous?" This is the man former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert E. White called "a pathological killer" before a Congressional committee; this

is the man who, White claims, is responsible for the assassination of Archbishop Romero, after the archbishop criticized the junta's terrorism. D'Abuisson was dismissed from the armed forces in October, 1979. He was arrested in May of 1980 after distributing video cassettes of himself denouncing the government for being "pro-Communist" and calling for a military coup.

During the campaign, D'Abuisson and Arena called for the "extermination" of the guerrillas and their sympathizers, vowing to kill as many as 200,000 people if it was "necessary." Other items on D'Abuisson's political agenda include invading Nicaragua, elevating the local rightwing death squads into the state apparatus and protecting the quasi-feudal land claims of today's big landowners.

While the U.S. foreign policy establishment — i.e., Haig and his relatively "moderate" faction of policy-makers — is certainly not overjoyed at the prospect of seeing D'Abuisson play out his role as the posturing caudillo, there is every indication that they could learn to live with it. As the *Los Angeles Times* wrote:

D'Abuisson, 38, isn't saying a lot of things he used to. And, equally significant, U.S. officials aren't saying as many nasty things about D'Abuisson as they used to. (4/3/82)

When the notorious D'Abuisson succeeded in locking the Christian Democrats out of the legislative leadership by getting himself elected president of the new Assembly, U.S. policymakers launched a campaign to head off the flamboyant fascist. In the end it was the military which intervened, preventing the election of an extreme rightist as El Salvador's provisional President. When push came to shove, it was the PCN — i.e., the military — which cast the deciding votes in the Assembly in favor of Alvaro Magana.

Described as a political "independent," Magana's symbolic role is to act as the "neutral" mediator between the three Vice Presidents and the badly split Assembly. (Each of the three biggest parties — the Christian Democrats, Arena and PCN — has been allotted their very own Vice President.) But Magana — President of Banco Hipotecario, El Salvador's largest mortgage bank, now nationalized — is not meant to be just a figurehead; he is expected to take the lead

in turning the nation's crippled economy around. Magana received his masters degree in economics from the University of Chicago, where he studied under Milton Friedman. And so, as in Chile, yet another pupil of Milton Friedman seeks to make a brutal military dictatorship more cost-effective. In the case of El Salvador, this is utilitarianism with a vengeance!

Although the leader of Democratic Action (AD), Rene Fortin Magna, had often been described as a leading contender for the role of "compromise" candidate, the elevation of the Friedmanite Magana could be seen as a sop thrown by the military to AD's constituency, El Salvador's beleaguered middle class. Bitterly opposed to the threat of quasi-fascism on the rise, the Democratic Action Party has distanced itself from the parties of the right. "In my opinion," one prominent AD official is quoted by the *New York Times* as saying, "the worst imaginable thing for this country would be a government by the rightists."

AD's program consists of sweeping-but-vague rhetoric in favor of private enterprise and pluralism, nothing more concrete than re-privatizing the banks and other institutions nationalized by the Duarte regime. Apparently, AD has resigned itself to tailing after the Christian Democracy.

Although AD is considerably to the right of Alfonso Robelo's Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), the two groups are roughly comparable.

For the moment, the rise of Roberto D'Abuisson has been checked. But the balance of power within the new "democratic" regime cannot be maintained for long. Arena, and some ultra-rightist elements of the PCN, are determined to take power. The Christian Democrats and the U.S. are just as determined to keep them out. As perverse as it may sound, the possibility of a three-way civil war in El Salvador is very real. This bizarre scenario — left fighting right fighting center — could be set off by a coup attempt — either an attempt by D'Abuisson to finally lead his death squads to power, or else a pre-emptive strike engineered by the U.S. in league with the current junta and the Christian Democrats.

A possible omen of things to come visited a recent session of the Assembly, when a Salvadoran Air Force helicopter buzzed that body's formal installation ceremonies on the morning of April 26. According to

the *New York Times*: "Minutes before the ceremonies, for unknown reasons, a Salvadoran Air Force helicopter buzzed the palace with a machine gun waving through its open port, then soared into the distance."

The "democratic" veneer of the junta's bloody reign is tissue-thin. As in Nicaragua, those "democrats" who think they are being "practical" by supporting a junta-with-a-democratic-face may very well have to choose between D'Abuisson and the rebels. The Christian Democrats can never carry out AD's program; indeed, a party supposedly devoted to pluralism and private enterprise cannot content itself with tepid economic quasi-reforms while the Army is permitted to ravage the countryside. Such a party will probably be swept away in a torrent of blood.

## War Goes On

Whatever permutations the coalition government takes, the civil war drags on. As civil strife plays havoc with the economy — and as the rightwing death squads escalate their deadly terror — pressure for a negotiated settlement will mount.

The Government forces have been unable to even contain the FMLN guerrillas; from their bases in Morazan and other rebel-occupied enclaves the rebels have expanded their striking range and their influence. In spite of arms and training provided by the U.S., the war is not going well for the Salvadoran Army.

While the FMLN has not made any really spectacular inroads, the well-armed troops of the junta and the death squads are slowly losing ground. As the government in San Salvador moves further to the right — as the U.S.-backed forces accelerate their terror campaign — the "legitimate" government of El Salvador is increasingly isolated. As the Army goes from village to village, plundering, raping and slaughtering, this new "democratic" regime will drive pluralist elements and what remains of the private sector into the rebel camp.

In Nicaragua it was a general strike led by *La Prensa* and the business community which tipped the balance of power in favor of the insurgents. Until and unless the FDR-FMLN broadens its base of support to include this vital sector, the political and military stalemate will continue to paralyze El Salvador.

The party that brings peace to El Salvador is the party that will shape its future. The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) — political arm of the FMLN, headed by Social Democrat Guillermo Ungo — has reiterated its desire for a negotiated settlement. It is ironic that Ungo and the FDR

insist on downplaying the importance of the large turnout in the recent elections — since the spectacle of so many risking death in a journey to the polls is evidence enough that the people are yearning for peace.

While the official line of the FDR-FMLN calls for a "political solution," a large faction within the guerrilla forces opposes this peaceful orientation. The split in the rebel camp was highlighted by the disunited response to the elections — with the more militaristic groups launching an abortive attack on the elections while others sought to simply downplay the importance of the whole procedure. Locked out of the electoral process by rightwing terrorism, the best elements within the FDR/FMLN are now temporarily isolated.

## Negotiated Settlement

On March 27, 40,000 marched against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, calling for negotiations now to end the slaughter.

The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) supports this demand. However, the main slogan of the rally, "Money for jobs, not for war" — a device used by the left to keep the anti-war movement their private playground — was opposed by all Libertarians as well as those anti-war/anti-draft activists who want to build a broad movement. In response, our slogan, "No martial law — from El Salvador to Poland!" was voiced by the LPRC March 27 contingent. And it wasn't only Libertarians who took up the cry.

The attempt to corral the growing anti-war movement into a leftist auxiliary of the "ready for Teddy" Democrats has nothing to do with building a movement in solidarity with the people of El Salvador. The purpose of such a movement must be to unite all who can be united around the demand for an end to U.S. military and economic aid to El Salvador's oligarchy — nothing more and nothing less. By itself, the U.S. left cannot succeed just as the FMLN, if it does not broaden its base in El Salvador, will fail.

The open disunity which plagues the rebel forces as well as the government at this crucial juncture in El Salvador's history means that we can be certain of only one thing — increased U.S. military and political presence in the region. If the rebels have the courage to turn the tables on the U.S. by demanding a cease-fire and mutual disarmament by both sides — to be followed by truly free elections — the rightists can be isolated.

All libertarians would like to see at least a liberal democratic regime in El Salvador — not one-party tyranny of the left or the right, but a pluralist Re-

(Continued on page 5)



Ludwig Vogel

S.F. LIBERTARIANS PROTEST INTERVENTION — San Francisco L.P. members participate in a March 27 march and rally sponsored by the Bay Area Coalition against U.S. Intervention in El Salvador.

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Wide World Photos

**DEATH SQUAD LEADER** — Maj. Roberto D'Abuisson, leader of the Arena party, is the new president of the El Salvador's constituent assembly. Former U.S. Ambassador Robert White has called D'Abuisson "a pathological killer."

## El Salvador

(from page 4)

evolution throughout Central America. The phony land reform program of the Christian Democrats — the mirror image of the FMLN's — should be scrapped so that a genuine land reform program can be initiated. The peasants — not the government — must be given clear title to individually owned plots. (If the peasants decide to voluntarily form "cooperatives," no one should be empowered to stop them, provided small farmers aren't forced to subsidize the co-ops with their taxes.)

Only a negotiated peace, free elections and a free economy can mend the wounds of El Salvador's savage civil war. But the turmoil in Central America has a root cause — its position in the "back yard" of America's overseas empire. As long as the U.S. continues to

militarize the region free elections and a free economy are just a distant dream. And so the U.S. continues to play out its role as the main danger to peace and freedom in the world. Claiming to be the champion of liberty, the Reagan administration betrays the cause of liberty at every opportunity; in the name of "free elections," the U.S. colonialists lock out the real opposition and polarize the country; in the name of "democracy," Reagan arms death squads to be unleashed against an entire people.

The American people must be mobilized against U.S. intervention in El Salvador: the U.S. anti-war movement must reach out to the American people, not with leftist slogans left over from the 1930s and the 1960s, but with an appeal focused on the moral bankruptcy of the U.S. position. □

## Nicaragua

(from page 9)

of U.S. intervention. Undoubtedly the Marxists were eager to swell the ranks of an army dominated by *Terceristas* and commanded by Pastora himself — if only to even up the odds a little.

The split with Pastora — which probably preceded his announcement by many months — is a pivotal event. Pastora has called their bluff — and now the FSLN must lay its cards on the table.

The Nicaraguan Revolution has only just begun. Even as Alfonso Robelo — who once called for a compromise with Somoza's National Liberal Party, and is today calling for similar "compromise" with martial law Marxism, Nicaraguan-style — endorses an FSLN "emergency" decree which suspends most civil liberties, the real spirit of Nicaragua's ongoing revolution breaks through barriers erected by reformists and betrayers on both the left and the right.

When Eden Pastora broke with the FSLN, setting up his rival Revolutionary Sandinista Front (FRS), he attacked "im-

perialism of both the East and the West," citing Vietnam, and El Salvador as examples of the latter, Afghanistan and Poland as examples of the former. What is needed in Nicaragua is a party whose uncompromising opposition to one-party rule is equalled only by its refusal to collaborate with the superpowers. While the rank-and-file of traditional conservative groups like Robelo's MDN is usually sincere enough, they are nearly always betrayed by their own corrupt leadership — which is often in league with the U.S.

It remains to be seen, however, what direction the FRS will take. Although Pastora declares that he is the true Sandinista, and denounces ex-Somocista National Guards, undoubtedly the U.S. will try to unite all groups opposed to the FSLN. Thus the U.S. foreign policy establishment — that great organizer of defeats — seeks to transform a democratic revolution into another Bay of Pigs.

