# What's Happening!



Since May of 1979

Libertration Virguauth has been covering events, from Polend to El Swidox, from suddauther there are seen you read an analysis of Peagan's Fentingon socialism. In the same issue with a ferror socialism of the polential relique of Poland's Solidarily movement? Now that Libertration Pelewin has folided. Libertration Pelewin has folided.

In the era of "Reaganomics"

when many libertarians have been taken in by Reagan's plony ostersibly "free market" metoric – Libertarian free of the statist policies of a President who likes to invoke the ghost of Franklin militarist viewpoint can be rd only in Libertarian guard — the newspaper of Libertarian Party Radical

Ower.

The national LP has long tried to convince the media, the public, and its own members was a recommendated that we are growing faster than we actually are. This has contibuted to the growing credibility gap between the LP's propaganda and our actual strength and size. This is courting disaster. At some point, people will realize that we are not as strong as the national of fice claims. Using the LP News system of figuring vote totals, we could reach to million by 1366, which appears to be a majority of voters in the count-

"The LP is growing and may very well continue to grow. But misrepresenting our base and rate of growth will create many problems for us. Let's be honest with the public and ourselves."

Let's do the work necessary to

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CA 94102

onal \$3.00

don't release my name for non-LPRC purposes

words. IP candidates for local offices, state legislature, statewide offices, Congress, and President are all added up together. This ignores the fact that many of these votes came from the same persons. In California, this would give each voter a chame to cost the or more votes for IP candidates for various offices in 1982. The source for this part of the persons of the transfer was a definious flagaret where we work of the persons of t

compiled a much more realse
tic count of LP votes taking the
highest LP vote total in each
area of the country and adding
them up. The figures are far
smaller than those of the LP
News.

Top Vote-Getters 442,000 702,000 1,700,000 3,580,000

LP News 1,000,000 1,420,000 4,300,000

### We Said It

The Libertarian Party, Radical Caucus (LPPC) is a political ection organization committed to working within the Libertarian Party, Founded in May of 1973, we have fought since then to keep the LP on a principled path. Out ten point statement of principles (see page 10) is no mere abstract declaration of good intentions — we have always sought to put principles into practice. Although our numbers are small and our resources limited we have managed to have considerable impact over the years. The ant-fortal movement, the Politis Solidarily support movement, the anti-war movement — we have brought radical libertarian ideas to each of these diverse arenas, acting as a catalyst and an inspiration to theoratians everywhere. Within the Libertarian Party — where the battle against opportunism has yet to be won — we have made the case for principled politics with emarkable success. So, you're a radical libertarian? Well, you aren't alone, in order to be effective you'll want to link up with the growing relevance to the coupon below and send it in to our National Office loday.

First

In July of 1980, the LPRC published an analysis of the Clark campaign? "low-tax liberal" opportungagins to month before the came transpally obvolus most in transpally obvolus most in the campaign was self-out. From carbo should not expublican economic program to his unibertual mostion on the immigration question and the emisgration design to the business of the castone of this business.

YES, I want to join the LPRC and receive one year (6 issues) of Libertarian Vanguard and the occasional internal bulletin Cadre. Sign me up as a:

Sustaining Member. I will donate the following on a monthly basis:

\$\Begin{array}{c} \$100 \quad \$50 \quad \$25 \quad \quad \$50 \quad \q

Contributing Member. Enclosed is my contribution of:

□ \$500 □ \$100 □ \$50 □ \$25 □ Other

Student Member - \$6.00. I attend

OF PRINCIPLE

n the ongoing dess. But the issues
widuals in the LP
cited the problem
. The many pubre appeared since
against opportunvaliable from the
d get a free copy
ow-Tax LiberalA, 94102

No, I don't care to join the LPRC at this time, but I would like to help build a truly radical movement with a contribution of

isco, CA 94102

a dues-paying member of the Libertarian Party (or the CLC in California) Sorry, only LP members have voting rights.

□ I am

check one of the following:

Gift-Giving Member. I have enclosed a list of friends whose gift subscriptions are to run concurrent with my subscription — \$5.00.

