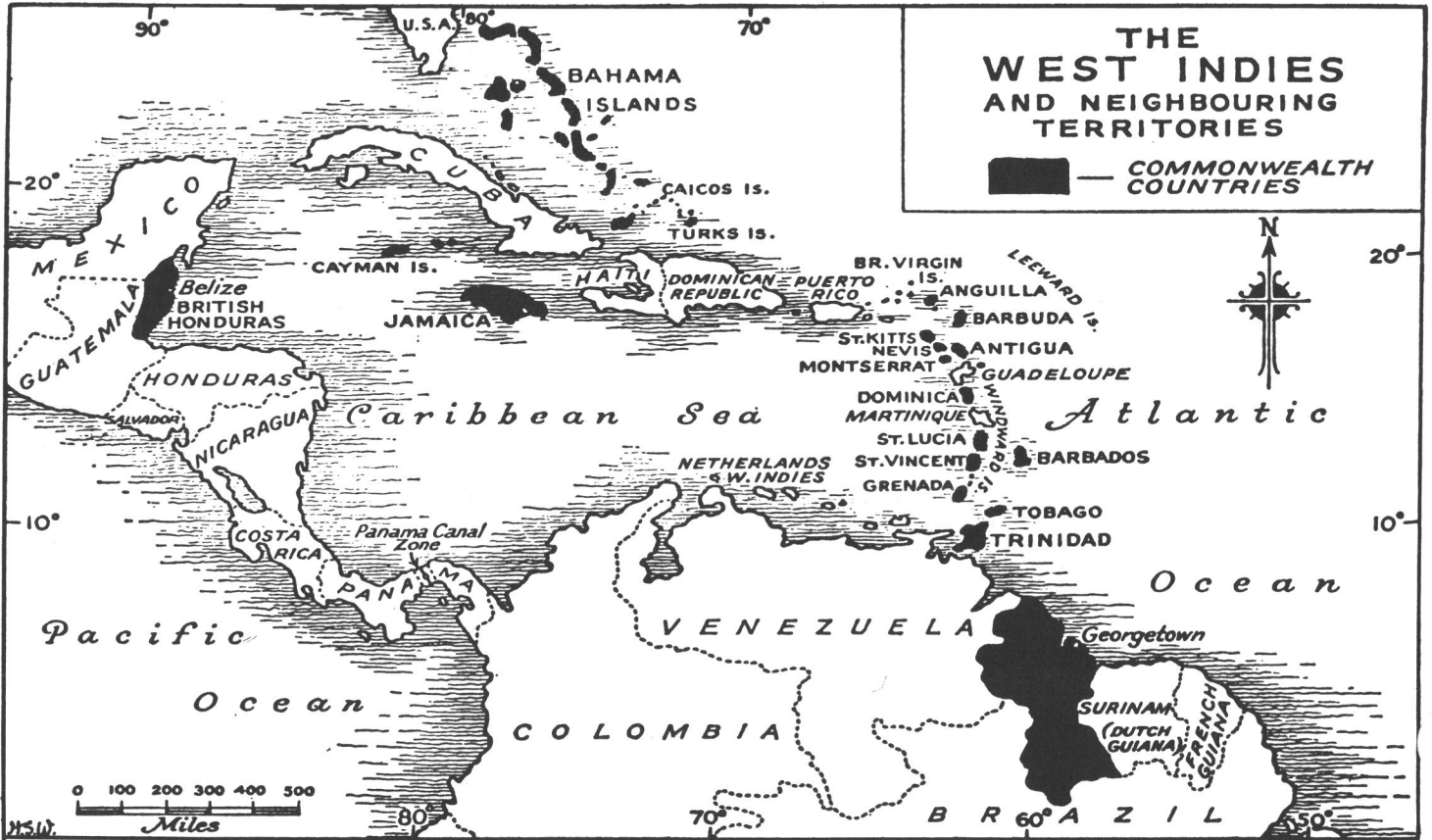


# LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

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## Grenada: Dress Rehearsal for Disaster

In 1981 the Pentagon staged the largest naval maneuvers since World War II. Code-named "Ocean Venture '81," these maneuvers included a mock attack on an imaginary island called "Amber," part of an island group known as the "Amberdines." The target: Amber's government which, in this "imaginary" scenario, had to be toppled because it was holding U.S. citizens hostage.

When the late Maurice Bishop charged that the U.S. military exercises were a dress rehearsal for an invasion of his tiny homeland of Grenada, he was largely ignored. Bishop was, after all, perceived by many as an even noisier version of Fidel Castro, and just about as credible. But history proved that Bishop was right, and now that he is dead the world is beginning to see him in a new light.

The Reagan administration — which once claimed the late Prime Minister was a raving Castroite whose plan to build an airport was supposedly an insidious plot to export revolutionary terrorism and Bolshevism — is now saying he was murdered by none other than local agents of Havana and the

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## Here To Stay

LIBERTARIAN publications come and go. *Libertarian Review* was the first to go, followed by *Frontlines*. Rumor has it that *Inquiry* is on the ropes — and now that the forces associated with the Cato Institute seem to have abandoned the Libertarian Party, the future of *Update* looks rather doubtful.

But *Libertarian Vanguard* and the Radical Caucus are here to stay. Since February of 1979 *Libertarian Vanguard* has brought you news and analysis of the world and the movement from a radical libertarian point of view — and will continue to do so. *Libertarian Vanguard* will continue to be a unique voice, just as the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus (LPRC) will continue to make its presence felt within the LP.

The split in the LPRC Central Committee (see the report on Prescon '83 in this issue) has inconvenienced our readers and supporters to the extent that this issue is late. Please accept our sincere apologies; the next issue will be out shortly.

### CHANGES

The LPRC Central Committee has co-opted two new members to itself. Joe Fuhrig is a well-known leader of the California Libertarian Party; he ran for U.S. Senate as the party's candidate in 1982 on a pro-free market, pro-peace platform. Fuhrig was a candidate for the LP's vice-presidential nomination at the New York convention. Greg Kaza is the founder of the Libertarian Student Network, youth section of the LPRC. In addition to editing the LSN's *Young Libertarian* newspaper, Kaza is an activist in the movements against draft registration and the U.S. military build-up.

Murray Rothbard has resigned his seat on the LPRC Central Committee and is no longer associated with the Radical Caucus.

Although Scott Olmsted has also resigned his seat on the Central Committee — and his post as editor of

*Libertarian Vanguard* — Scott's decision is the result of demoralization rather than bitterness or political differences. Olmsted agreed with the decision to endorse Earl Ravenal. He was so demoralized by the subsequent attempt by some members to destroy the Radical Caucus — which he had worked so hard to build — that he decided to take a long vacation from politics.

Scott's meticulous style of work and his tireless energy made him indispensable to the LPRC. His stint as editor of *LV* upgraded this periodical in every way, and he will be greatly missed.

It is an unfortunate fact that the political methods used by the worst in our movement tend to drive out the best. In the case of Scott Olmsted, the loss is great indeed.

Justin Raimondo, who will take over as editor, is no stranger to our readers. Hopefully he can continue on the path trailblazed by Scott.

### TURN TOWARD ACTIVISM

The re-organization of the Central Committee is being carried out in tandem with a re-organization at the grassroots level — and a basic re-orientation of our strategic vision.

As the Reagan administration plunges into one reckless overseas adventure after another, the threat to peace has never been greater . . . and neither has the threat to the peace within our movement.

As the rapid acceleration of the arms race becomes the central issue of the modern era, there are alleged "libertarians" who have jumped on the militarist bandwagon. As the U.S. invades tiny Grenada, there are "libertarian" organizations — such as the Libertarian Defense Caucus — whose stated principles do not rule out intervention in principle. As war clouds gather on the Central American horizon — and a domestic anti-war movement begins to grow — there is a very great danger that the Libertarian Party will stand aloof

from the whole process.

Our role in putting the party on the right path must be more than a fight for correct theory. We must take the initiative by putting our political ideas into actual practice. That is why a turn toward grassroots work in the anti-war movement is absolutely essential. We will continue to see our main task as winning over other Libertarians to a principled program — but with the understanding that this must be supplemented by real political work in the real world of politics.

The challenge — and the opportunity — has never been greater. With your support we can take full advantage of the opportunities — and meet the challenge head-on. *Now is the time* to get involved. The radical libertarian movement, as small as it now is, *can* grow and *can* have an impact — if you give your active support.

How can you help?

•Right now the most important thing you can do is become a *Libertarian Vanguard* sustainer. A sustainer gives at least \$10 per month to keep the liveliest libertarian periodical going. New sustainers get a copy of Murray Rothbard's *The Essential von Mises* and receive all LPRC publications as they come out.