It is in this sense that the U.S. — not the Soviets or the Cubans — is the main danger to liberty in Central America. □

# Castro's Gulag for artists

By Ted Gioia

In March of this year more than 80 members of the House of Representatives signed an open letter to Fidel Castro in which they requested his intervention in the case of the imprisoned Cuban poet Armando Valladares. The letter, initiated by Representative William Hughes of New Jersey, calls for the release of Valladares, who is now in his 21st year of captivity.

On December 27, 1960 Valladares began serving a 30-year jail sentence for his opposition to the Castro regime. The poet's recalcitrance before his arrest was scarcely moderated after his incarceration; not only did he refuse to recant, but even more audaciously he continued to write.

Although barely in his 20s when jailed, Valladares has aged beyond his years during his two decades of imprisonment. His brutal treatment at the hands of his captors has left him paralyzed in both legs, and the past few years have seen him in a state of continual poor health.

One of the few ways artists like Valladares can hope to see their situation improved is through publicity in the Western media, but American and European newspapers have been slow to point out the abuses of Castro's Cuba. After two decades of economic disasters and increasing repression, the love affair between the bearded revolutionary and Western intellectuals has managed to survive with surprisingly little damage.

Yet Castro's sympathizers may be surprised to discover that his harsh treatment of artists is not restricted to the lingering supporters of Batista. Many of those writers who initially welcomed Castro as a harbinger of a Cuban renaissance have themselves become the victims of his cultural policies. Reinaldo Arenas, one of the new generation of Cuban writers to spring from the peasant class, fought against Batista as a pro-Castro guerrilla. Initially he was supported by the authorities, and with his first novel, *The Well*, he became recognized as one of the youngest luminaries of the Cuban literary scene. Falling out of favor with the regime, Arenas made the serious mistake of sending a manuscript abroad for publication after it was rejected by the state publishing house. First he lost his job, was not allowed to receive foreign visitors, and was placed under surveillance. Later his manuscripts were confiscated and he was arrested. After making the necessary public retractions, Arenas was allowed to emigrate to the United States in 1980.

The cases of Valladares and Arenas are, unfortunately, not isolated ones. Any account of contemporary Cuban writing would be full of similar accounts:

- Virgilio Pinera: the most highly acclaimed Cuban playwright of the century. Pinera was dismissed from his post, not allowed to accept invitations abroad, kept under surveillance, and not allowed to publish his works. Nonetheless Pinera left behind a large body of unpublished works at his death in 1979; unfortunately these were confiscated by authorities and may never see print.

- Amaro Gomez Boix: a journalist for the Cuban Broadcasting Institute in Havana, Boix had the poor sense to write works in his spare time which were critical of the govern-

ment. He did not try to publish these writings, nor did he circulate them among his friends. Authorities determined that possession alone was a serious enough offense. His home was searched in July, 1978 and a novel and some poems were found. For this crime against the state Boix was sentenced to 8 years in prison.

- Ernesto Diaz Rodriguez; this poet was already serving a 60-year prison sentence when a manuscript of his book, *Un Testimonio Urgente*, was smuggled out to the United States. When it was published, Rodriguez was brought before authorities and was subjected to 30 consecutive days of brutal interrogation.

- Angel Cuadra: The poet Cuadra was arrested in 1967 for "conduct against the security of the state." He was released in 1976, but a year later his parole was revoked. The reason: Cuadra had a book of apolitical poems published in the United States. Cuadra has completed his sentence, but has still not been released from Castro's prisons.

This list could be continued indefinitely with accounts of writers terrorized by Cuban authorities. Almost as tragic, however, are the many would-be writers in Cuba who have never dared put pen to paper, or if they have, the result has been the type of propagandistic literature which the state allows to be published. The Ministry of Culture has the final say on what manuscripts are published, and the author who wishes to see his writings in print in Cuba (and to have it printed elsewhere is, as we have seen, hardly encouraged) must work within the Ministry's dictates.

### Many writers who welcomed Castro have themselves become victims of his policies.

During the mid-'60s, many Western observers hoped that Cuba would show that Socialism and artistic freedom could co-exist. Between 1966 and 1968 Castro allowed the publication of a number of important works: *Fuera del Juego* by Heberto Padilla; *Siete Contra Tebas* by Anton Arrufat; *Condenados de Condado* by Norberto Fuentes; and, perhaps most surprisingly, *Paradiso* by Jose Lezama Lima. A showing of foreign avant-garde art, previously frowned on by the government, was allowed in late 1967, following the lead of the Soviets who were practicing greater leniency in the same area. Finally in 1968 Castro called for the holding of a Cultural Congress, at which both Cuban and foreign artists would be allowed to express their viewpoints.

But even at the height of this thaw repression continued. Certain writers were not allowed to attend the Cultural Congress, and criticism of existing policies was held to a minimum. Castro held to his maxim: "Within the revolution, everything; against the revolution, no rights at all." The hopes of Western Intellectuals for a free Cuba were dashed with Castro's support for the invasion of Czechoslovakia later that same year.

The following year saw a return to tighter control of cultural activities. The purges against intellectuals became even more pronounced after the disastrous 1970 sugar cane harvest, and this time extended to professors at the University of Havana, editors of journals, theater groups, and even dance companies.

In April of 1971, at the First Congress on Education and Culture, Castro made clear his policy on literary activity. He remarked:

"We, a revolutionary people in a revolutionary process, value cultural and literary creations with only one criterion: their utility to the people. Our valuation is a political valuation."

The clear implication was that all art in Cuba was, and would remain, a party concern.

At the same time as this Congress on Education and Culture, authorities moved to arrest Heberto Padilla, the same author whose works had been allowed to be published during the thaw of the mid-'60s. This time, however, Castro relented after an uproar among Western writers and artists. An open letter to Castro, condemning Padilla's arrest, was signed by noted thinkers such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Italo Calvino, Alberto Moravia, and Octavio Paz. Padilla was eventually released, but only after admitting his guilt in an unbelievable assortment of crimes. After these trumped-up charges were made public, Castro was sent a second, even more indignant letter by leftists such as Susan Sontag and Nathalie Sarraute. Yet Padilla's forced confession was no unique event in Cuban history; countless workers and peasants have similarly agreed to the most outlandish charges after being pressured by authorities, and in Padilla's case, a forced retraction was infinitely preferable to what he might have undergone.

Valladares as well, who the French call the "poet in the wheelchair," has also been pressured to recant. In a letter to the United States, written in 1979, he remarks:

"A high official of the political police has notified me that my family's departure from the country is entirely in my hands; that for it to happen I have to draft a letter denying my friends among intellectuals and poets abroad; that I have to forbid everyone, including newspapers and organizations, to speak or write about me and my literary works or even mention my name; and that I must disavow and deny every truth they have spoken in defending my situation. To write that letter would be to commit moral and spiritual suicide. I shall never write it!"

The moral and spiritual suicide which Valladares renounces has cast its ominous shade over all of Cuba's dying culture. The exiled Cuban writer, G. Carbera Infante remarks that several years ago he concluded that there were perhaps five important writers left in Cuba, but with the death of Pinera and Carpentier, and the exile of Arenas and Benitez Rojas, he now sees only one author of international standing, Nicolas Guillen. The Cuban renaissance that Castro's sympathizers hoped for may yet take place, but only among writers in exile. But some, like Armando Valladares, may not even be granted the "sombre privilege of exile." □

(Ted Gioia is a student at the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University.)



Wide World Photos

NICARAGUAN MILITIA TRAINS — Members of the Nicaraguan People's Militia, formerly headed by Edén Pastora — "Commander Zero."

## Nicaragua . . .

(Continued from page 1)

the destruction of the Nicaraguan oppositionists it couldn't have been accomplished so suddenly or so brutally. This is how Washington betrays the friends of the free market abroad — by giving Managua the opportunity to equate opposition to socialism with support for U.S. imperialism — and the pretext for rounding up the last defenders of the crumbling private sector. The U.S. government charges that Nicaragua's turn toward authoritarianism is the result of outside interference — in other words, everything is to be laid at Cuba's (and Russia's) doorstep. But, in fact, if outside pressure is to be blamed for the path Nicaragua seems to be taking, then it can be traced back to the U.S. policy which made the militarization of Nicaraguan society possible and even almost inevitable.

In response to Secretary of State Alexander Haig's bellicose rhetoric — which is now being translated into covert action — Nicaragua's democratic opposition has opposed CIA efforts to topple the regime. "The Reagan administration should keep quiet because this way they are just giving the Sandinists someone to blame for all their problems," says Alfonso Roberto Callejas, leader of the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement — the largest, most effective of the legal opposition groups. Robelo, who was a key factor in the business strike which signaled the end of Somoza, continues: "All this verbal aggressiveness doesn't help our case at all. What it is doing is building up public pressure on the Administration itself to act, and if they act in a military way, we have no more space in this country. It would mean the end of the democratic forces in Nicaragua." Robelo also defends Nicaraguan support for El Salvador's rebels, wondering aloud how Washington can realistically expect Managua to abandon the guerrillas despite the justice of their cause. "How can the Sandinist Front do that," Robelo insists, "when the only way they defeated Somoza was through international help, much of it from the same people in El Salvador who are now asking for help today?"

Although the U.S. govern-

ment claims Nicaragua is giving material aid to El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), Washington has yet to produce convincing evidence. As for the Nicaraguan leadership, they have denied these charges all along, even calling on the U.S. to "tell us where and when so we can put a stop to it." Other U.S. government assertions — such as the presence of thousands of Cuban and Soviet advisers in Nicaragua — are similarly lacking in proof.

The political influence of the Soviet bloc, however, is undeniable. It was Fidel Castro himself who intervened in order to unite the five separate guerrilla factions in El Salvador. And nobody doubts that the FMLN leadership confers with the Sandinistas, while (correctly) maintaining that they will make their own revolution in their own way. Significantly, the government-controlled newspaper, *Barricada*, has supported martial law in Poland — denouncing Solidarity in language which could have appeared in *Granma*, the official voice of Cuba's Communist party. Apparently martial law is to be abhorred in El Salvador and Guatemala — but not in Poland.

### Which Way for Nicaragua?

Perhaps the Polish revolution sent a premonitory chill down the spines of the 9-man Sandinista Directorate — and with good reason. For the example of a mass, anti-socialist movement in Poland is hardly something the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) want their people to emulate — especially now that the equivalent of martial law has been declared in Nicaragua.

Although the military threat from the U.S. is a major factor in the militarization of Nicaragua society, it is not the only factor. That some sections of the FSLN have been attempting to impose a one-party dictatorship since the overthrow of Somoza is revealed when we look at the history of the struggle between Marxism and pluralism in post-revolutionary Nicaragua.

A year after the departure of Somoza, the FSLN issued edicts severely restricting the activities of opposition groups.