Issues warped National Election tallies office

rtaria

VANGUARI

Issue 19

KC protests Solidarity had to origins as a n. For the plotsh drama is the

"We appeal," said a state-ment from Solidarily head requarters in the Baltic port of Szezencin, "support us in our fight with a massive protest ward though help. In our still y ward though help. In our still y strengte the germ of budding democracy in the heart of from the state of th

In Vienna, Rome, Paris, LonIn Vienna, Rome, Paris, London — and across the US; in
New York, Chicago, and San
Francisco — thousands
marched in support of the
Polish revolution.
On Decomber 14, 1981.
Chistmas shoppers and office
workers in downtown San
Francisco reacted with enthusiasm for the first local
manifestation of the Solidarity year.

all, the TV cameras were run ning — and a melee with Liber tarians carrying signs proc-laiming "Red Army Out Of Po-land!" and "Solidarity's Re-

volution Must Syread
Throughout the Socialist
Blact" was not something they
wanted to see happens or publicly.

But they did not prove to be
so sky at a meeting called to
plan further actions on behalf
of Solidarity, held after that
night in the East Hay. Then mo
ment Libertarians entered the
meeting hall and attempted to
pask their right to do so was
challenged Reiher than app and
(Continued on page 9)

Day Of Reckoning
As the Communists mounted
a campaign of repression,
aruzeiski's propaganda mill
went into full gen. "The star
controlled networks piped out
hair-raising daily wrap-ups,"
said the New York Times.

S go to war over Poland?"
The top-ranking official in
leashing ton at the time—
onald T. Regan—declined to
ammant. Although everyone
ems to be predicting an imment Sowiel invasion, no one
must to really believe it—and
some very good reasons.

(Continued on page 5)

socia

Prisoners' Hang Jarurshkil'
"The Red Tide is Turning,
Communist Marderen Out of
Poland!" and "America
1778/Poland, 1981."
Our unique approach to the
Polish wends —reflected in the
title of our leaflet. Poland is
The Crisis of Socialism—caused considerable consternation among the leftists at the
demonstration. But even the
definithe-wood sectorians
among them could only gitl in
their teet and bear it, showing
their teet and their teet up a non-Communist government, the Jaruzelski regi was demanding that nati wide demonstrations called

Reports that dozens of striking workers have been killed,
that some Polish troops subset
to fire on their countrymen,
that the Polish secret police
apparatus entrusted with implementing the crackdown
have met actual physical resistanca—this news has yet to be
confirmed. Because of the
news blackout imposed by the
Polish military regime, the real
when the real military regime, the real
question of whether or not the
final struggle will come. The
real question is: when will it
come? Predictably, the Western press worked itself into a frothy white Cold War lather only hours into the crisis. One TV newsman even asked a government official "Would the

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John Ketchum 414 Cąsino Center Bl ‡4A Ląs Vegąs NV 89101

## retoria marches

By Justa Ramondo
The army of the parthed regime of South Africa — which invaded Angola on August 24, 1981 — has apparently consolidated control of Angola is southern-most Kunene province, paving the way for the Jonas Swimbi. Swimb

troops gather at the Namihai Augula border, the focus of superpower contention shifts to Southwest Affac, centered on the struggle of the Namihan people to be free of domination by the colonial powers. For part of South Africa's sagenda in Augula — besides setting up Savinhai as ruler of Vichy Ansola — is to destroy the SouthWest Affectant People's SouthWest Affectant People is consumer to the SouthWest Affectant People is southern and the South People in the South

Auardied to South Africa in the work of World War I. Sambha is one of the world's largestropositories of translum. Annahu is one of the world's largestropositories of trunnium. In addition, Namibia's largestropositories of trunnium diamonds, zinc, copper, and In addition, Namibia's natural resources are vital to the state-subsidized nuclear power plants of Europe-British, Canadian and French interests control the Rossing mine, which ships stoot tons of the state of the

Elections — tightly controlled by the South African au-thorities — were held in late 1978. Since SWAPO refused to enter elections with Namibia

still under the gause of the South
African army, the DTA had no
trouble taking 41 of 59 seats.
The Namihain government has
read and ethnic quotes, with
the proportionate representato the postation of the contraction of the
proposal spontanete by the
DTA, Of course, the DTA is
heavily financed by Seath Aftic, with links to BOSS (South
Africa's Intelligence a genucy)
and the CIA Courrerspy. December 1978;

The South African regime of Prime Minister P.W. Boths realizes that a free Namibia would provide annotary for anti-aparthoid freedom lightes directing political and military operations against the citadel of white appromacy South Africa (toold Bothbo African Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) have recently stepped up their activities in response provided the control of the control of the panel of the control of the control