•Join the Radical Caucus — if you haven't already done so. Now more than ever the LP needs a strong core of principled activists — or else the cause of liberty is lost. Join us now and get involved in your local Libertarian Party organization.

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## WE MOVED

Please Note Our New Address

Send all editorial and business correspondence to:

LPRC

1800 Market Street

San Francisco, California 94102

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## Grenada

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Kremlin! Suddenly we are hearing that Maurice Bishop was a “moderate” — and that the “gang of leftist thugs” which overthrew him, taking his life in the process, also planned to take over one thousand Americans in Grenada hostage.

Today he's a moderate: yesterday he was a Marxist-Leninist. The same people who once told us that Bishop was a Cuban puppet are now telling us the Cubans had him knocked off.

But who was the real Maurice Bishop?

### THE TRUTH ABOUT BISHOP

The New Jewel Movement (NJM), the political party once led by Bishop, was founded in 1973 when two Grenadian groups merged — the Movement for the Assemblies of the People (MAP) of Kendrick Radix and Maurice Bishop, and the Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education and Liberation (JEWEL) founded by Selwyn Strachan and Unison Whiteman. Its 1973 *Manifesto* emphasized economic self-sufficiency, local production of food, clothing, building materials and even medicines.

In 1976, the NJM — in alliance with the moderate Grenada National party and a smaller rightwing group — tried to topple the regime of Sir Eric Gairy. Gairy was a corrupt, somewhat eccentric tyrant who seemed too preoccupied with UFOs to notice that the unemployment rate had reached 50% — and that new taxes on essential consumption goods and services had placed an unbearable burden on the long-suffering people of Grenada. Gairy *did*, however, notice the marked increase in the activities of the political opposition — long enough to order his notorious “Mongoose Gang” to move in for the kill. Bishop's father, Rupert Bishop, was killed at a NJM demonstration in St. George in 1976.

But the opposition struck back. On March 13, 1979, Gairy was overthrown in a palace *coup* and the

“Peoples Revolutionary Government” of Grenada was quickly proclaimed. After twenty years of a regime characterized by terror, electoral fraud and incompetence, the NJM tried to deliver on its promises.

Although the NJM *Manifesto* of 1973 called for the expropriation of the banks and the nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy, the banks were spared and the Grenadian economy developed along classic social-democratic lines.

Although verbally committed to “building socialism,” like Nicaragua's Sandinista regime, the Bishop government seemed mainly concerned with breaking out of the mercantilist straight-jacket imposed by colonialism — which fostered dependence on a single crop. (In Grenada — also known as “The Spice Island” — it's nutmeg; the minuscule isle is the world's largest exporter of nutmeg.)

But it's a buyer's market and this means Grenada has limited foreign exchange reserves. Most food items must be imported — and so in Grenada the cost of living goes up while precious foreign reserves are further depleted. As Annette Walker writes in *NACLA's Report on the Americas*:

For example, Grenada sold a half pound of cocoa for \$1.25 Eastern Caribbean Currency (ECC) for processing abroad; upon return, a half-pound of processed cocoa cost Grenadians \$9.25 ECC.

In an attempt to break out of the closed cycle of economic dependence and an ever-increasing public debt, “socialist” Grenada sought to become a tourist attraction. An international airport was built with help from Cuba and Venezuela.

Much is made by the Reagan administration of this infamous airport, supposedly the key link in a Cuban/Grenadian conspiracy to spread subversion. But as the *Wall Street Journal* reports:

Even some U.S. military analysts doubt that the new airport would provide much of a military advantage for Cuba. And Laurence Burns, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, a private research group, notes that Vene-



zuela has helped finance the project; he argues that a stable democratic country like Venezuela isn't likely to back a guerrilla launching pad. “I don't think there's a Cuban military role in this at all,” he said. [4/29/81]

A major reason for U.S. suspicions and the evolution of the Reaganite conspiracy theory surrounding the airport was Grenada's limited hotel space. According to the *Wall Street Journal*:

The island has fewer than 1000 hotel rooms, which the State Department contends is far short of what would be required for the kind of tourist boom needed to justify a new airport. “Two wide-bodied jets would fill 'em up,” says one official.

How *dare* the Grenadians imagine that the concept of economic growth applies to them! The idea that the Grenadians actually envisioned an *increase* in the supply of hotel rooms as a result of increased demand apparently did not occur to the State Department. According to the *New York Times*: “The airport will permit night-landings, enabling tourists from Europe to head directly to the island rather than spending a night in Venezuela or Trinidad, as they now have to do.” [4/26/81]

The entrepreneurial spirit wasn't supposed to exist in “Marxist” Grenada and so a desire for an airport became “evidence” of Cuban military domination. Although no one will deny that Cuba and the Bishop regime were on the friendliest terms, Grenada was *never* a Cuban satellite. If anything, Maurice Bishop was headed in quite the opposite direction.

continued on next page

Bishop was an intense, bright young man. There is ample evidence that he may have undergone a change in political orientation in recent months and somewhat modified the Marxist phrase-mongering of his youth. In early June of last year, while on a trip to the U.S. — where he received an icy rebuff from the State Department in Washington — the Prime Minister announced plans to write a new constitution for Grenada in tandem with plans for free elections. Bishop never was a party--line Marxist, as Annette Walker pointed out in *NACLA's Report on the Americas* shortly after the NJM took power:

The PRG has shunned any ideological labels; in response to calls by various Caribbean leftists to go "beyond bourgeois democracy" to "socialism," Prime Minister Bishop has replied only that "We will feel our way. But we will take whatever steps necessary to get greater control of our resources and to end imperialist domination of our economy." [January/February 1980]

Bishop's notion of how the Grenadian economy suffered at the hands of imperialism was *not* just another Marxist shibboleth about exploitation by the multi-nationals. He was convinced that the U.S. government was trying to destroy a vital component of Grenada's private sector — the tourist industry. In an interview with the Trotskyist *Intercontinental Press*, Bishop seemed much more interested in tourism than Marxism, a point he came back to again and again:

To get back to tourism again there are two recent examples that you might find interesting. In February a hotel owner here, the owner of a hotel called the Calabash, received a letter from one of the travel agents in New York saying that the people who were booked to come down here had cancelled out because the travel agency had been advised by the State Department that renada was off-bounds.

Far from acting as a conduit for Cuban-inspired "terrorism" en route to Angola, obviously Bishop imagined his airport would soon be awash in American tourists — that is, if

the U.S. State Department's campaign of economic destabilization could somehow be stopped.

This is not to say that Bishop was a poor misunderstood liberal. The NJM suppressed the opposition *Daily Gleaner* as well as all opposition parties. In a move that would have warmed the cockles of Nancy Reagan's heart, Bishop declared war on drugs, persecuted the Rastafarians and rounded-up pot growers whom



Maurice Bishop

he accused of plotting to overthrow him. In late April of 1980 the PRG arrested NJM activist Kennedy Budhlall and purged a number of his supporters in the Grenadian militia, charging them with instigating a coup after demonstrators chanting "Give us our freedom" marched through the streets demanding what they referred to as "the right to grow." The rebels reportedly had some support among the workers of the River Antoine Estate in eastern Grenada — where pot is allegedly grown — after they promised to parcel out the land in individual plots. This land had once belonged to Gairy and had been taken over by the PRG.

But Bishop's admiration for the

Cuban example was tempered by the realities of Grenada's culture. Bishop himself recognized this when he said: "Generally speaking, the historical tradition of the English-speaking Caribbean has not been one of a great deal of state violence, or other forms of government really against the people. It's much easier, I think, for the people of Latin America, for example, to understand these realities."

The implication being that Grenadians tended to resist the rapid militarization of their society and would not easily accept Cuban-style brutality against domestic opposition.

Bishop's trip to the U.S. last year is now seen by many as a major turning point in his political evolution, an attempt by David to restrain the Goliath. He announced that a new, democratic constitution was being drafted for Grenada and that elections would be held soon. Rebuffed by the U.S. State Department, he returned to Grenada to face a growing crisis within the upper echelons of the New Jewel Movement.

#### PRELUDE TO INTERVENTION

The arrest and martyrdom of Maurice Bishop was the climax of a power struggle between the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. Coard, thought by many observers to be to the left of Bishop, was aligned with elements within the Grenadian military who wanted closer ties to Cuba.

The threat of U.S. military intervention had been hanging over the tiny island for years. Consequently the Grenadian military acquired overwhelming importance and political weight, eventually seeking to dominate the regime. Although there is ample evidence to suggest that many of Bishop's colleagues were resentful of the cult of personality which grew up around the charismatic Bishop, it is clear that something more than mere jealousy sparked the coup.