A rally planned by Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (NDM) partisans was banned by the government after it became clear that the event would have signaled the growing power and influence of non-Marxist tendencies. The youth organization of the MDN was subjected to open harassment; gangs of the government sponsored Sandinista Youth made sure that the MDN was banished from the nation's schools. As tensions rose, the climax came with an attack on MDN headquarters; MDN members were beaten and files were burned. Then the government made its move; besides restricting political activity, the FSLN banned all strikes and all "unauthorized" land occupations — this latter in order to forestall attempts by peasants to take land monopolized by INRA, the state-controlled land reform program.

Since then, the FSLN censors shut down *La Prensa*, the voice of the democratic opposition, no less than five times. Business leaders, trade unionists — even members of Nicaragua's Communist Party! — have been arrested for daring to oppose official government policy.

Mobs of thugs have been used by the government to intimidate and silence the democratic opposition, several times threatening to demolish *La Prensa's* Managua office. On January 10, a march sponsored by the MDN — attended by over 3000 MDN supporters — was attacked by Marxist hooligans. The police used this government-initiated violence as a convenient pretext to break up the rally.

When the Sandinistas defeated Somoza, they promised the people free elections. However, these days, questions about the scheduled date of this long-promised event are not welcomed by the FSLN. FSLN leader Humberto Ortega, in answer to the widespread belief that the FSLN has no intention of allowing the people of Nicaragua to choose between competing parties in a free election, said elections will be held sometime in 1985. "They will be elections to establish revolutionary power," he said, "not to question it."

Clearly, the dominant sectors of the FSLN are eager to

# The Falklands: Ignored victims

By Bill Evers

Alexander Haig may get the headlines with his shuttle diplomacy or Maggie Thatcher with her borrowing from Queen Victoria: "Failure? The possibilities do not exist." But there are forgotten people in the Falklands crisis — people whose rights are being forgotten, neglected, or abused.

Almost completely forgotten are the present-day heirs of the Argentine shepherding families that were driven by force off the islands by British marines from the warship *Clio* in 1833. (Before the Argentines moved there, previous French, British, and Spanish settlements had been abandoned.)

Also forgotten are those people of all nationalities (but especially Argentines who live nearby) who have been kept out by British immigration policy and the mercantilist lock-hold on the islands granted by the British government to the Falkland Islands Company.

In 1851, Queen Victoria made the Falklands the special estate of the Falkland Islands Company — a mercantilist entity like the East India Company or the British South Africa Company. Today the Falkland Islands Company holds nearly half the land on the islands, owns half the sheep, and employs about half the economically active people. As a result it has a stranglehold on local retail outlets, banking, shipping, and the vital wool industry.

Thoroughly forgotten in this time of chauvinistic enthusiasm is the Bristol or Edinburgh ratepayer who is having to finance the British armada. Not to speak of the inflation-racked Argentine taxpayer. Britain has been negotiating with Argentina for 16 years — trying much of that time to develop a face-saving way to rid itself of this Antarctic imperial anomaly. The stumbling block has been the Falkland Islanders

establish a one-party state similar to the Cuban model. Obviously they have no intentions of allowing elections any freer than those which take place in Poland or any other Marxist state. The real question is: can they pull it off?

### For a Free Nicaragua

Although the FSLN has nationalized over half the economy and virtually abolished all civil liberties — with the full endorsement of Alfonso Robelo and MDN conservatives — the future of liberty in Nicaragua is not to be written off as hopeless.

The Catholic Church, the leaderless-but-growing democratic opposition, the inability of the new elite to produce wealth only the private sector can create, as well as a rebellion brewing on the Atlantic Coast all of these things militate against the imposition of a new military dictatorship.

More importantly, the legacy of the Sandinista revolution itself — the fact that the democratic opposition was in the vanguard of the fight against Somoza — undermines the FSLN's increasingly untenable position. Many people fought, watching friends and family die, to overthrow one dictatorship — it is unlikely these very same people will put up with yet another dictatorship for long.

At press time, the dramatic

(Continued on page 9)

themselves.

The Falklanders (or "Kelpers") enjoy being a British colony. Sending an armada to protect them is really a fantastic welfare scheme in which the British taxpayer is being fleeced to satisfy the whims of the Falkland shepherders (and their mercantilist absentee landlord).

Now things have gone so far that the Falkland Islanders themselves are threatened. Of course, British colonists do not have a right to settle on other people's land and then claim that land for Britain. But it would be cruel and sad for the Islanders to end up massacred or their all-wood homes to burn to the ground because of bombs dropped by the British.

Already scores of British and Argentine soldiers have died in what began as a comic opera cross between "Tight Little Island" and "The Mouse that Roared" but has fast become a tragedy.

There are several ironies also worth noting. The first is the spectacle of the *Wall Street Journal* and the neoconservatives attacking the Argentine government, which they had only recently been defending against charges that it systematically violated human rights.

The second is that the Argentine junta's decision to occupy the islands will aid the fortunes of their foes the Peronists. The Peronists have always been anti-British. Before Peron's corporatism crippled Argentina's economy, the country was quite prosperous — in large measure because of the workings of the market and a welcome mat for foreign investment. Before Peron, 60% of the foreign investment was British. Peron nationalized foreign investments, began subsidized import-substitution industrialization, installed protective tariff walls, set up massive welfare schemes, and financed the package with inflation. Now the Peronists want to return to power and reverse the few minor steps in the direction of a market economy that have been taken in recent years. They hope to ride a wave of anti-British and anti-American sentiment on their way back to power.

The third irony is the fate of the United States government in the crisis. Secretary of State Haig described the Falklands controversy as "a pimple on the ass of progress for 200 years, and I guess someone just decided to lance it." But this cynical assessment has had to give way to ever deepening American government involvement. The reason the U.S. government has entered the conflict is to shore up the shaky NATO alliance in which Britain is an important member and to show Saudi Arabia that the American government supports its allies. The irony is that Argentina is also an ally. The logical solution for American collective security advocates faced with a world in which Greece is armed against Turkey, Saudi Arabia is armed against Israel, and a Rio Treaty ally is fighting a NATO ally would be to give up the idiocy of collective security. Instead the U.S. is supporting Britain. Once again collective security has expanded a conflict rather than preventing it. Increasingly a fight over some small islands is pitting the United States and Europe against Latin America and the Soviet bloc.

## A personal view

## Ayn Rand, 1905-1982

By Justin Raimondo

We cannot, of course, say goodbye to Ayn Rand without saying goodbye to our youth. And no one does that quite so easily. "To hold an unchanging youth is to reach, at the end, the vision with which one started." This quotation from *Atlas Shrugged* — cited by Barbara Branden in the beginning of her 1962 biographical essay "Who Is Ayn Rand?" — sums up the style and spirit of a woman who is, in many ways, responsible for the development and growth of the modern Libertarian movement.

More than anything the death of Ayn Rand can only make us feel old. For those of us swept off our feet in early youth by the power and passion of Ayn Rand the artist — and there are many of us in the Libertarian movement, although our numbers are dwindling — the death of Ayn Rand is an event fraught with meaning. As a world in the grip of collectivism comes to echo the leitmotif of decline and disintegration which pervades *Atlas Shrugged*, the death of that novel's creator is the kind of dramatic touch Rand would have appreciated.

Much has been written — far too much — about the Rand "cult"; lurid descriptions of Rand brandishing a solid gold dollar-sign brooch, *Life* magazine's portrayal of uniformly ascetic young devotees sipping ice water while attending leading acolyte Nathaniel Branden's lectures, a sneering hatchet-job by the vitriolic Nora Ephron in the *New York Times*. Over the years — after the Rand/Branden split and the demise of the organized Objectivist movement — admirers of *Atlas Shrugged* and *The Fountainhead* heard very little about an increasingly reclusive Rand. The death of her husband, Frank O'Connor, was followed by a long public silence. Rumors flew; she was working on a new novel, she was very ill, and she was contemplating a television adaptation of *Atlas Shrugged*. At her last public appearance, as the featured speaker at a New Orleans "hard money" conference, she confirmed the fact that she was definitely planning to adapt *Atlas Shrugged* for television.

For those of us who stood outside the cult created by Nathaniel Branden and his wife Barbara through the Nathaniel Branden Institute — i.e., the great majority of Rand's admirers — it is the passing of Ayn Rand the artist that we mourn. To those of us who waited — silently but hopefully — for another novel, the feeling of loss is overwhelming. How I looked forward to it — the evocation of feelings I hadn't had since childhood, joyous and solemn at once, which Rand's fiction had the power to conjure.

Ayn Rand's career is a monument to the power of art in society. In the soul-less world of loudspeakers blaring propaganda, economic decline, war hysteria and tyranny — in the world of the not-so-distant future — Rand's novels are a defiant "No!" flung in the face of history. As long as her novels remain in print, the would-be movers behind the collectivist juggernaut can count on at least one formidable obstacle. The character of Howard Roark, the hero of *The Fountainhead*, did more for the cause of individualism and

libertarianism than all the propagandistic activities of her followers combined.

I never had any use for the organized Objectivist movement — aside from attending a few lectures in New York City at the Nathaniel Branden Institute, my contact with the so-called "cult" itself was minimal. Having read *The Fountainhead* at the tender age of 15, I put off reading *Atlas Shrugged* for months — on the grounds that nothing could top *The Fountainhead*, and that anything after that would necessarily be disappointing. (Avid readers of *The Fountainhead* will immediately recognize the aura and influence of the Randian mindset in this particular line of reasoning.) Other boys spent their allowances on baseball cards — I saved up for a subscription to *The Objectivist*, the monthly journal jointly edited by Ayn Rand and Nathaniel Branden.

My own excursions into this cultic universe were few and far between; aside from Rand's books and *The Objectivist*, my only contact with Rand's idiosyncratic following was through occasional visits to lectures sponsored by the Nathaniel Branden Institute (NBI) in New York City. Headquarters in the Empire State Building, the color-coordinated offices and lecture halls of NBI — painted shades of cool blue — filled three stories of that venerable skyscraper.

I remember one lecture — Ayn Rand herself lecturing on "Basic Principles of Literature" — particularly well. After the lecture, devoted fans lined up for autographs. I bought a paperback edition of *We The Living*, thrilled at this opportunity to meet my favorite writer. Autograph seekers were instructed to write their names in the upper right-hand corner of the page, in order to speed things along. I waited nearly at the end of what seemed like an inordinately long line. As I approached Rand herself I was startled to behold a rather kindly-looking, sturdy woman with glasses. It took me a few moments to realize that this benevolent-looking older woman — so unlike my rather fanciful mental picture of Ayn Rand — was indeed the author of *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*.

I presented my book to her. She looked at me, smiling — and then glanced down at my name, printed neatly in the upper right-hand corner of the page. She looked at me again, with those large, penetrating eyes, and I could sense that something was puzzling her. "I'm sorry," she said, looking genuinely sorry, "but I can't sign your book. Please wait until I have finished signing autographs and I'll explain why."