That the Regan administration is the champion of the
"free market" on an international scale is a myth easily retural by the treachery of
Washington in Southwest Aftrea. While Choha and Angolan
Terops protect 'Gulf' Oil
Indilities, as well as extensive
while Choha and Angolan
resourcents made by Texaco
and Cities Service, the Brospan
and Cities Service, the Brospan
and Cities Service, the Brospan
and Cities Service, and though
Sorvichterland Angolan Presicent Eduardo dos Santos has
yet to take zowe substantial
much ideological distance between dos Santos and Saximbh
As columnate Mary Vd-Grovy

Rop. Edward Wolp. D-Mich., the MIT graduate and onetime Peace Corps consultant who heads the House African sub-heads the House African sub-heads the House African sub-heads proposed a dinner meeting at the Carnegie Endowment to report Citiz a recent of Herican tour. Citiz a recent of Herican tour. Citiz a recent of the an union and when Wolps said he had never met "more capitalistic Marxists" than Angoin officials, there was much vigorous nedding, IQct. 12, 1990.

ıbertarıan

VANGUARD

.Scott M. Olmsted Justin Raimo

.Bill Evers

Chase Manhatun's officer in charge of Africa, Brant Henders son, recently wrote that the American corporate presence in Angola "effectively limited Soviet influence and strengthened the government's commitment to non-alignment." Galf Oil—which recently signed a Sto million can be sufficient to recently signed a Sto million can be sufficient to recently signed a Sto million to the work of the sufficient support of Savinhi's UNITA during the presidential election campaign. On the wor of Hoagan's naugaration. CPA director that Associate support to Savinhi's UNITA during the presidential election campaign. On the wor of Hoagan's the UNITA expresentatives other secret meetings with UNITA expresentatives other secret meetings with UNITA expresentatives other secret meetings with UNITA expresentatives which septically forbids US aid to Savinhi — has only bardy auruvived Reagantie reposit attempts in Congress. The Western press regularly states that empts in Congress.

Staff.........Eric Garris, Bonnie Hoy Editorial Board.....Bill Evers, Eric Garris, Colin Hunter, Scott Olmsted, Justin Raimondo, Murray Rothbard

Swimbi's army numbers some 16,000. In fact, the number is closer to 2000. A ranad de Borchgrave once maintained that UNITA troops numbered 100,000 (North Troops number of North African Iroops on the northern Namitian borted are black. As Covert Action Information Bulletin points out the northern Namitian borted are black. As Covert Action Information Bulletin points out South African Greates. Ceed B. Dealing style, wait seem to be fugge Univ. A camps studied in Angelon." In Incomment

The Reagan administration is

supporting Savimbi nothing better than who would like

everything in sight

these UNITA camps are filled with mercenaries, both black and white.

The operations of these mercenary outfits are described by ex-mercenary Trevor Edwards, in the Manchester Guardian:

Jose Ricardo Belmundo, ex-mercanary leader of the "Buffalo Battalion", stated: "We wresked total destruction of everything in our path, vill-lages, schools, hospitals. Many were killed, both people and cattle. We had very strict in structions to atteck and destroy everything we came across."

Robe Of The West
The role of the Western powers.

Rown as the Contact
Group or Group of Five —
France. Britain, the United
States. West Germany and
Canadia — has been to support
the division and conquest of
the division and the SNN
commissioner for Numbia,
south Merida, and it wants to
maintain control of Nambia
with a South African aconomy
and with African self-gliting At
tricans, nor whites flighting At
tricans, nor whites flighting the

In response to growing its ternational condemnation and undemnation and undemnation and the strategy began to escalate. In late 1979 and early 1980 SWAPO members were rounded up and orduned. This is strategy began to escalate the late 1979 and early 1980 SWAPO members were rounded up and orduned. This is strategy and seek: South Africa demnatical the sight rounders and the strategy of the strate

Sulling for time. South Aftica arrived at the Jenuary 1981
Genera conference — called to
implement Resolution 435 —
with no intentions of negotiating. Pretroit a rejected any attempt by SWAPO to ensure international supervision of
Namibian elections, in addition, the Botha regime used the
conference as a pretext to
found the various
spirater 'parties' who have agread to operate within the limitations of apartied and the
sumusian system. Two previsum National Intimo (CANII),
suddenly appeared out of
man National Intimo (CANII),
suddenly appeared out of
hese spilt-offs from SWAPO
all together have no more than
a handful of followers. The
CANII representative an
mounced that his group was
going to negotiate separately
with South Africa on the issue
of independence for the Caprivi Strip region of Namibia
The Centera conference collapsed when it became clean
in the content of the caprivi Strip region of Namibia
The Centera conference col-

have boom holping South Africa. The present policy was decided at a secret meeting that took place in Zurich, Switzer land between Prime Minister Vorster, Dr. Kissinger, and Alexander Haig, in the summer of 1977. It was then decided that the policy of South Africa would be to set up a black and white government in Namibia and to build up an army that would be under the control of Pretoria."