The night before Bishop's murder, Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard suggested in a speech that Bishop "continue his work with the masses" and that he, Coard, would take over the political direction of the NJM and the economy; in other words, real power would be in Coard's hands while Bishop would be allowed to continue as a figurehead.

Facing a demand by a majority of the NJM leadership that he "share" power in this manner, Bishop fought back by spreading the word that Coard planned to kill him. According to the *New York Times*, Bishop prepared a list of people to be told of the assassination plot; "the names on the list," says the *Times*, "were the upper-and-middle-class businessmen and hotel-owners that Bishop characterized as opinion makers." (10/30/83) Bishop sought to coalesce those who supported his turn toward development and increased economic links to the West, represented by those forces who were with him when he died: Minister of Tourism Unison Whiteman, labor leader Vincent Noel and two businessmen.

For the crime of foreseeing his own fate so clearly, Bishop was placed under house arrest. The next day the *putschists* met with the Cuban ambassador who undoubtedly told them to back down. The Cubans denied the ultra-leftists immediate military aid and reinforcements. Castro himself declared: "... the unfortunate developments in Grenada render the useless sacrifice entailed by the dispatching of such reinforcements in a struggle against the United States morally impossible before our people and the world."

The Reaganite conspiracy theory is a pretext, a product of the feverish rightwing imagination — and very likely the exact opposite of the truth. On October 18, under pressure from the Cubans, the rebels — having nearly expelled him from the NJM — asked him to stay on as Prime Minister. Bishop replied that he would think about it but wasn't ready to start negotiating. It was a stand-off.

That the Reagan administration is now posing as Bishop's avenger is, of course, a grim joke. In 1981 a huge blast went off at a NJM rally. The bomb exploded underneath the speakers platform and was obviously intended for the NJM leadership, including Bishop. As it was, however, the thick cement of the platform deflected the blast. The explosion went outwards; instead of killing Bishop and five of six cabinet ministers, three young women in the crowd were killed and nearly 100 people were injured. As Bishop said: "Within seconds of the bomb attack here in Queen's Park, the United States embassy in Bridgetown (Barbados) was already sending reports out. Interestingly, their first reports were saying that members of the leadership had been killed. Very interesting. What we want to know is, how did they know that?" (*Intercontinental Press*; 8/4/80)

#### DEFUSING THE VIETNAM SYNDROME

American allies in Europe and Latin America have roundly condemned the invasion. Even Margaret Thatcher, who got Washington's support for her Falklands adventure, criticized the decision to send in the Marines. On the eve of planned deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Europe, public opinion in Britain and on the continent has turned against the U.S.

But the Reaganites aren't too concerned with international public opinion at the moment. The real significance of the conquest of Grenada is its impact on *American* public opinion.

For here — finally — was a war we could *win*, a war we could be proud of. Reagan acted out the "Ocean Venture" hostage scenario, building the case for intervention on the allegation that over 1000 Americans in Grenada, mostly medical students, were in danger — conjuring up the war hysteria surrounding the so-called Iranian "hostage crisis".

But the truth is that American medical students were never in

danger — unless it was from the actions of the U.S. Marines sent in to "rescue" them.

Reagan's claim that Grenada closed its airport — making the evacuation of those who wanted to leave impossible — was exposed as a bald-faced lie by Robert J. Myers, the retired chief actuary for the American Social Security system. White House spokesman Larry Speakes claimed that the alleged closing of Grenada's Pearls Airport on October 13 was a major factor leading to the U.S. decision to go in, a signal that the situation had become "chaotic" enough to endanger Americans on the island. But Myers — who was in Grenada on a mission for the Organization of American States — says he flew out of Pearls on October 13. According to the *New York Times*: "Mr. Myers said that there had been no difficulty leaving and that he had been told other flights left the island that morning when a four-day curfew was lifted." (10/29/83) In addition, Canadian embassy personnel stated they knew that flights coming into and going out of the airport that day had taken place.

If anyone was prevented from leaving it was forty Canadian citizens blocked from chartering a plane from the Leeward Islands Air Transport Company (LIATC) by the decision of the CariCom group of nations to sever air links with Grenada prior to the invasion. Since LIATC is owned by CariCom — whose troops followed on the heels of the American invasion — the decision caused LIATC to cancel all flights. "Without offering evidence," said the *New York Times*, administration spokesman Larry Speakes insisted the airport was closed that Monday.

But the Reagan administration isn't being too fastidious about justifying the invasion. That would be contrary to the macho, muscle-flexing spirit of Imperial America resurgent. The style of the new gunboat diplomacy requires only the

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# Militarism Watch

## The Downing of KAL Flight 007

by Justin Raimondo

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED?

IT WAS A LONG and eventful Labor Day weekend. The 1983 national convention of the Libertarian Party, held in New York in late August, was an interesting event in many ways. It was interesting to observe, for example, the reaction of many Libertarians to an event as symbolic as the downing of KAL flight 007. Here the whole movement was gathered together in a single place. It was possible to actually see the immediate Libertarian response.

As luck would have it, some highly imaginative convention committee official had placed our table next to that of the Libertarian Defense Caucus (LDC). Who can forget the sight of one feverish-looking LDCer who had pinned the blaring headlines of the ultra-trashy *New York Post* on his chest and back. **RED MASSACRE DRIPS BLOOD! SLAUGHTER IN THE SKIES!**

In a movement which is supposed to exemplify what Murray Rothbard calls "individualist culture" the general Libertarian response to this event was revealing. One would have expected a hotel full of raging individualists to react in diverse ways. But both candidates for the LP presidential nomination implicitly accepted the U.S. government's view of what happened to KAL 007, while carefully explaining why the U.S. ought to do nothing. Both joined in the Cold War chorus by way of consolation, angrily denouncing the evil Soviets without raising the possibility of U.S. or South Korean responsibility.

This sad uniformity of opinion is "individualist culture"? The truth of the matter is that most Libertarians were swept up in the mass psychosis of nationalism, hatred and war hysteria. Just like everyone else.

HOW IS IT that the South Korean airliner "strayed" off course to begin with? This is a question the Reaganites and a whole chorus of "liberal" handwringers have yet to answer. The Great Communicator has his own theory about a computer malfunction, but says "no one will ever know."

The KAL 007 was equipped with no less than *three* inertial navigational systems, which keep tabs on each other. "The odds against more than one computer malfunctioning are 'enormous' [*New York Times*: 9/3/83]. The coordinates were supposed to be checked and double-checked before being fed in — and, at any rate, the plane had weather radar which can detect and map land mass within a two-hundred mile radius. Ted Koppel asked the pertinent question on ABC's "Nightline": "Was it possible that you had a problem with the computer, *and* the lights were out, *and* the radio wasn't working?" His guest — Captain Tom Ashwood, vice president of the Airline Pilots Association — answered: "To have them all fail simultaneously or even in close sequence, the odds against it are astronomical."

We are asked to believe that, suddenly, a plane fully equipped with state-of-the-art technology veered 300 miles off course, passing over the Soviet sub base at Petropavlovsk on the southern tip of the Kamchatkan peninsula and quite near the Korsakov air and naval base on the Soviet isle of Sakhalin. It was shot down before it reached Vladivostok, home of the Soviet Pacific fleet, flying without navigational lights. KAL 007 did not answer repeated Soviet instructions to land and, instead, engaged in evasive action. These are the actions of a plane in distress?

"The plane did not veer off suddenly in some completely random direction," said a senior intelligence officer to the *New York Times* [7/4/83]. "It was on the wrong path for several hours, never deviating from a line that would have taken it straight to Seoul." Intentional violation of Soviet airspace is an "unthinkable" act, according to this official, but a technical malfunction was "even more unlikely."

If the plane was really in trouble then why, after being pursued by the Soviets for two-and-a-half hours, didn't the KAL pilots radio American or Japanese air controllers to that effect?

After Soviet pilots reported visual contact with the plane, KAL Flight 007 requested permission from Tokyo to go to 35,000 feet — and then did so, without receiving permission. But what were the Western air controllers doing all this time? What about the U.S. and Japanese "communications monitors" who were tracking the plane? The Japanese Defense Agency picked up the plane on its radar as it crossed Sakhalin Island. The U.S. claims to have closely tracked the whole sequence of events. But, as the *Washington Post* noted: "Despite the monitoring, there are no reports of anybody's warning the flight that it was badly off course. Nor is there any indication that the pilot radioed for help or sounded alarmed."