Nothing could have bowled me over more than this; wordlessly, I obeyed. But secretly, I was thrilled by the prospect of yet more interaction with my literary idol. My friends — three fellow high school students who shared my admiration for Rand — could hardly believe what was going on. As for myself, I was equally amazed. It was all so mysterious — why would Ayn Rand single out a 16-year-old admirer in such a manner? Suddenly it dawned on me that this sort of attention was more than a little ominous.



Ayn Rand

Wide World Photos

Having signed her last autograph of the evening, Rand herself approached me. It was then that I learned the nature of my awful transgression. It seems I had written an article for the newsletter of the Liberty Amendment National Youth Council entitled "Objectivism and the Liberty Amendment." Shortly after the publication of this early literary effort, I received a letter from Henry Mark Holzer, Ayn Rand's lawyer, threatening to sue me for passing myself off as a spokesman for Objectivism. Now, perhaps I really shouldn't have mailed Mr. Holzer's letter back to him in several pieces — but youth is always somewhat hotheaded, and young Randians are certainly no exception. I promptly forgot the whole matter — only to be reminded of it by Miss Rand.

I agreed with Miss Rand that my article — as published — was an inadequate attempt to link Objectivism to the campaign to abolish the income tax. However, I explained, at least two thirds of the article had been cut by the editor — without my knowledge or consent. Rand's tone — which had never been hostile or intimidating — changed immediately. "So," she said, "you want to be a writer?!" She then proceeded to lavish me with advice on how to deal with editors who tampered with an author's work. "Don't let them get away with it," she said, instructing me as to the absolute necessity of forbidding editorial changes without my written consent. (Of course, I followed her advice for years after that, always including this completely unreasonable demand in my cover letter — which perhaps explains why I received so many rejection slips. . . .) I was stunned, nearly drunk with all this attention. She introduced me to Henry Mark Holzer — who had been hovering around us as we talked, frowning disapprovingly and looking slightly embarrassed — and to Nathaniel Branden, who was pointedly cold. But Ayn, in

contrast, radiated warmth and genuine interest: I don't think I shall ever forget her unusual kindness.

This incident underscores, at least for me, the moral ambiguity of the Rand cult. On the one hand, Ayn Rand's greatness as an artist and an individualist cannot be denied. But the rancorous, small-minded Praetorian Guard which surrounded her during her lifetime (and which will undoubtedly cling to her skirts even after her death) was and is a useless byproduct of Rand's unique genius. Ayn Rand's novels will stand the test of time — indeed, they already have; each year, they sell in the hundreds of thousands; each year John Galt, Howard Roark, Dominique Francon, Francisco D'Anconia; Kira Argounova will continue to inspire those who search for values and meaning in an age bereft of both. But the dogma which Nathaniel Branden Institute marketed as a full-fledged rationalist theology — dubbed "Objectivism" by Miss Rand and her proteges — died well before its creator.

It was typical of the Objectivist movement that its death-knell — a paralyzing split which destroyed NBI, pitting Rand against Branden — was sounded, not by some fundamental difference over philosophy or strategy, but by an intensely personal dispute. The kind of thing that should never have been discussed beyond the small circle of those it directly concerned suddenly became an issue everybody had to take a stand on. Suddenly, a movement which claimed to worship at the altar of Reason collapsed amid such a sticky muddle of steamy irrationality that a toad would not hop over it or into it — not even in pursuit of a fly.

Using Rand's name and prestige, Branden had built an empire. The cool-blue corridors of NBI, the impressive auditorium, NBI's burgeoning and multifarious activities — these things which dazzled the eye of a 15-year-old boy re-

flected the enormous response Rand's radical individualism elicited in the public. In a world which even then seemed to be stumbling toward a totalitarian future — any rereading of *Atlas Shrugged* can only verify Rand's uncanny ability to capture the zeitgeist of our era in prose — NBI's tape-transcription courses were being offered in nearly every major city in the country. Branden and a growing staff of lecturers were soon delivering live performances all across the country; NBI Press started publishing books and pamphlets; NBI Theater was planning a stage adaptation of *The Fountainhead*, supposedly written by Barbara Branden (like so many other things, this never came off). *The Objectivist*, a monthly magazine, had a circulation of around 20,000 and climbing.

Suddenly, it all came crashing down, like the financial edifice built up by Ivar Kruegar, the hero of Ayn Rand's courtroom drama *The Night of January 16th*. In response to an article by Rand explaining the split, "To Whom It May Concern," published in *The Objectivist*, Branden authored a lengthy response, "In Answer To Ayn Rand" managed to combine the magisterial tone characteristic of *The Objectivist* with subject matter far too sleazy for the *National Enquirer*. I shall never forget receiving Branden's little hate letter in the mail — undoubtedly every subscriber to *The Objectivist* was mailed a copy. I was thunderstruck. The world projected in Ayn Rand's novels — as she described it, "life as it might be and ought to be" — seemed so far away from the spirit and tone of Branden's letter that the distance could only be measured in lightyears.

*The Objectivist* limped along for about a year; but NBI was dissolved, and the organized Objectivist movement — which had dominated the libertarian trend in this country since the late '50s — was soon a thing of the past. Rand's disciplines went their separate ways. Alan Greenspan became a flunky for the Ford administration, and is now serving in a similar capacity in the Reagan administration. Prof. Leonard Peikoff headed up a group of Rand loyalists centered around Rand herself in New York; fiercely sectarian and severely limited in numbers, all those who refused to sign a loyalty oath declaring Branden anathema were ostracised. As for Nathaniel and Barbara Branden — with an unerring instinct these professional cultists homed in on Southern California.

Branden, a psychologist, had developed what he referred to as the Objectivist school of psychology; but this was much too hard-edged, too New York for the moist, warm climate of Los Angeles and environs. Branden adapted well; now it was "Biocentric" psychology. The Biocentric Institute was born; books, lectures, and "intensives" — featuring this new touchy-feely adaptation of Branden's "application" of Rand's ethical views — and Branden was back in business. Ex-Objectivists looking for a break from their austere catechism — and the ever-energetic cadre of Californians hypnotized by the jargon of psychobabble, eager to equate

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# 'Fascism with a human face'?

The Polish Revolution — and the emergence of martial law socialism — continues to send shockwaves through the U.S. Left. Important defections from the ranks have occurred as a direct result of the Polish events. The latest is Susan Sontag, the well-known writer and critic, long a left-leaning fellow traveler.

Sontag dropped her bombshell on February 9, at an "Evening for Solidarity" in New York City's Town Hall. Organized by "American Workers and Artists for Solidarity" and co-sponsored by the American P.E.N. Center and the Nation Institute, this was supposed to be the Left's answer to "Let Poland Be Poland." Instead of Frank Sinatra and Turkish dictators we had Pete Seeger and PATCO.



Wilde World Photos

Susan Sontag

Scheduled early in the program, Sontag stunned the audience by launching a three-pronged attack on the foibles of her fellow leftists. After noting the utter hypocrisy and impotence of Reagan, Haig and Thatcher as Western governments refinance the Polish debt, Sontag turned the guns around, from right to left:

I have the impression that much of what is said about politics by people on the so-called democratic left has been governed by the wish not to give comfort to "reactionary" forces. With that consideration in mind, people on the left have wittingly or unwittingly told a lot of lies.

Here Sontag underscored the political anxiety underlying an event like an "Evening for Solidarity," the inevitably defensive posture of such a gathering. A murmur went through the crowd. Then Sontag dropped the bombshell:

There are many lessons to be learned from the Polish events. But, I would maintain, the principal lesson to be learned is the lesson of

the failure of communism, the utter villainy of the communist system. It has been a hard lesson to learn. And I am struck by how long it has taken us to learn it.

By now, the audience was audibly upset; a few scattered boos in the midst of dead silence. Undaunted, Sontag skewered them on her rhetorical sword.

The emigres from communist countries we didn't listen to, who found it easier to get published in the *Readers Digest* than in the *Nation* or the *New Statesman*, were telling the truth. Why didn't we hear them before, when they were telling us exactly what they tell us now? We thought we loved justice; many of us did. But we did not love the truth enough. Which is to say that our priorities were wrong. The result was that many of us, and I include myself, did not understand the nature of the communist tyranny. We tried to distinguish among communisms: for example, treating "Stalinism," which we disavowed, as if that were an aberration, and praising other regimes — outside of Europe — which had and have essentially the same character.

The latest in anti-"Stalinist" left-chic is Nicaragua, where the Sandinistas have banned the opposition press, arrested Communist Party members as well as businessmen, and launched a campaign against the Miskito Indians, forcibly relocating 15,000 from their Atlantic coast home.

Then Sontag delivered the knock-out punch. Diagnosing the Jaruzelski regime as incipient fascism, Sontag went on to explain that her conception encompassed far more than evolution of the Polish military coup and the political character of the Red junta. Sontag continued:

I mean to use the word in a further sense. What the recent Polish events illustrate is something more than that fascist rule is possible within the framework of a communist society... I would contend that what they illustrate is a truth that we should have understood a very long time ago: that communism is fascism — successful fascism, if you will. What we have called fascism is, rather, the form of tyranny that can be overthrown — that has, largely, failed. I repeat: Not only is fascism (and overt military rule) the probable destiny of all communist societies — especially when their populations are moved to revolt

— but communism is itself a variant, the most successful variant, of fascism. Fascism with a human face.

Many applauded Sontag's eloquence; however, not a few catcalls punctuated the stunned silence on the left side of the aisle. Since that evening the controversy has yet to die down. The *Nation* reprinted Sontag's remarks along with a critical symposium by everyone from Diana Trilling to Andrew Kopkind and Phillip Green (a member of the *Nation* editorial board), plus a delightfully scornful reply by Sontag.

Trilling takes Sontag to task for doubting Ronald Reagan's sincerity; leftist writer Daniel Singer, author of a singularly misdirected book on Poland, *The Road To Gdansk*, calls Sontag's working-class origins into question. Phillip Green — in a leftist version of Jeane Kirkpatrick's preference for rightist "authoritarianism" versus leftist "totalitarianism" — proclaims that the exact reverse is true because rightist juntas "are built around the violent suppression of organized labor." And so the suppression of Solidarity goes down the Memory Hole — as the Phillip Greens of this world march into the Orwellian future, shouting slogans in perfect unison.

Daniel Singer, who spoke after Sontag at the New York City meeting, said he wanted Solidarity to adopt "The Internationale" as their anthem, although he supposedly "understands" why they didn't. (In fact, Lech Walesa and his lieutenants walked out of a French labor union meeting when that song was sung.) Sontag's reply clarifies the whole question of leftist Doublethink and its poisoning of the political atmosphere. "I do not wish the members of Solidarity had sung the 'Internationale.' I do not think they were mistaken in not doing so. Neither do I wish to hear it sung by the democratic movement in El Salvador, whose struggle to overthrow the tyranny backed by the American government I passionately support."