Why weren't the Soviets notified? Could it be that the flight of KAL 007 was a deliberate provocation? The rightwing is howling "Remember Flight 007!" The answer to that is: "Remember Gary Powers!" — the U-2 pilot brought down by the Soviets in 1960 while on a spy mission for the U.S. Only this time no one lived to tell the tale. That Korean pilot — Colonel Chung Byung, who flew Korean dictator Chun Do Hwan to Washington in 1981 — did his job and did it well.

The Koreans have done this sort of thing before, like in 1981 when a KAL liner violated Soviet airspace,

took evasive action and was forced to land by Soviet fighters. Yet another "navigational error"? As Major General George Keegan, former chief of Air Force intelligence, said to the *New York Times*: "I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace. Despite all that the Soviets had there, the Koreans continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited." [9/2/83].

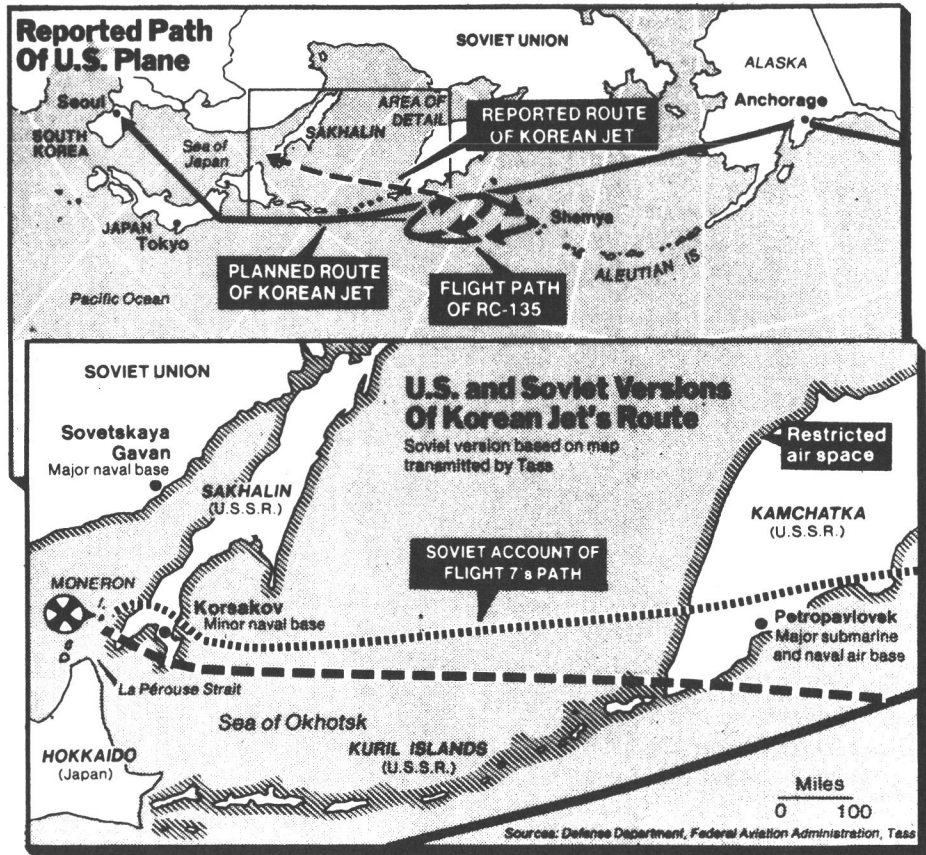
On September 1, former CIA director Stansfield Turner stated on ABC's "Nightline" that: "When the Koreans five years ago went one thousand miles into Soviet territory, and then have done it again this time, I think that makes them suspicious."

The United States was forced to admit that an RC-135 — a spy plane — was in the vicinity and crossed the flight path of the KAL airliner. The U.S. at first said nothing about it — until it was inadvertently leaked by House Democratic leader Jim Wright.

The RC-135 spy planes, according to the *New York Times* "provide access to certain Soviet military activity that cannot be obtained by satellites or high-flying reconnaissance planes, like the U-2 or the SR-71. Intelligence officials said, for example, that the planes formally fly missions designed to coincide with Soviet Air Force exercises, allowing the American planes to track Soviet fighters in flight." [New York Times: 5/9/83]

The flight of KAL 007 was within radar range of the Aleutian island of Shemya, a military installation for monitoring flights on that route. Shemya is also the base of the RC-135 spy plane the U.S. government now admits overflew Soviet territory that night. The U.S. *must have known* that KAL flight 007 was off course and headed straight for Soviet airspace.

American intelligence sources now admit that the Russians probably didn't know KAL 007 was



NY Times

a commercial airliner, in spite of Reagan's grandstanding about how the profile of a 747 is unmistakable. In fact, the E4B — a converted 747 used as a command and control center for nuclear war — has exactly the same profile.

Either the flight of KAL 007 was a deliberate provocation — or else Colonel Chung Byung and crew suddenly took leave of their senses.

JIHAD

EVER WATCHFUL of their precious "national sovereignty," governments everywhere have routinely committed the worst atrocities in order to preserve the alleged sanctity of their borders.

But given a world of nation-states — in the context of the Cold War — one can only marvel at Soviet restraint and wonder why it took.

them two and a half hours to shoot down what appeared to be a hostile intruder. Given the fact that it is the U.S., not the U.S.S.R., which refuses to rule out a nuclear first strike, it's astonishing World War III didn't start then and there.

The downing of KAL Flight 007 and the subsequent orgy of Cold War hysteria has set the tone for an American policy of renewed aggression on every front: Grenada and Lebanon today, perhaps Nicaragua tomorrow. "Remember KAL Flight 007!" is the battle-cry of those who call for holy war against the Soviet Union, just as "Remember the Maine!" was the war-cry of a younger nation eager for conquest.

Reagan's jihad against the "evil empire" is a crude rationalization. If the Soviets are the "evil empire" then we, presumably, are the "good" empire which must expand its power so that the whole world may partake of our goodness. □

# In The Movement

## PRESCON '83: LP National Convention Report

by Scott Olmsted  
and Justin Raimondo

THE 1983 Libertarian Party National Convention held in New York City has clarified the real political situation inside the LP and set the stage for the next phase of its development.

This was a presidential nominating convention and both major candidates were eminently qualified. David Bergland, the victor, is a Southern California lawyer active in the LP for many years. He has run for office many times and is associated with a broad coalition of forces long opposed to the domination of LP affairs by LP honcho Ed Crane and the Washington, D.C.-based Cato Institute. Earl Ravenal — who lost after four ballots — is a foreign policy analyst at Georgetown University and a leading scholar of non-interventionism.

### SETTING THE STAGE

AFTER YEARS of railing against what was called the “Crane Machine” in the pages of *Libertarian Vanguard*, the decision of the Radical Caucus Central Committee to reverse its earlier stand and support Ravenal’s candidacy came as a shock to one and all. After all, hadn’t we pounded away at the nefarious activities and influence of the so-called “Crane Machine,” chronicling their foibles and mishaps in these very pages with relentless glee? Hadn’t we been the first to expose and analyze Ed Clark’s “low-tax liberal” sell-out during the 1980 presidential campaign?

In order to understand this realignment we have to go back to 1981, the year of the LP’s Denver convention. As Murray Rothbard summed it up in an internal memo to LPRC Central Committee members, that convention was a “quasi-disaster.” “Dominating the floor,” writes

Rothbard:

were the Alicia Clark forces, with somewhere around 2/5 of the votes. The Clark camp had lots of money, a quasi-glamorous candidate . . . But it had no real *organization* or organized structure. The Clark delegates tended to be unsophisticated, often new party members, ignorant of basic ideology. Their basic tendencies were a naive decentralism organizationally, and a conservative stance politically. Their rather inchoate outlook may be summed up as “right-wing populism.”

Rothbard was depressed by what happened at that convention. He contemplated with growing dread the possibility of “a right-wing populist floor and a Crane Machine party structure (including NatComm and National Office.)” He also noted that “the excellent Platform product of the Platform Committee was obstructed and howled down by a combination of Clarkians and such right-wing Crane Machiners as the New York party (Greenberg/Kessler.)”

Confronted by two seemingly insurmountable obstacles — opportunists on the right as well as the “evil” Crane Machine on the “low-tax liberal” left — Rothbard asked the question: “What next, then?”

Rothbard’s sense of isolation and hopelessness is reflected in his answer: an alliance with the right. “If we saw ourselves as carrying on a simultaneous two-front war against more powerful forces,” writes Rothbard, “then I think the only proper reaction would be despair, with the only possible strategy then a bitter campaign of simultaneous attack preparatory to an organized bolt from the Libertarian Party.” Without bothering to tell us *why* this would be “the only possible strategy,” Rothbard goes on to present his alternati-

ve to despair. “Fortunately, I think we should reject the counsel of despair because the situation is not that hopeless.” Yes, there is a way out: a bloc with the right-wing “populists”. “On the national level, there looms a single major foe, the Crane Machine. The possibility of a true Popular Front between [radical Libertarians] and the Clark populists against the domination of the Crane Machine is, I believe, a lively option that should be pursued. I would like to set forth the case for such a Popular Front as the major RC strategy for the coming period.” Notice how, already, what Rothbard had called the right-wing populists are now described merely as “Clark populists.”

Why side with right-wing populists over low-tax liberals? Because, says Rothbard in another internal memo: “The Clark forces’ right-wing populism’ is unformed and inchoate and has little to do with ideology. Their major thrust is a healthy hatred of arrogant Eastern Establishment types within the party, which they equate with the Crane Machine. In contrast, the [Crane] Machiners are ‘fallen angels,’ that is they are conscious renegades who once knew the truth and then sold it out for money and power, in short, genuine opportunists. They are therefore evil, and their evil is still backed by a considerable amount of money; the Clark forces are inchoate, anti-Stalinist, and influenceable . . . .”

This view of the Crane Machine as Evil Incarnate is inextricably bound up with Rothbard’s experience with the Cato Institute. It was a stormy relationship, to say the least, finally culminating in a purge of radical libertarians such as Rothbard and Bill Evers from the Cato hierarchy. While the split with Cato was ostensibly political, equally important were the personal and professional antagonisms which ultimately led to the firing of Bill Evers as editor of *Inquiry* magazine. A political disagreement very quickly turned into a personal feud and — as readers of this



publication have seen first-hand — an obsession.

But the Evers/Rothbard plan to use the Radical Caucus primarily as a bludgeon against Cato met with considerable opposition from a determined minority within the LPRC Central Committee. In the view of this minority, the main danger to the LP was the *rightwing* opportunism epitomized by the 1980 Clark campaign and the 1981 Denver convention. In this view, although the Crane Machine had to bear a lot of the responsibility for the 1980 sell-out, they were basically the victims of their own success — and that a far more opportunistic tendency, brought into the LP by the Clark campaign, would soon supplant them. As Raimondo wrote in reply to Rothbard's memo:

What [Rothbard] fails to mention, in proposing his "Popular Front," is that the rightwing populists are even more committed to opportunism than the Cato crowd. [The "Crane Machine"] at least felt obliged to blame Ed Clark himself for the crude "low-tax liberal" gambit. But Alicia Clark's supporters defend the Ed Clark line to this day. Even [Kent] Guida [Crane Machine candidate for National Chair in 1981] chose to distance himself from Clark's anti-Libertarian stance on immigration, foreign policy and inflation. But the forces associated with Alicia Clark's successful campaign for LP national chair — in true "right-wing populist" style — openly applauded what amounted to a significant departure from libertarian principle. [10/20/81]

But we were only a minority at the time and the jihad began over our objections. Everything was subordinated to the Evers/Rothbard obsession with the "Crane Machine." Instead of devoting itself to analysis of real-world events — or even intelligent polemics — *Libertarian Vanguard* was turned into a scandal sheet retailing every bit of gossip about the Crane Machine, no matter how insignificant.

In order to buttress the alliance with the LP rightwing, a majority of the LPRC Central Committee voted to publish an article by Emil Franzi

entitled "Rednecks and Radicalism" which called for making the 55 mph speed limit, gun control and a campaign to repeal motorcycle helmet laws the focus of the LP's activities. What we need is more "rednecks," said Franzi. "Let's quit specializing and broaden the effort. I suggest that the specie *Redneckus Americanus* is a great place to start." Although Franzi backs away from coming out with his real politics by saying, "The problem is that we haven't been radical in *enough areas*," [his emphasis] the real extent of his devotion to the radical cause was clarified when he was the *only* NatComm member who voted *against* a resolution calling for U.S. withdrawal from El Salvador. Even Bill Evers was a little queasy at the implications of the Franzi article, and felt called upon to write a pseudo-disclaimer which noted: "Mr. Franzi may not share our view of what is important." An understatement, to say the very least.

#### WHATEVER HAPPENED TO GENE BURNS?

THE GENE BURNS phenomenon — when it looked like it might be a nomination by acclamation — was the chance the Anti-Crane Machine had been waiting for. Unable to generate a campaign of their own — Evers had briefly considered Ron Paul, among others — they latched onto Burns. They jumped on the bandwagon so fast it was a while before they noticed they'd fallen off. *Libertarian Vanguard* published an interview that showed him in his best light. Rothbard endorsed him and Bill Evers rose to prominence in the Burns campaign. In light of what later happened, it is interesting to note the first rumblings of the Burns rebellion. It is instructive to read what Bill Evers *cut out* of the Burns interview.

After discussing how his career in radio would have been paralyzed if he were afraid of offending people because of his views, Burns goes on to say:

In fact, interestingly enough, when I was out here for the California conven-

tion three weeks ago, after having a broad range of discussions with about 75 different leaders of the California party, and having gotten advice from them on what should be included in my presentation while I was here . . . I felt it adversely affected the presentation. It wasn't that I was saying anything I didn't want to say, it was that I, who am a very good communicator, in an attempt to accommodate certain political exigencies, had turned over to them the tempo of my speech, which adversely affected it. That was the first and last time that will happen. I will get the advice and program it in, but it will be my tempo. I think that was a good lesson in how you have to be careful that what may be the most important thing to one person is not necessarily something you need to put in the first paragraph of the speech you're subsequently going to give. I don't try to temper those things. There is an almost diametrically opposite way of handling these things, and Murray Rothbard tells me he thinks that's what I do.

I take the difficult issues that are seen by some to be the emotional traps — the drug use, the privatization of public education — and rather than sort of back away from them, I just roll over them and take them to the next higher level, escalating the point, as it were . . .

Murray was right about Burns. It turned out he *did* have a way of escalating the point — and escalate he surely did in a special LP convention issue of *American Defense*, the newsletter of the Libertarian Defense Caucus. These mysterious "political exigencies" — edited out of existence by the California kingmakers — were made explicit in an interview conducted by LDC leader Mike Dunn where Burns said, among other things:

I do *not* subscribe to the school which is defense-phobic or nuclear-phobic . . . and never have.

We do have the ability to defend ourselves and must maintain that ability. In fact, I take [that] position even on Central America, which I guess would displease some people in the Party — because I guess it could be construed as somewhat hawkish — though I take it

*continued on next page*

comfortably, knowing that there isn't really a threat to our national security in Central America, as I view the situation. But . . . if there *is* a threat to our national security in Central America, *then we should dispatch the 82nd Airborne Division to take care of it*, we should not be frittering around with advisors and doing what we did in Southeast Asia. [*American Defense*; 8/83]

Gee, it's a good thing Burns dropped out of the race before the invasion of Grenada! Burns also disavowed his previously-published unilateral steps toward disarmament stance, claiming he didn't mean *nuclear* disarmament. Almost as an afterthought, in the *American Defense* interview he declares that, in response to Soviet SS-20s in Nicaragua he would "go in there and blow them to Kingdom Come."

Coming as it did on the eve of the convention, this interview dropped like a bombshell. All delegates to the convention received a copy, so there was no question of trying to hush it up.

The anti-Crane coalition, led by the stalwart Bill Evers, decided to brave it out. How to change Burns' "tempo"? Easy. All you do is call him up and get him to agree to a retraction, which Bill Evers did. A long interview where Burns rants and raves for *pages* about sending in the 82nd Airborne was supposed to have been blanked out of existence by a brief "retraction" — which Bill Evers peddled to anyone who would listen.

But not many on the LPRC Central Committee cared to listen. That was when the real split in the Radical Caucus occurred. Some CC members were ready to launch a Joe Fuhrig for President campaign in opposition to Burns.

But Bill Evers was adamant, and so was Rothbard. Never mind what Burns had *said*, in public and in print. For Evers the only important thing was that *nothing* should get in the way of his plan to "smash the Crane Machine." He certainly wasn't going to let an unimportant thing like *politics* stop him now that it

seemed victory was at hand.

What finally persuaded Evers to dump Burns was the fact that Burns dumped him first. One week before the convention Burns pulled the rug out from under Evers by pulling out of the race. The official reason was that the LP couldn't raise enough money to suit him.