Sontag's discovery of the "utter villainy" of Communist ideology amounts to the awakening of the moral impulse in her politics. This is the key to understand her equation of communism equals "fascism with a human face." Undoubtedly pedants of every persuasion will bristle at the merging

of these categories. Typically, the quasi-libertarians over at *Inquiry* magazine sniff that Sontag is "imprecise." According to *Inquiry's* anonymous editorial writer, fascism and communism "are separate political philosophies that, while sharing some common ground, differ on much." *Inquiry* then goes on to scold the left for being "disturbingly free" in brandishing this particular epithet.

It is hardly surprising that *Inquiry* — which typically misses the whole point, mockingly referring to "Rip van Sontag" — should be blind to the awakening of the moral impulse in Sontag's politics. After all, *Inquiry's* own politics are disturbingly free of such factors. (In the same issue, for example, an *Inquiry* editorial on El Salvador states "The tragedy is that in El Salvador there is no obvious solution, at least for the United States." Even though we are solemnly informed that "the case against U.S. intervention is even stronger in moral terms," apparently it is not obvious to *Inquiry* that the only moral "solution" is, obviously, for the U.S. to get out and stay out.)

Sontag has gone right to the heart of the matter; with unusual clarity of perception she has identified the immorality of the proposition which states that man must live for the sake of the state — a proposition shared by both fascists and communists.

As for the theoretical question of a communist/fascist convergence — why does *Inquiry* rule this out, as if no one had ever proposed it before? (Of course, the idea is too obvious to be new; George Orwell and James Burnham first raised the question in, respectively, 1984 and *The Managerial Revolution*.) The case of Mussolini only illustrates the most famous example of widespread defections from Marxism to fascism. But historical evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, there is nothing to rule out the possibility of Communism evolving into a form of fascism. Surely *Inquiry* will not dispute the fact that, where Communists have taken state power, the original "revolutionary" ideology has been largely scuttled. What, then, will replace the original credo? Probably whatever is convenient at the moment. And it is true that the Polish regime seems to be acquiring many of the characteristics of

fascism; the primacy of the military, and nationalism tinged with anti-Semitism. In Nicaragua, a leftwing regime has virtually declared martial law while persecuting Indians in the manner of Latin America's most rightwing juntas. Does General Jaruzelski have to don the swastika before *Inquiry* will admit that Communism may be evolving toward what Sontag calls "fascism with a human face?"

Incredibly, *Inquiry* goes on to attack Sontag for wanting to "send in the Marines." "Now that Sontag has changed her mind about which side is progressive," fulminates our anonymous editorial writer, "the most natural thing in the world is for her to lend them some muscle." Now, it is inconceivable that Sontag should want to "send in the Marines" to Poland or anywhere else. Surely *Inquiry* cannot be unaware of this. Then what provokes this fit of pique? Like many who watched as the Red fist smashed Solidarity, Sontag was struck — and rightly so — by the impotence of the Reagan regime, all the more compounded by its ineffectual blustering a la "Let Poland Be Poland." Sontag deplored government-to-government aid, unaffected by the Polish events. Without calling for economic sanctions, Sontag rightly deplored the "business as usual" attitude so prevalent in the West. But nowhere did she call for "sending in the Marines"! One searches in vain through the text of Sontag's speech for anything even remotely resembling the sentiments *Inquiry* attributes to her. But, undeterred by facts, *Inquiry* leaps into the fray. "If new cries for American intervention are all we can expect from Rip van Sontag, we'd rather she went back to sleep."

It is, however, the alleged libertarians at *Inquiry* who lie sleeping. Their rather small-minded response to a prominent leftist intellectual now moving closer to a libertarian analysis reveals a petulant sectarianism truly mind-boggling.

As for us, we welcome Susan Sontag to the small but growing ranks of those who say no to tyranny from El Salvador to Poland. One can only applaud Ms. Sontag for taking up what is undoubtedly a thankless task — making the American left face up to the political and moral consequences of Doublethink and double standards. □

## Nicaragua

(Continued from page 6)

announcement of Commandante Eden Pastora — the Nicaraguan folk hero who led the spectacular 1978 raid on the National Palace and a leading Sandinista — signaling his break with the FSLN leadership has sent shockwaves from Managua to the Atlantic Coast. Denouncing the nine-man junta for "betraying the revolution" — he calls them "traitors and assassins" — Pastora has vowed to "drag them from their mansions and Mercedes Benzes at gunpoint."

At a press conference held April 15 in Costa Rica, the enigmatic "Commandante Zero" attacked arbitrary seizures of land and other property, as well as the jailing of leftists "who are being punished for the crime of interpreting Marx with different criteria than their comrades in

power." Pastora decried the FSLN's failure to hold free elections, as well as the FSLN leadership's assault on economic freedom and civil liberties. Taking up the cause of the Miskito people, Pastora declared that Nicaragua's Indians are being "jailed and killed without there being a newspaper or radio that can denounce before the world this regime of terror that rules on the Atlantic Coast and in all Nicaragua through the feared State Security police."

Pastora, who left Nicaragua to fight the U.S.-backed junta in Guatemala, is now accused by the FSLN Directorate of being in league with the CIA. In Managua, the stunned Sandinista leadership is busy conducting a mass ritual of exorcism — such as the spectacle of 4000 militia burning identity

cards which bear Pastora's portrait as commander of the national militia — and the dimensions of the anti-Pastora campaign take on Orwellian dimensions.

Claiming that Commandante Zero has been somehow "Reaganized," the hysterical accusations hurled by the current FSLN leadership at the man who led the Sandinista army to victory over Somoza do nothing for the regime's credibility. Apparently one has only to disagree with the ruling junta in order to be labeled a "counter-revolutionary" in the pay of the CIA. Thus the usurpers reveal their weakness — and their fear.

A split in the FSLN itself is imminent. It is not to be forgotten that, before the insurrection, Sandinistas were divided into three factions: the Terceristas, the Proletarian Tendency, and the Prolonged People's War Tendency. It was the Terceristas — led by Pas-

tora — which initially constituted the bulk of the Sandinista army. It was the Terceristas — nationalist, democratic and mass-based — who were responsible for the daring attack on the National Palace in August of 1978, and who fought against the cautious gradualism of the two Marxist factions. In the first phase of the armed struggle against Somoza, it was the Terceristas who stood at the head of a people in arms. "The group has by all reports received hundreds of new recruits, including some volunteers from all over Latin America, especially Panama," wrote Elizabeth Farnsworth in November of 1978:

Journalists who have visited Tercerista training camps report seeing bazookas, rocket launchers, and large-calibre machine guns, all captured from the National Guard or bought on the black market. The Tercerista goal, according to Daniel

Ortega Saavedra, a founder of the FSLN and a member of the National leadership, is to bring about the formation of "a democratic government, a government that joins together all those who fought against Somoza." (*Internews/International Bulletin*; 11/6/78)

The Terceristas led by Pastora were the bulk of the Sandinista armed forces from the very beginning. Recruited into the fight against Somoza in the name of the most basic democratic program and slogans, they soon came to idolize their audacious and impatient commander.

Although the Marxists within the FSLN leadership have done much to solidify their position in the armed forces, it is hard to believe the Sandinista army will swallow the line that Pastora is a CIA agent. Nicaragua's rapid military build-up cannot be solely attributed to the very real threat

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# Leftists harming peace movement

By Justin Raimondo

Thirty-seven German peace groups, meeting in Bonn to plan for a demonstration to greet Ronald Reagan when he arrives on June 10, voted to condemn U.S. policy in Central America, the Middle East, South Africa, West Europe, "and other regions." Resolutions introduced by the "Greens" — a leftwing grouping with an environmentalist orientation which has been regularly garnering 5% of the vote in recent elections — condemning Soviet interference in Poland and Afghanistan were shouted down.

In response, the "Greens" walked out. "Mr. Reagan can come to Bonn completely relaxed now," said Petra Kelly, a Green party leader. "This peace movement has shown itself incapable of discussion," she said, after a meeting of over 800 delegates rejected resolutions expressing support for Poland's Solidarity movement and condemning Soviet interference in the internal affairs of both Poland and Afghanistan. In addition, the meeting rejected a resolution — backed by the Greens — which would have pledged to use only non-violent means of protest at anti-war actions.

Ulrich Tost, another prominent Green party leader, said: "The Communists dominated the meeting completely. It took place under seemingly democratic rules, but that was a joke. We could barely get a word in." Significantly, the major West German peace organization — the church-led Action for Reconciliation, which organized a Bonn anti-nuclear weapons rally mobilizing 250,000 people — has kept away from the preparations for June 10. The Greens take a more aggressive, self-confident tact; they insist they'll be there on June 10, but, according to the *New York Times*, "that they were considering under what circumstances and how they could differentiate themselves from goals agreed upon by the 37 groups on Sunday."

A growing European revolt against both superpowers, millions marching against the arms build-up, the Polish Revolution, the slow disintegration of NATO and parallel developments taking place within the Warsaw Pact — all of these things are presaged and reflected in the turmoil of the European anti-war movement.

The left — which controls the anti-war movement not only in Germany, but in America as well — has been in a state of hysterical panic since the declaration of martial law in Poland. Demoralized and split by the crisis of Polish socialism, the shrill sectarianism of leftist organizations within the burgeoning anti-war movement acts as a brake on its growth and success.

## Which Way For The Anti-War Movement?

Desperate to recruit as the disillusioned fall away, the Marxist left is seeking to turn the anti-war movement into its very own private playground. From Bonn to San Francisco its tactics are essentially the same; link up the anti-war movement with every allegedly "progressive" cause under the sun.

In the U.S., as well as in Germany, organized leftist disruption threatens to split the movement against preparations for nuclear war and U.S. military intervention abroad.

Faced with a situation roughly comparable to what

the German "Greens" must deal with, Libertarians active in the movement against U.S. aid to El Salvador have responded by raising the slogan: "No Martial Law — From El Salvador To Poland!" Alone among all tendencies in the anti-war movement, the banners of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) proudly proclaimed our solidarity with struggles for self-determination from Central America to East Europe — getting nothing but flack from leftist parade monitors and growing support from the peace movement rank-and-file.

During a demonstration against U.S. aid to El Salvador's junta, parade officials associated with the Workers World Party/All Peoples Congress (WWP/APC) threatened to physically exclude the relatively large LPRC contingent from the parade route so long as we insisted on chanting "No Martial Law — From Poland To El Salvador!" instead of "Money for jobs, not for war."

After assuring these WWP officials "these are the streets of San Francisco, not the streets of Warsaw," the LPRC stood its ground. The WWP's youth group, Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF), had a well-deserved reputation for street violence and provocative behavior at the height of the anti-Vietnam war movement. And while today their hopped-up militance has given way to building a WWP-dominated "anti-Reagan" front group, the "All-Peoples Congress" — which seems entirely preoccupied with paving the way for the liberal Democrats in '84 — their capacity, one might even say their fondness for violence continues unabated. Although, today, WWP/YAWF/APC is nothing but the tail on the Democratic donkey, perhaps the "militant" tactics reflect the despair of a failed politics. Workers World does not hesitate to shout down all opposition, single out certain political opponents for physical violence and disrupt any broad anti-war coalition they cannot control. Instrumental in organizing the May 3 anti-war demonstrations in Washington last year — where they originated the "Money for jobs, not for war!" slogan — WWP/YAWF members are always eager to volunteer for "security" functions; this is how they move to physically smash political opponents while allegedly acting in an "official" capacity.