The Libertarian Defense Caucus must have been bitterly disappointed. As it was they were struck with the perennial Toni Nathan as their presidential candidate. Toni caused quite a controversy when she issued a press release which advocated compulsory sterilization of overactive males — a bit of news which got on the ABC national network.

After the Burns debacle Evers scouted around for another likely "anti-Crane" candidate and found him in David Bergland. Bergland had other credentials, of course — and so an uneasy truce prevailed in the LPRC Central Committee. We all went to New York committed to Bergland.

#### THE NEW YORK CONVENTION

THE ARGUMENT which a minority of the LPRC Central Committee used to convince all CC members but Evers and Rothbard that Earl Ravenal would make a better candidate boiled down to:

1) Ravenal would make the LP's anti-interventionist stance the centerpiece of his campaign. As the KAL 007 hysteria — which occurred at the height of the convention — made clear, Reagan's drive toward war is going to be *the* issue of the 1984 presidential election. As a respected non-interventionist scholar, Ravenal could have brought the Libertarian position on this vital question to the attention of the American people. Point number six of the LPRC's ten-point program says, in part: "Because the United States government aspires to worldwide control of events, foreign policy is always potentially the most important issue of our time."

2) The kind of people Ravenal

would bring into the LP would be likely recruits to the Radical Caucus, a nice pool to go fishing in. Already committed to the principle of non-interventionism, these people would have been likely converts to the idea that it is U.S. imperialism, rather than any other force, which is the main danger to liberty in the world. Bergland, we were afraid, would draw more of the sort of people LP presidential campaigns have attracted in the past — rightwingers with doubts about the LP stance on an issue which is "potentially the most important issue of our time."

A majority of the LPRC Central Committee was eventually won over to this view. A leaflet stating the reasons for our switch was distributed and a public meeting of the Radical Caucus was called.

Bill Evers' response to this was to throw a public tantrum. He did everything he could to disrupt and break up that meeting. He heckled speakers, he interrupted, he yelled — he even resorted to crying. It was a bravura performance and it worked: that is, the meeting was disrupted beyond the possibility of conducting any business — such as a *vote* on the matter. Such are the tactics of a man who, when describing the nefarious methods of the "Crane Machine," delights in using the word "Stalinist." Well, he ought to know.

Murray Rothbard's response to the switch was to resign from the Radical Caucus. "If Ravenal is nominated," he said at a CC meeting held prior to the RC public forum, "I'll quit the party."

#### BERGLAND FOR PRESIDENT

WHILE IT IS TOO EARLY to tell just what the Bergland campaign has in store for us, some preliminary indications are a bit ominous. At the New York convention Bergland endorsed the "High Frontier" space-gun scheme currently being pushed by Ronald Reagan, the Heritage Foundation and *Reason* magazine. In the Bergland campaign statement released after the nomination we are

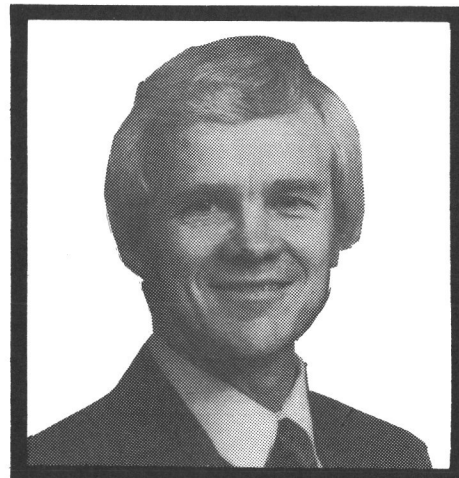
told the campaign will advocate "Development of adequate defensive weapons to protect the United States against nuclear attack." As if the U.S. government hasn't already gotten its hands on enough weapons to nuke the planet several times over — and as if anything could "protect" us from a nuclear attack! (Sounds like the "High Frontier" — a scheme ably debunked by Jeff Hummel and Sheldon Richman in the December 1982 *LV*.) We are also informed that Bergland is for "Incremental reductions in [the] United States nuclear arsenal as part of arms reduction negotiations with the Soviets." What does this mean? Reagan, after all, is currently "negotiating" with the Soviets — while stationing first strike Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe aimed at the Soviet heartland. Just how "incremental" will Bergland's proposals be? Frank Bubb, the author of "The Case Against Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament" (*Individual Liberty*; August 1983) is listed as a writer for the campaign, as well as a member of the Publications Review Committee. Bubb is an advocate of a "minimal second-strike nuclear deterrent" — whatever that is. In his article he approvingly refers to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: "By destroying two relatively small cities, the U.S. government forced the unconditional surrender of Japan to end World War II." Other members of the three-person Publications Review Committee include Dave Nolan and Murray Rothbard. Nolan criticized the Clark campaign on foreign policy and "defense" matters *from the right*.

The Bergland campaign plan booklet issued at the convention states that the main focus of the campaign will be outreach to what that document refers to as "disaffected Reaganites." A flood of dissident rightists flooding an LP which is already unsure of what it is and what it must become could be disastrous. Such an emphasis on rightwing outreach may very well result in transforming the LP into something vir-

tually unrecognizable — especially at a time when the whole country seems to be marching rightward.

But now that the convention is over, and Bergland is the nominee, what stand should radical Libertarians take?

In spite of some early indications that our support isn't exactly welcome, we will give the Bergland campaign the kind of *critical support* for which we are noted. That is, we will involve ourselves in the campaign at the grassroots level while continuing to press the case for the primacy of non-interventionism. We will continue to examine and perhaps criticize the Bergland campaign while giving it our whole-hearted support. Unlike the "Crane Machine," we have no intention of abandoning the movement we helped to build. We urge LPRC members and sympathizers to get involved in the campaign at the local level — not as sideliners but as *activists*. It is vitally important that the party-building campaign promised by Bergland and his supporters becomes a reality. The future of our movement depends on it. □



Bergland

## Grenada

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flimsiest pretense; its appeal lies precisely in its nature as a display of naked force.

The body-bags were still returning from Beirut when Reagan unleashed the Marines on a nation of

one hundred - and - ten - thousand souls. News of the rising toll of U.S. casualties in Lebanon was relegated to the background as the carefully staged invasion of Grenada unfolded — without benefit of journalists who were kept off the island "for their own protection."

This news black-out worked. A CBS/*New York Times* poll showed that, as of October 26, forty-six percent of the American people approved of the invasion. After the first television tapes furnished courtesy of the Defense Department were shown, the percentage jumped to fifty-five. The Defense Department film supposedly depicted storehouses of arms and ammunition: "enough to arm 10,000 terrorists", according to the U.S. government.

The poll also revealed that support for the invasion spanned the political spectrum. "Americans of different political philosophies showed little disagreement in their approach to the Grenada crisis. Dispatching troops to Grenada immediately after the coup there two weeks ago was approved by thirty percent of people who consider themselves moderates, thirty-one percent of those who consider themselves liberals and thirty-five percent of those who consider themselves conservatives," said the *Times*.

Support in Congress was bi-partisan and even Tip O'Neil relented. After the speaker called Reagan's gunboat diplomacy "frightening," a visit to Grenada by a Congressional delegation came back with the news that they approved of the invasion and O'Neil gave the Democratic imprimatur to the invasion. Riding a temporary groundswell of pro-militarist public opinion, the Reagan administration is riding roughshod over cowed Congressional liberals — who seem chiefly concerned with legalistic wrangling and handwringing over the War Powers Act and the authority of Congress to oversee the expansion of America's overseas domain.

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# News Analysis

## Pastora in San Francisco

EDEN PASTORA came to San Francisco November 18, at the end of a two-week tour of the U.S., and made his case for the revolutionary renewal of Nicaragua before the prestigious Commonwealth Club. Better-known as Commandante Zero, Pastora fought against the U.S.-supported dictatorship of the late Anastasio Debayle Somoza for twenty-three years. It was he who led the spectacular 1979 assault on Somoza's national Palace which was the turning point in the FSLN's war on the U.S.-trained National Guard.

Two years after the triumph of *Sandismo*, the revolutionary hero declared that the revolution had been betrayed. After a futile attempt to work within the FSLN, he and his supporters went into exile, founded the *Allianza Revolucionario Democratico* (ARDE) and took the road of armed political struggle against the increasingly totalitarian leftist junta — the nine commandantes — who had seized the reins of the revolution in Managua.

Commandante Zero and his ARDE fighters represent a third force in Nicaraguan politics, counterposed to both Marxism and U.S. imperialism. While rumours fly that the Managua government had brought in Basque terrorists of the ETA to kill the man who claims to be the "true Sandinista," U.S. ambassador to Honduras John Negroponte displayed the attitude of the U.S. when he had the Honduran military put Pastora under virtual house arrest after Pastora attempted to win support and establish base camps in the north. Pastora is fighting not only the treachery of Managua but also the treachery of Washington. The FSLN and the Reaganites disagree on everything but the subject of Pastora: both are united in their efforts to stop him by linking ARDE to the U.S.-backed *Somocistas* of the Nicaraguan Demo-

cratic Force (FDN). [See "Imperial America: Saboteur of Liberty"; LV 2/83]

Outside the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, American leftists and Nicaraguan supporters of the FSLN picketed, denouncing Pastora as a tool of the CIA — while outside the hotel's 'Comstock Room', well-dressed and rather too earnest young American leftists passed out leaflets repeating the leftist litany. For them, there can be no "third force" in Nicaragua — or anywhere else in the world. Like the Reaganite architects of U.S. policy, they endorse the Cold War notion that one must choose between East and West, — differing from their ideological opposite numbers such as Jeanne Kirkpatrick only in the nature of their choice.

But Pastora defiantly disagrees. He rejected both "the tyranny of the past," and "the totalitarianism of the present."

"American politicians must learn that there is an alternative to Marxism and Somoza." While he attacked the FSLN's substitution of the Cuban model for the original goals of the "democratic, popular and non-aligned" principles of *Sandismo*, he is equally hard on the U.S. "A great part of what is wrong with Nicaragua is America's fault," he said, "We begged the Americans, we pleaded with them to get rid of Somoza — and they didn't listen. So we shot him out of the palace."

Pastora described ARDE as the "insurrectionist" faction of the Sandinista movement, the "third party" movement within Nicaragua which represents private enterprise, democratic intellectuals, industrialists, and *campesinos* dedicated to the anti-authoritarian populism once associated with the FSLN. These forces, and not Marxist-Leninists, were the source of the revolutionary victory over Somoza and U.S. domination of the region. "We started a political revolution throughout Latin America that was

at once Sandinista, democratic, popular and non-aligned."

Pastora explained that he broke with the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) only after a prolonged internal struggle, "with great grief in my heart." "We started seeing two days after the victory over Somoza that *Sandismo* was starting to be betrayed. We wanted to conduct the battle within the Front, within Nicaragua, within the government. After two years we saw we had accomplished nothing, and that the revolution was increasingly betrayed."

Pastora cited Managua's growing links to the Soviet bloc, an attack on freedom of the press and a crack-down on civil liberties as signs that the revolution had degenerated into totalitarianism. "Two years after the revolution there were no laws in Nicaragua," says Pastora. "We were governed by the decrees of the nine commandantes."

Pastora's criticism of the Managua elite was met, he claims, with "death threats and lies." And so armed struggle was the only way. "We accepted the historical challenge."

"We come before the liberals and intellectuals of America to ask one favor," he said. "We don't ask for economic aid, or for military aid. We ask for *political* aid." This is "a war that does not belong to the Americans but to the Nicaraguans."

Pastora denounced U.S. intervention in the region, and in answer to a question about how he would react if American troops intervened he said: "We are noninterventionist in principle. Please understand this. Nicaragua has been invaded many times. Perhaps we have the right more than anybody else to be anti-interventionist. [ARDE] criticized the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. We criticize America's invasion of Vietnam. We are critical of American and Cuban intervention in Grenada."

The idea that political struggle is infinitely preferable and more effective than armed struggle was a

theme constantly reiterated by Pastora. As an example of how U.S. military intervention would strengthen rather than weaken the FSLN's grip, Pastora cited the reaction of the nation to the 1957 war with Honduras. "Somoza was the most hated President, and he had the most hated army. But when Honduras attacked, early one morning in 1957, by the afternoon the whole nation had rallied around Somoza." Pastora warned against the disastrous consequences of foreign military intervention again and again. "If you intervene you legitimize the Cuban presence," he said, stressing the fact that ARDE has had many political victories.

Pastora said that the proof of his popular support is that, in May there were 360 ARDE cadre who had taken up arms — and that, as of

## Here To Stay

*continued from page 2*

•Become a local LPRC representative. If you're a Radical Caucus member and there isn't anything going on in your state, then *start something*. You'd be surprised what you and a few others can accomplish as a chartered Radical Caucus chapter. We provide literature, an internal bulletin and whatever other help we can.

Now is the time to link up with a growing nationwide network of radical Libertarians. All you have to do is fill out the coupon below and send it in without delay. Help us carry on the work which is so vital to the future of our movement.

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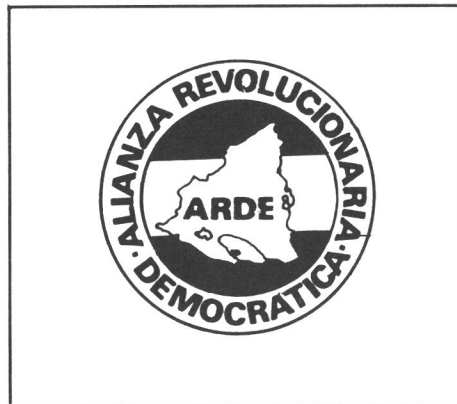
Yes, I want to become a Libertarian Vanguard sustainer. Enclosed is my first monthly contribution of \_\_\_\_\_.

YES, I want to become a Radical Caucus local representative. Please send me an introductory packet: "LPRC Organizers Manual"

YES, I want to join the Radical Caucus. I enclose dues of \$12.00.

now, four-thousand five hundred armed campesinos had heeded ARDE's call to arms. The exiled Sandinista leader vowed to generate an agrarian revolution. "We are going to surround the cities" he said, "and, someday, Nicaragua will be free." In answer to a question about how he planned on toppling such an apparently well-armed government, he said: "We have faith in the people — a judge which does not make mistakes — a judge which, at least, does not commit suicide."

With the totalitarian FSLN on one side and U.S.-backed exSomo-cista National Guardsmen on the other, Pastora's crusade to revive a



revolution betrayed is Nicaragua's only chance for a pluralistic society. By appealing to peasants whose land has been confiscated by state-run farms — and those who supported the Sandinista revolution because it was originally a fight for freedom — ARDE could very well lead a successful fight against totalitarians of

both the left *and* the right.

As the prospect of U.S. intervention looms large over the Nicaraguan political landscape — and as the FSLN tightens its stranglehold over the nation — Pastora's ARDE is a flicker of hope. If liberty ever comes to Nicaragua, then perhaps Eden Pastora and the Alianza Revolucionario Democratico will have done the most to make it possible.

Pastora and ARDE represent an opening for liberty in the Third World. Here is an anti-Marxist, anti-imperialist organization that calls for "a country with freedom of the press, the right to vote, a free economy, freedom of religion and all the basic liberties that men understand as democracy." ARDE is far from being a representative of libertarianism in the Third World. But if libertarianism ever takes hold in a sector of Nicaraguan society — or any Third World country — then it will be in an organization such as ARDE. Without Pastora's conception of what the original Sandinista revolution was all about — a democratic, popular and non-aligned movement — liberty has no future in Nicaragua or anywhere else in Latin America or the Third World. If the people of the world are forced to choose between commisars and death-squads, between Fidel Castro and the Somozas of this world, then the cause of the free market and the free society are doomed — because they'll never even get a hearing.

We urge our readers and supporters to send their dollars in support of Pastora's valiant battle against the enemies of liberty. Nicaragua is a test case: if a third force — independent of both the Soviets and the U.S. — can gain a foothold in Nicaragua, then all is not lost.

Please send your donation to:  
ARDE/Frente Revolucionario Sandino  
3446 S.W. 8th St. Suite 209  
Miami, Florida 33135

# Libertarian Strategy

## Libertarianism & Internationalism

AT A TIME when the crisis of world statism threatens the world with war and the threat of nuclear annihilation, nothing could be more timely than the birth of an international libertarian movement.

Libertarian ideas have spread throughout the West to the point where ostensibly libertarian organizations, associations, parties and pre-party formations have sprung up in Australia, Britain, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Italy and elsewhere.

How an international organization of libertarians ought to be organized is not a question that has ever been a subject of meaningful, in-depth discussion within our movement. The essential preparatory work necessary to the founding of such an organization has yet to be done.

In spite of this, a group of individuals associated with the Libertarian Party of Canada, led by Vince Miller and Bruce Evoy, have already founded an organization which they call the "Libertarian International." This group has held a few conferences and puts out the bi-monthly *Free World Chronicle*.