As WWP robot cheerleaders belt out slogans through megaphones, distributing mimeographed sheets inscribed with the "approved" slogans, their pretenses to leading a mass movement grow increasingly thin. The WWP's attempt to link the anti-war movement to the slogan "Roll Back Reaganism" — the "National Days of Resistance" action called by the WWP-front 'All-Peoples Congress' — was a miserable flop. Last year on May 3rd at least 50,000 rallied against U.S. aid to El Salvador's junta — this year, fewer than 5000 rallied in Washington, D.C., in addition to even smaller rallies in cities across the country.

## June 12

Is the split in the German anti-war movement an ominous portent of things to come?

The desperate sectarianism of the left is the response of conservative doctrinaires to events — such as the Polish Revolution — which their dogma cannot explain or

acknowledge. These are hard times for the left; even the faithful are beginning to have doubts, and socialist shepherds eagerly see to it that stray sheep don't wander too far from the flock. Anxious to seal off their own cadre from political reality, in the short run the developing split in the anti-war movement could very well diminish the size and effectiveness of planned mass protests. In the long run, however, the sectarianism of the left will seal it off from the mass movement — which must and will respond to the threat of nuclear war one way or another.

Nothing dramatizes the dilemma of the U.S. anti-war movement more than the split in the organizations mobilizing for the June 12 anti-nuclear weapons rally planned in conjunction with the special UN session on Disarmament, to be held in New York City. On one side, we have the June 12 Rally Committee, headed by the more traditional peace groups such as SANE, Greenpeace, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Riverside Church Disarmament Program. Refusing to make the link between the U.S. military build-up and U.S. intervention in Central America and elsewhere, the slogans of the Rally Committee are tailored to fit the archetypal liberal: 'Freeze and Reverse the Arms Race,' and 'Redirect Resources from the Military to Meet Human Needs.'

## If we learned anything from the 1960s, it was the effectiveness of single-issue efforts.

The Third World and Progressive People's Coalition, controlled by the Rev. Herbert Doughty's Black United Front (BUF) and a variety of primarily white Marxist grouplets, calls for unilateral nuclear disarmament, condemns U.S. military intervention in Central America, and complains that the Rally Committee hasn't emphasized the "meet human needs" rhetoric quite enough for their liking.

Aside from all the personality clashes and what the *Village Voice* calls "the most destructive kind of sectarian 'turf-building,'" real political differences are beginning to emerge. The Rally Committee's perspective was expressed by Art Van Remundt, a member of Greenpeace from the Netherlands, when he said:

The crowd (at the June 12 rally) should consist of as broad a cross-section of the American public as possible. To achieve this result the rally must appear favorable to the new mainstream constituencies and this should be reflected in the sponsorship of the rally. . . . (*Village Voice*; 4/20/82)

Although the *Voice* claims all this is "a codeword for excluding urban minorities and organizations," this very same article by Dave Lindorf ("War in Peace: The Fight for Position in New York's June 12 Disarmament Rally") states:

. . . the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition by no means represents the whole black or third world community — even in New York. Even if many other minority organizations like the Coalition of

Black Trade Unionists and the Hispanic Labor Committee are annoyed (with the Rally Committee), they haven't flocked to join the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition . . . And at the same time, the Rally Committee is not without black support. . . .

Mark Roberts, national campaign director for Greenpeace, stated the real issue succinctly. "A significant issue was trying to attract middle America. I think it's fair to say that if anything significant is going to happen on disarmament, this rally can't be too far left. I personally would like to see more right-wing and conservative groups involved, since they are also concerned about the arms build-up since it causes deficits."

The split has led to the possibility of a court battle over the June 12 rally permit, with both groups claiming to be the legitimate rally committee — or perhaps the New York City parks department will split the rally into, as the *Village Voice* laments, "two geographically and politically separate events."

## A Single-Issue Movement

This intramural battle is a classic example of both sides being in the wrong. For the mainstream liberal Rally Committee to claim that the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition is "too far to the left" is hypocritical, even if quite true. For it was the Rally Committee itself which insisted on the slogan "Redirect Resources to Meet Human Needs" — hardly a rallying cry designed to attract "middle America" in this era of budget-cutting, not to mention "rightwing and conservative groups," which means anyone to the right of Bella Abzug.

As for the so-called Third World and Progressive People's Coalition — their multi-issue approach is more suited to building a leftist political party than building a mass anti-war movement. The left is, of course, perfectly well aware of this — they, at least, have the relative advantage of knowing precisely what they want. The leftist coalition states: "Many of us were involved in the movements of the '60s and we remember all too well the attempts of the most conservative leadership, usually backed by huge sums of foundation money, to limit the political slogans to the most basic, to refuse to link one issue with another, and in the most treacherous fashion, to make the movement 'safe' for politicians to come in and lead it."

Why the peace movement shouldn't use whatever money it can raise to further its aims is a question Lenin himself would have known how to answer — but not our latter day Leninists. The real question here, however, is not the left's petty-bourgeois contempt for money, but the whole question of a single-issue versus multi-issue peace coalition.

The real problem is that neither the Rally Committee nor the rival Coalition choose to focus on the issue of America's increasingly bellicose foreign policy. The Rally Committee's insistence that tax money should be "redirected" anywhere other than back into the taxpayer's pocket constricts the broad scope of the peace movement just as much as the infantile leftism of the TW&PPC.

No one is "refusing to link one issue with another" — Libertarians, for example, link the issue of the military build-

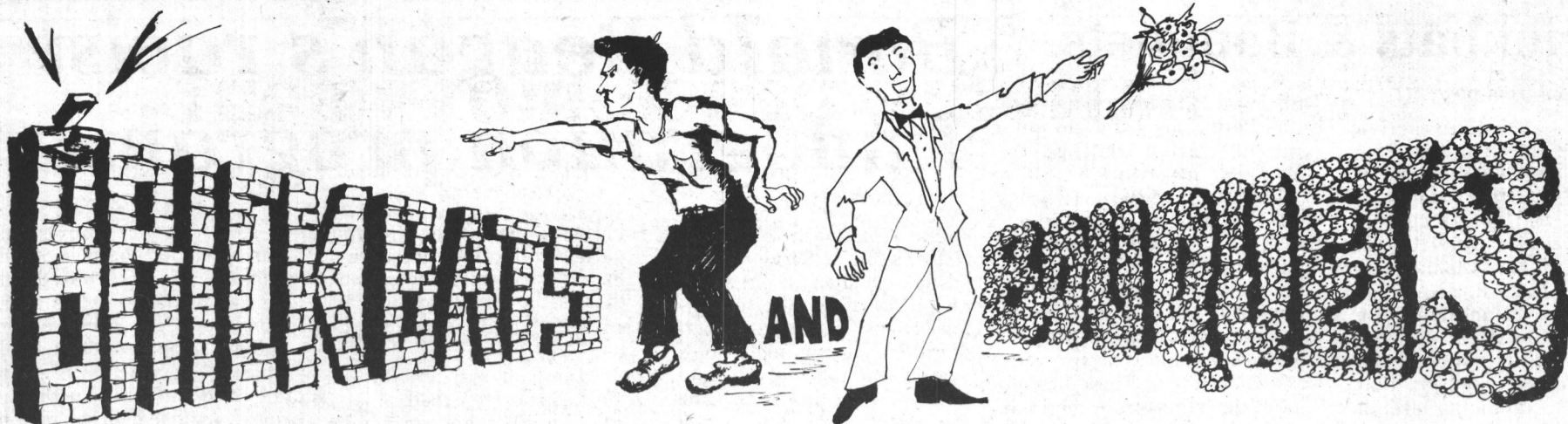
up to the build-up of 'public sector' power and the growth of the Leviathan State. But we do this in our own publications, on our own placards and in our own name. If the left wants to "link issues," no one in a broad, single-issue coalition will prevent them from doing so — in their own name. The most basic demands are indeed what unites diverse forces around the single issue of U.S. foreign policy. For the left sectarians to invoke the memory of the '60s anti-war phenomenon in their argument for a multi-issue approach is inexplicable; if we learned anything at all in that tumultuous decade it was the unparalleled effectiveness of a single-issue anti-war movement. That movement — centered around the simple slogan "Bring the boys home now!" — mobilized millions, and brought down a President.

The split in the American and German anti-war movements are mirror images of each other — and Libertarians propose a single solution to both problems. Let each component of the anti-war movement — leftists, pacifists, Libertarians and others — each offer their own analysis of events in Poland and Central America, without seeking to impose a particular political line on the entire peace movement. Opposition to war preparations and military intervention by both superpowers is the bottom line; there is no need for the anti-war movement to take a position on martial law in Poland aside from condemning a Soviet invasion if and when it comes.

As for the issue of "unilateral nuclear disarmament"; this is, literally, a red herring. In fact, such a superficially 'radical' proposal is irrelevant, since the Soviets have time and time again offered to begin a process of mutual disarmament. To state that it is necessary for the U.S. to unilaterally disarm before the Soviets are willing to go ahead is to imply that the USSR's current peace proposals are less than sincere — ironically the same position taken by Reagan and the hawks of the Committee on the Present Danger, who argue for an unprecedented military build-up and refuse to rule out a U.S. first strike.

The refusal of the Rally Committee to include "U.S. out of El Salvador" among their demands is sheer blindness. There is no way to separate war preparations from the war itself; America's nuclear arsenal must be seen, not as an alleged "deterrent," but as a vital instrument of America's empire-building foreign policy. No "peace movement" worthy of the name could separate what are really two aspects of a single issue.

Although the Rally Committee and the TW&PPC are currently negotiating to settle their differences, hurriedly patching up the split before June 12 in order to achieve ostensible "unity" won't really solve the problem. What is needed is a thorough discussion within the anti-war movement and a firm determination to unite all who can be united against the threat of nuclear destruction. Not the cozy liberal cabal which wants to make the peace movement "safe" for liberal Democratic politicians, nor the "multi-issue" obscurantism of the Marxist grouplets — what is required is nothing less than a massive effort to roll back the Pentagon and the prospect of a nuclear "final solution." □



• A **BOUQUET** to LP Congressional candidate Chuck Olson and other San Mateo County (California) activists who rejected the LP national office's toothless tax protest leaflet and instead handed out on April 15 an up-dated version of the reasonable-radical leaflet they had used in the past. . . .

• A **BOUQUET** to Lorraina Valencia whose series of libertarian opinion columns in the **Phoenix Gazette** have been both hard-hitting and effectively persuasive. . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to outgoing **Inquiry** editor Glenn Garvin for running an article by Jack Shafer attacking enterprise zones per se. The first two-thirds of the article is excellent — criticizing the gutting of the enterprise zone concept by American politicians. But then Shafer starts criticizing the concept itself.