Although this self-proclaimed "Libertarian International" agreed at its Zurich conference "not [to] issue statements on behalf of that organization other than for purposes of explaining its purposes, principles and mode of functioning," *Free World Chronicle* is used by Chairman Miller as a sounding-board for his right-wing anti-disarmament views. A cursory glance through back issues of *Free World Chronicle* is enough to dispel the myth of the organization's "neutrality" on controversial issues. The May/June 1983 issue features a bitter attack on what Miller refers to as the "Libertarian left," accusing pro-peace, pro-disarmament Libertarians of "verbal storm trooper tactics" and likening them to "the more conventional Marxist-Leninist leftists." He denounces "arrogant and barbaric [!] tactics" after a long

tirade to the effect that no one has the right to define what libertarianism is. What this means in practice is revealed a few paragraphs later.

"The road to a free world is going to be long, difficult and immensely complex," writes the self-styled leader of the international libertarian movement. "It may well involve unlikely alliances and innumerable freedom-slanted compromises with fellow-travelers, many of whom may not accept the whole libertarian package but who are fighting for freedom and human dignity in perhaps a more limited sphere than our own."

These "freedom-slanted compromises with fellow-travelers," if we are to take the contents of *Free World Chronicle* at face value, amount to a compromise with militarism. These "unlikely alliances" apparently mean an alliance with Ronald Reagan — and, for some "libertarian" participants in the Miller organization, even an alliance with South Africa's racist apartheid regime isn't entirely out of the question! *Free World Chronicle* reports on a seminar given by Leon Louw of South Africa's "Free Market Foundation": "Louw told of several successes in influencing governmental policy," gushes the *Chronicle*, "most recently his appointment to head a commission of inquiry aimed at showing how to turn one of the South African 'homelands' into a laissez-faire country!"

Yes, incredible as it may seem, apparently even a virulently racist police state like South Africa is an acceptable "fellow-traveler." It is, of course, no more possible to turn the so-called South African 'homelands' into "laissez-faire countries" than it is to turn the Gulag into Galt's Gulch. That a so-called "libertarian" has been appointed to a *government commission* to put a "free market" face on apartheid is utterly obscene.

According to the *Free World Chronicle*: "Ed Clark agreed with Louw and many others who concluded that a foreign policy suitable for a

large, isolated country like the U.S. was not necessarily appropriate for small countries with hostile neighbors; indeed, said Clark, alliances could well make sense for such countries."

One can only wonder what Ed has in mind. Does he mean that Nicaragua has the right to make an alliance with Cuba and the Soviet Union because it is a small country facing a large, powerful and unfriendly neighbor to the North — namely the U.S.? Or is he saying that El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala — the so-called "Condeca" alliance — have the right to attack Nicaragua in order to eliminate Cuban and Soviet influence? Louw — whose program to give a "free market" gloss to a racist caste system is profoundly *anti-libertarian* — quite naturally agrees with Clark in this. After all, the abhorrent South African regime wouldn't last too long without aid from the U.S. and Israel. Alliances? Mr. Louw is all for them.

The same issue of *Free World Chronicle* includes "War & Morality" by Bob Poole, which seeks to justify the Israeli annexation of Southern Lebanon and the killing of innocent civilians during the Israeli invasion.

The March/April issue of *Free World Chronicle* features a column by Bruce Evoy "On The Subject of Defense" of which the following is typical: "Oh, we can have peace all right. Just quit. Don't defend. Throw away our weapons of defense, lie down and take what the bullies *will* give you — the peace of the grave — or the gulag." In the same issue, under "World News," an anonymous *Free World Chronicle* writer reports *without comment* the fact that "The British government plans to spend about \$1.5 million on a campaign to defend itself against anti-nuclear sentiment in the face of the planned deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Britain. J. Walter Thompson has been given the assignment." What does the "Libertarian International" think of government subsidized

militarist propaganda? It's hard to say, considering the fact that these alleged libertarians also oppose free trade — and thus seem capable of almost anything. In another "World News" item headlined "Bureaucrat Advocates Western Sanctions" we are told: "Speaking in Toronto recently, Kazimierz Sabbat, 70, Prime Minister of the Polish government-in-exile, advocated economic and political sanctions against the Jaruzelski government 'to free people from oppression and ensure world peace.' Unfortunately, he also advocated massive economic help from Western governments."

Another publication of the "Libertarian International" entitled *Free World* [Vol. I, No. 2/1982] reprints in full and without comment an article "Choosing Sides" which is the text of a full-page *New York Times* ad calling for a trade ban with the entire Soviet bloc. The ad was placed by the "Committee for the Free World" and its signers include Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter. More "unlikely alliances."

The chief activity of the "Libertarian International", besides holding over-priced conferences, seems to be publishing tirades *against* nuclear disarmament and *for* restrictions on East/West trade. It is therefore no wonder that the British Libertarian Alliance has stayed away from the Miller/Evoy Paper International. The British group has always tended to take such projects as party-building and building an international movement far too seriously to allow for the frivolous playacting and pretensions of the Miller/Evoy "International."

Now that the Libertarian Alliance is split into two warring factions (see "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Chris R. Tame" by Mark Brady and David Ramsay Steele; *LV* 2/83) this alleged "Libertarian International" has driven the wedge even deeper by appointing Chris R. Tame, a leading figure in Tony Hollick's "Libertarian Alliance International", the "British representative" of the Paper Inter-

national. Miller/Evoy initially alienated British libertarians by *unilaterally* announcing that the first international convention was to be held in London. After having been shuttled off to Zurich, Miller and Evoy will finally get their way after all. The Miller/Evoy "International" has announced that "Libertas II" will be held in London.

That an organization ostensibly devoted to international libertarian unity is actively exacerbating the

bitter feud between the two organizations — both claiming to be the Libertarian Alliance — is utterly inexcusable. By recognizing the leader of one faction as the "official" British representative of this phoney "International," the gulf between the two organizations is actually widened.

The stationary of the Libertarian International includes a long list of Libertarian notables, all of them un-

*continued on the next page*

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doubtedly sincere endorsements of what purports to be a truly worthy and even noble cause — the founding of an international libertarian movement.

Unfortunately, the organization calling itself the "Libertarian International" isn't the way to go about it. We urge the many libertarian notables who have lent their name to what sounds like a good cause to reconsider. Far from nurturing the growth of a real international libertarian movement, the Paper International is now the chief obstacle to its further development. Their "solution" to the problem of how to paper-over deep divisions is to not take an "official" position — although the unofficial line is handed out in the *Free World Chronicle* by Chairman Miller.

What is needed is the initiation of an international discussion bulletin, sponsored jointly by leading libertarian organizations. It's a shame that such an important task has been co-opted and essentially bungled by an irresponsible group. But it's not too late to rectify the situation.

We put out a call to all interested libertarians — especially our British friends — to consider the question of how to go about making the first tentative steps toward building an international movement. We recognize that an "International" cannot be commanded into existence. It is not enough to simply announce the existence of an international movement. Such a thing must be built on the strength of an extended international discussion; not gabbling for a few days at a "convention" but conducting a public discussion, in print, of the vital issues facing our movement on a world scale. Nuclear weapons, the Cold War, empires in collision — these are issues that must be faced. Instead of hiding behind a facade of "official" agnosticism and neutrality, a "Libertarian International" worthy of the name would at least have the moral courage to begin confronting the question of war and peace in the nuclear age — not by handing out a line in the *Free World Chronicle*, but by making real international discussions possible for the first time.

## Grenada

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Initial fears by the U.S. military that Cubans hiding in the central jungles might conduct a protracted guerrilla war have largely dissipated. But in spite of the fact that the operation was only supposed to take a couple of days and in spite of assurances that U.S. withdrawal was imminent, the military is now talking about a stay of several months. Any government set up by the U.S. is bound to run into resistance.

Maurice Bishop was an immensely popular figure. Now that he's been martyred, those who inherit his political legacy are bound to benefit. If the much-touted "return to democracy" ever becomes a reality — a doubtful prospect — this is a fact that the Reaganites will discover to their sorrow.

Maurice Bishop knew the danger of an American invasion was very great. Perhaps his speculation on the ultimate outcome of all this will prove equally prophetic. If Reagan dares invade Grenada, said Bishop to his supporters, "he'll find it is easier to land than to leave."

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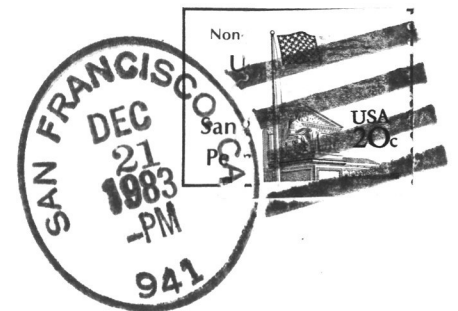
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