He calls laws setting up such zones a form of porkbarrel legislation (but in fact no subsidy is involved); he likens them to Soviet five-year plans (but in fact no central planning of production targets is involved). Shafer even calls enterprise zones immoral and says that setting up such zones is as immoral as it would have been to abolish slavery early in a dozen cities in the antebellum South instead of waiting until all slaves could be freed.

Shafer's article is a good occasion to clear up a point about the gradualism-immediatism debate. The immediatist position is that slavery, tyranny, robbery, and other injustices are immoral and ought to be abolished immediately. To advocate stalling in righting these wrongs is also immoral. But the immediatist still realizes that change usually comes gradually and has no objection in principle to clear steps in the right direction. Thus an immediatist might — depending on the situation — have tactical reservations about merely calling for enterprise zones or freeing slaves in a dozen cities. But an immediatist who was a member of a legislature certainly would not vote against freeing some slaves or some enterprises now on the grounds that freedom has to come all at once or not at all. . . .

• **Opportunists Move Rightward, Part III?** **Inquiry's** new incoming editor Doug Bando (a former Reagan White House staffer) in recent speeches and interviews has been engaged in empty boasting about Ronald Reagan's personal devotion to liberty as a principle, the current Republican Party "renaissance," the importance of the U.S. government assertively promoting American ideals around the world, the Reaganite dream of welfare programs that are all right because they benefit the truly "needy," the sheer wonderfulness of "the process of transferring back to the states and localities those programs which are their traditional responsibilities," and the virtue of the Reagan administration's "firm and consistent" ap-

proach on military spending and in foreign policy. A **BRICKBAT** to him for such nonsense, and it will be interesting to see whether the historically anti-Reagan **Inquiry** changes its tune under its new editor. . . .

• A **BOUQUET** to **Inquiry** senior editor Ralph Raico, who has kept up the quality of **Inquiry's** book and arts reviews despite contrary pressures from his publisher Chris Hocker (who once wrote that **Saturday Review's** literary standards were too highbrow for a libertarian magazine!) Another **BOUQUET** to Raico for candidly writing to Hocker telling him to stop using "the pseudo-Cranian, irate-memo style in communicating with me." . . .

• A **BOUQUET** to **Colorado Liberty** for their candid assessment of the disappointing vote totals in the recent Judith Jones campaign for mayor of New York City. The **Colorado** newsletter also notes that despite the fact that Jones's 6,902 votes were 1,900 less than Fran Youngstein received in the same race eight years earlier, the Jones campaign issued a statement that Jones's total was "the highest city-wide vote received by any FLP candidate to date." A **BRICKBAT** to the Jones campaign for such a blatant untruth. . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to Ohio Crane Machine leaders Ann Leech, Ross Levatter, and Carl Nennerfelt for confiscating and refusing to mail out the Jan. 1982 Ohio LP newsletter. What provoked this drastic suppressive response? Well, it turns out that the January issue contained a brief reference in one paragraph in an identified "opinion piece" to the fact that Leech and LP candidate Jim Berns had attempted in December 1981 to recruit a person who had anti-libertarian views to run as the LP's candidate for Ohio governor. . . . A **BOUQUET** to Ohio LPer Dan McKiernan for having written the article that so offended the high and mighty. . . .

Incidentally, McKiernan is the author of a proposed amendment to the Ohio LP constitution. His sensible and hard-core amendment has been fanatically opposed by Ohio's Crane Machine opportunists. Here is the text of the amendment that so upsets them:

"Neither the Party nor any of its representatives shall willfully support any measure which conflicts with the Statement of Principles of the Libertarian Party of the U.S.A.; neither the Party nor any of its representatives shall willfully support any candidate or official (as a candidate or official) whose actions conflict with the Statement of Principles of the Libertarian Party of the U.S.A."

• **Frontlines, Human Events, Washington Monthly, and Update** have all been writing about the staff upheaval at the National Taxpayers Legal Fund. But nobody has satisfactorily cleared up the financial imbrigo at NTLF. **Frontlines** reported that \$15,000 specifically donated to NTLF for its

procurement project had been spent for other purposes, and that Ernest Fitzgerald and Dina Rasor were attempting to recover the money. **Frontlines** also reported that Kenta Guida — hired by NTLF at a \$24,000-a-year salary — was actually spending his time working on the Crane Machine's house organ, **Update**. Some have even said that Guida was given the ostensible NTLF job on the condition that he work for free putting out **Update**. Also **Frontlines** reported Rasor's description of how **Update's** supplies are paid for by NTLF. We don't pretend to understand all of what the Crane Machine is up to in this matter, but we're sure that NTLF's donors are very curious after the **Frontlines** **BOUQUET**-worthy story. . . .

• The best new libertarian publication in many a year is the **Humane Studies Review**. Its first issue deserves the biggest **BOUQUET** our florist can put together. Editor David Hart is providing a vitally needed bibliographic guide for college and university studies. The first issue features part one (Calvinists to the Glorious Revolution) of an introduction to libertarian political thought. Subscriptions are free from the Institute for Humane Studies, P.O. Box 1149, Menlo Park, CA

• A **BOUQUET** to Libertarian Rep. Ken Fanning, Alaska, for his comments on the House floor calling Alaskan State Sen. George Hohman's bribery conviction, "a relatively minor incident of corruption in comparison to the millions of dollars and hundreds of incidents of favoritism, special interest contracts, vote buying, vote trading, and politically motivated deals which occur on a somewhat regular basis around here, and are accepted by some as 'the way the system works.'" . . .

• A **BOUQUET** to Libertarian Rep. Dick Randolph, Alaska, for his introduction of the "Liberty Amendment" in the Alaska Legislature, which would amend the U.S. Constitution to repeal the federal income tax. A **BOUQUET** also to Libertarian Rep. Ken Fanning who was one of three votes in a House subcommittee which served to recommend passage of the amendment to the Alaskan House. . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to Libertarian Rep. Ken Fanning for his labeling as "an excellent proposal, very much along Libertarian lines" a student proposal to generate funds for hiring new faculty by instituting a \$10 per credit hour increase in tuition — to be matched 2 to 1 by the State Legislature. Another **BRICKBAT** to Fanning for his vote in favor of student loan legislation (despite his libertarian vote last session against the legislation), claiming that a commitment was made and that he felt an obligation to continue through with it. . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to Libertarian Rep. Dick Randolph for his recent statement in the media concerning his campaign for Governor of Alaska, "I am a pragmatist. (The governor) can

only do so much. I won't disrupt the whole system. I would not be changing the world overnight, but I would be changing direction." (emphasis added.) . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to Libertarian candidate for State Senate, Susan Shaffer (Alaska) for her statement in support of a bill introduced by Rep. Dick Randolph to distribute Alaska's oil royalty wealth to individuals. "The government should never have more money than is absolutely necessary to maintain the democratic system." . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to LP NatCom member from Alaska, Steve DeLisio, for his statements at the recent NatCom meeting in Houston that the LP should take pains to not "offend" people. Examples he used were Libertarians who suggest cutting popular programs that are not 100% government funded and advertising the Party's position on drug laws. Another **BRICKBAT** to DeLisio for his vote in opposition to a resolution condemning U.S. government support of the El Salvadorian government. The **BRICKBAT** is shared by Arizona NatCom representative Emil Franzi, who also opposed the resolution, which was passed with only these two "No" votes at the Houston NatCom meeting

• Mid-May was libertarian week in the **Wall Street Journal**, which printed excellent columns by David Boaz (of Cato) on the growth of the federal income tax and by Sheldon Richman (of the Council for a Competitive Economy) on Reagan's protectionist trade policies. Both deserve **BOUQUETS** for these fine articles. Speaking of Richman, his on-target "Case for Radicalism" in the May **Frontlines** was originally commissioned by Kent Guida for **Update**; but when he saw that the article didn't take the Crane Machine line, Guida refused to run it. A **BRICKBAT** to Guida for his behavior in this affair. . . .

• A **BOUQUET** to **Tax Action Report** for an excellent editorial in its February, 1982 issue on the difference between subsidies and "tax expenditures," which are, according to the **New York Times**, dollars that the government "does not collect in order to further social goals." The editorial quite rightly notes that equating the two concepts "implies that all income really belongs to the government and that when the government decides not to seize it, the people who keep it are the recipients of government aid." **Tax Action Report**, a "Monthly Review of the Taxpayers Movement," has consistently taken radical libertarian stands on tax issues. It is edited by Jule Herbert. . . .

• The **Tax Action Report** editorial should be read by Martin McCaffrey, whose January 21, 1982 letter on tuition tax credits to the **Los Angeles Times** was reprinted in **LiberCal**, the L.A. Libertarian Party newsletter. McCaffrey opposes tax credits because while "taxes are inhe-

rently inequitable, loopholes (i.e. deductions, credits, and incentives) merely increase the inequities." Those who do not like public schools "should get together and vote (them) out of existence, and not ask taxpayers to finance their displeasure." A **BRICKBAT** to McCaffrey and **LiberCal** for writing and printing such trash. . . .

• In this column last issue we lamented the crazy and paranoid goings-on at Students for a Libertarian Society under director Jeff Friedman. Now we are pleased to note that under current director Kathleen Jacob, SLS has taken a much steadier course, though this good news is marred by the sad fact that just as SLS has turned around, its funding sources have almost disappeared. In spite of this handicap, SLS chapters recently held protests on 40 campuses against draft registration, and preparations are under way for their next convention to be held in Madison, Wisconsin on July 9-11. A **BOUQUET** to Jacobs and SLS for persevering under difficult circumstances. . . .

• A **BRICKBAT** to Berkeley, California libertarian Tod H. Mikuriya, M.D. for his thoroughly unlibertarian proposal to create a government drug-dispensing agency to legalize controlled drug use. In an article in the November 22, 1981 **This World** (a supplement to the **San Francisco Chronicle**) Mikuriya proposes that users would get embossed identification cards good at designated pharmacies and would be billed through their MasterCharge or VISA cards! As a thinly veiled plan to create a government monopoly (controlled by members of his profession) where none exists now, its implementation would clearly be a step in the wrong direction and no libertarian should support it. . . .

• A **BOUQUET** to Ray Strong for contrasting the "faith in Ronald Reagan" approach with a true movement-building approach to libertarian social change. Writing in the February, 1982 **Santa Clara Libertarian**, Strong details Reagan's crimes and then asks, "Are we closer to freedom? Yes, not by virtue of the Ronald Reagans, but rather because there are more of us each day. . . ."

• The Society for Individual Liberty (SIL) has recently been promoting its "Principles of Liberty" study course for libertarian internal education. Leslie Graves Key reviewed the SIL materials in the February, 1982 **Update** and found that the course has several shortcomings, including weak foreign policy positions, overt Randian tendencies, misleading analyses of the state, and lack of attention to some important issues, including education, gay rights, immigration, and nuclear disarmament. While we generally enjoy SIL's hard-line ethical approach ("slavery" is one of their favorite words), we think Leslie Key deserves a **BOUQUET** for an honest and generally accurate critique. . . .

(Continued on page 12)

## Brickbats & Bouquets

(Continued from page 11)

• Dick Jacobs, an active member of the Michigan LP for several years, is promoting an amendment to that state's constitution that would cut the state income tax in half (to 4%) and abolish the state business tax. Sounds great, doesn't it? What libertarian could be against cutting taxes? Well, the catch is that Jacobs included in his initiative a section that mandates a minimum level of state spending for education and creates a school employees' retirement fund. He argues that this is necessary to prevent a tax shift to local units of government. A **BRICKBAT** to Jacobs for violating the abolitionist principle never to advocate steps away from liberty, and a **BOUQUET** to William Spiers and others who oppose the Jacobs initiative on the grounds that it is a sellout to the education establishment and would create additional obstacles to our ultimate goal of separating government and education ...

• Another **BOUQUET** to the Cato staffer who lost the Roy Childs file during Cato's move to Washington. Last issue we printed some interesting items from that file. This issue we shall take a look at an October 1981 memo written by Roy. The memo is stylistically a fawning, sniveling, cry-baby combination of **True Confessions** and **True Romance**. Some interesting sidelights in the memo are Roy's contention that "Cato seems to be floundering" and his characterization of Ed Crane's administrative abilities as "weak."

The confessions include Roy's admission that he did not hold up the "banner" of property rights as **Libertarian Review** editor and that he deliberately "soft-pedaled" criticism of the domestic policies of communist regimes while **LR's** editor. Roy also admits that he engaged in premeditated undermining of the goals and purposes of **LR** that had been outlined to him by backer Charles Koch and publisher Ed Crane. **LR** was originally to be a magazine aimed at the libertarian movement. But, Roy says, with a laugh, "I had other ideas ... I never edited **LR** in that vein, really."

In fact, Roy confesses, he quite purposefully concealed his real plans and intentions for **LR** from Koch and Crane.

Part of Roy's romantic infatuation is with himself. Roy says that **Inquiry** magazine under editors Bill Evers, Ron Hamowy, and Glenn Garvin relied on knowledgeable, accomplished journalists to write for their magazine. In contrast, at **LR** Roy boasts: "I relied on me."

Apart from Roy's rather effusive self-love, the memo contains some good samples of Roy's sycophancy toward his boss Ed Crane: "You're an inspiration to me," "you have brilliant ideas," and so forth.

The memo reveals Roy's current consuming desire — to write the think-tanker's analogue of the Great American Novel. Roy says he wants to write books on policy for Cato. So, write them, Roy. We won't stop you. But some of us have long memories. Where oh where, Roy, is the book **The Permanent Revolution: Liberty Against Power** that was announced for "early 1976" publication to these many years ago? We're still waiting, Roy, and so is the publisher with whom you contracted.

There are two more substantive aspects of Roy's memo that deserve comment. One is Roy's

attack on H.L. Mencken. The other is his suggestion to put anti-libertarian writings in libertarian magazines.

Roy attacks Mencken (who is dead, so he can't defend himself) for not having converted all his readers and writers to libertarianism and held onto them as libertarians during the 1930s. Surely, however, Roy is being simplistic in lashing out at Mencken here. There were a lot of defections from the free market in the '30s. Menckenesque wit and journalism can't be held to blame with much plausibility.

Lastly, Roy recommends that libertarian magazines print lots of articles that take explicitly anti-libertarian stances by people like Irving Kristol and Norman Podhoretz so that they may be "openly confronted" in debate. Really, Roy, this is one of the least sensible ideas you have had in a long time. Anti-libertarians already have plenty of places to publish their articles. Increasingly scarce libertarian dollars shouldn't be going to subsidize anti-libertarian articles ...

• Speaking of **BRICKBATS** for Roy Childs he deserves one for having retained at **Libertarian Review** the writer David Brudnoy as a regular commentator on politics and on cinema. Brudnoy was an open advocate of censorship of books and newspapers on anti-subversive and national security grounds. Brudnoy's statement in the **New Guard**, "books can kill," was not a reference to pummeling innocents to death with heavy volumes. It was a forthright attack on the ideas and information in published works. Brudnoy wasn't merely an occasional apologist for the Israeli state, he was a public proponent of suppression of the Pentagon Papers. Shame, Roy, shame ...

• A **BRICKBAT** to Eric O'Keefe for taking orders from Ed Crane — who isn't O'Keefe's employer. In a Feb. 16 memo Crane told O'Keefe to stop opposing LP-sponsored public opinion research that is advocated by Ed Clark. (Crane: "There will be plenty of opportunities in the future to go to the mat with Ed Clark. I don't believe his January 29 memo is one of them.") Crane points out to his followers and employees to whom the memo was sent (O'Keefe, Tom Palmer, David Boaz, Leslie Key, Chris Hocker, Kent Guida, Howie Rich, and Andrea Millen Rich) that the important thing is not to oppose the research, but to take control of it. (Crane: "Clearly, the majority of people to whom (Clark) addressed his memo lack the necessary judgment to develop a useful analysis out of whatever research is being done.") The people that Crane is referring to as having bad judgment are: Alicia Clark, Sheldon Richman, Carolyn Judd Felton, Emil Franzi, Bill Evers, Dave Nolan, Jeff Hummel, and Jorge Amador ...

• A **BOUQUET** to the Crane Machine's Madame Defarge, Leslie Key, for daring to say privately that Ed Crane's hand-picked 1984 LP Presidential candidate, Fred Smith of Federal Express, was not a libertarian and for saying that Ed Crane should never run another LP Presidential campaign ...

• A **BOUQUET** to the Georgia Libertarian for running the article "The Other Moral Majority" by Jimmy Harris. Harris spotlights the hypocrisy of liberals who wait about Jerry Falwell, Anita Bryant, and others but at the same time blithely impose their own moral values on the country...

## Ronald Reagan's racist Immigration programs

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has launched an all-out attack on millions of so-called "illegal aliens" in the U.S. As part of the Reagan administration's goal of curbing the influx of immigrants to this country, the INS recently cancelled 70,000 temporary resident permits held by Americans of Mexican descent.

Tens of thousands of temporary residence permits — "Silva letters" — have been issued by the INS since 1977 — the year a federal court ruled that the INS had discriminated against Mexicans and others by granting visas to 150,000 Cuban political exiles and counting them as part of the quota for the whole Western hemisphere. (Under current U.S. immigration law, each country in the Western hemisphere is allowed 20,000 visas per year.)

As thousands of undocumented immigrants came forward to claim their "Silva letters," they gave up their anonymity and placed themselves in the hands of the INS. Now these people — perhaps as many as 70,000 — face deportation or forced detention in INS concentration camps.

The National Immigration Coalition issued a statement denouncing the move. "The suspension of the 'Silva letters' is a cruel measure," the Coalition declared at a Los Angeles press conference on Jan. 11, "which is using panic and anxiety among hundreds of thousands of workers and their families. After being assured of safety against deportation since 1977, now these people are relegated to the insecurity of being undocumented, exposed to detention and deportation at any moment."

"We've been picking up about 20 or 30 illegal aliens a day in the last several months," says INS deputy district director Omer Sewell of Los Angeles. "Now we expect that to go up to maybe 75 or 100 a day." The Los Angeles INS office has increased its staff from 18 to 50. Half of all local INS investigators are assigned to what is called "area control" — i.e., street sweeps and random arrests which amount to round-ups of brown-skinned "suspects."

These terror tactics are only part of the Reagan administration's campaign to keep America white. This racist program includes strict penalties for employers who hire il-

legals, a worker "identification card" and other measures. Pending legislation would authorize the administration, in an "immigration emergency," to:

- Close or seal any harbor, port, airport or road or any other place which might be used to pick up immigrants.

- Stop and board or seize any American or foreign flag vessel suspected of carrying illegal immigrants.

- Institute what the Reagan proposal refers to as "constraints on domestic travel" in connection with the closing of roads or the sealing of harbors.

- Use "any component of the Department of Defense, including the Army, Navy and Air Force" to stop, board and search vessels or aircraft, make arrests and seizures in spite of a law which explicitly forbids such activities by the armed forces.

Reagan's racist declaration of war involves much more than this, however; the new proposals also provide for regional detention centers where immigrants are destined to face indefinite incarceration without recourse to the courts or the law. All illegals picked up in the escalating sweeps will be sent to special concentration camps at the sole discretion of the Attorney General; according to the **Los Angeles Times**, this will take place "with severe restrictions on access to the courts, and without regard to violations of environmental laws at the camps."

Hearings before special immigration judges and in Federal courts in exclusion and asylum proceedings will be eliminated. Reagan's scheme would allow asylum and exclusion "hearings" to be held by the military on board seized vessels. And even if some refugees manage to break through the military blockade, judicial review of those apprehended after they arrive in the U.S. will also be restricted, although not yet eliminated.

The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) calls for an end to INS terrorism and a massive, single-issue campaign to defeat Reagan's racist immigration plan. Libertarians condemn the government's escalated attacks on El Salvadorean refugees; after a short stay in INS detention facilities, Salvadorans are shipped back to their beleaguered homeland — where most of them are murdered by the notorious death squads shortly after arrival.

The anti-war movement must take up the cause of Salvadoran refugees; indeed, out of humanitarian considerations, the plight of the refugees should be the focus of any "solidarity" movement worthy of the name. Instead of using the anti-war movement as a private political playground, a staging area to launch a crusade against the Republicans for Teddy Kennedy's benefit, anti-war forces have a moral obligation to defend the innocent victims of El Salvador's U.S.-backed comprador regime.

As Haitian boat-people wash up on Florida's beaches, the conscience of the nation — or what's left of it — is awakened. The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) is actively fighting for the abolition of all immigration laws and for open borders. Like restrictions on international trade, immigration quotas are an immoral violation of rights which cripples and distorts the evolution of the economy and society.

Unlike the opportunist wing of our movement — which supports 1980 Libertarian Party presidential candidate's contention that we can't have open borders until all welfare programs are abolished — the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus condemns this attitude as willful ignorance. Clark, like Reagan, suggested increasing Mexico's allotted yearly immigration quota — Reagan's proposal would hike it up to 40,000. Apparently, these opportunists are uninterested in the obvious fact that most illegals stay away from government agencies, for fear of being deported. In fact, whatever government services working illegals receive they more than pay for in automatically deducted taxes.

In fact, illegals come here for one overwhelming reason: to work. Which is precisely why protectionist labor unions — the white "labor aristocrats" — are putting mounting pressure on Washington to crack down.

The Libertarian Party Radical Caucus is fighting for what was once an American tradition — open borders. Regardless of opportunist betrayals at a time when the winds of racism and protectionism are howling across the political landscape, the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus stands ready to defend the rights of immigrants to settle in what was once the "land of the free" — and is now Reagan's America. □

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