The new plan offered up by the Western Contact Group provided for a ceasefire, provided for a ceasefire, provided for a ceasefire, phased withdrawal of South African troops, and control of a Schotch and the proping of the phased withdrawal of South African troops, and control of a Schotch and the proping of the phased withdrawal of South African Selection SWAPO them agreed to the Contact Group plan; but on September 20, 1978. Prime Minister Ver resigned and P.W. Botha, the South African Defense African Such South African Defense was ver resigned and P.W. Botha, the South African Defense was selected tons would take place at the conduction stars.

Name days later, the UN Security Council adopted Resouth of Selection Such and the Security Council adopted Resouth of Selection Such Security Council adopted Resouth African Defense Council and Security Council adopted Resouth African Defense Council adopted Resouth African Defense Council adopted Resouth African Selection Such Province Selection Selection Such Province Selection Such Province Selection Select

By Herbert Julius
(Editor's Note: Any resemblance between fictional
characters and living persons
in this article is purely deliberopportunism response

dte.)
March 15, 1989 — Altacks on Acertain policies of the National Libertaina Campaign Committee during the last election have appeared in libertainan publications recently. As legal counsel to the Committee, I committee, I committee of these charges by providing the states involved and slowe how the ractions were well within the parameters of libertainan terr, parameters of lib

The issuance of these recent charges is that the National Liberturian Campaign Committee violated liberturian principles when it filed suit in Federal Court last year, during the Presidential campaign, to require the Federal Social Responsibility Commission to allorate 2.3% of its more than 2 sponsibility Commission to allorate 2.3% of its more than 2 million person manpower pool to work on Liberturian Farty will be suit was should be fined from the ord the mapaign effort those of the mapaign effort the ord the mapaign effort the and of surveys. In fact nothing could be fineder from the furth the suit was based on the long-standing treations of equality under law and due process, I do not need to meant on the important role played by the thousands of additional workers this lawarit provided us, perhaps the major factor in our gain of record percentages on election day.

privileges.

Just who are those outspoken libertarians who criticize our sait against the SEGC? They are measure the same, self-styled radicals who almost one nyears ago demounced our saits against the CEC which in cost TV, itam her three growth of the trayed our principles by using government coerical campaign. And again in 1984 these same three our media campaign, and the said the our media campaign have of 57 million in Federal matching thrusts for the 1984 changing Hunds which, incidentally, enabed us to finally pay off the debit moured by the 1984 of Carle Kor Prasident.

New Bosen and Department of Training and the said Responsibility program. Get all Responsibility program. Get all Responsibility program of Training as Libertarians we urga abolition of the FGC. FEC and FSGC. BEC and FSGC. Because and these programs and laws as anyone else Besides our ends are just: The triumph of the Libertarian Party.

I think our case is incontrovertible. You decided Are the Libertarian Party and a drop labor towertible. The decided Are the Libertarian Party.

Are You Moving?

### to charges

Florida

Diane Pilcher 637 W. Princeton, No. 2 Orlando, FL 32804 (305) 423-1129

Periodicals 1800 Market Street San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 864-0952 Libertarian Books & Periodicals joined with the Socialist Workers Parly in 1987 in Socialist
Workers Vs. The FSRC to successfully get our fair share of
allocations.

The present vocal complaints by defensit liberarians
stem from our salt last August
in Federal Court to force the
SRRC to raise our allocation
from 1.8% [based upon 1964
results] to 3.2% [in line with
1.98 vote totals]. Despite
charges by some liberarians
tan these th autoness are sanctun these th autoness are sanctun these that the more than
2 million young people who
selected "political service" as
their Social Responsibility obligation. This action is in the
clearest tradition of equality
under the law and is fully consistent with past notional Li
decisions.

They each willingly accepted
lar no liberarian be footled
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ween attended government recreation programs and summore
ween attended government to
compts. The large majority use
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libraries profits as a direct reservi of special government and
autones profits as direct reservi of special government.

Continued from page 4]
and that a party segan should
provide oversight to ensure
this Royce has long been a demean of the fringes of the GCPHe should spend he stime trying to make the Republicans
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RRICKBAT comes because he
has concluded that tax credits
don't have an equal impact on
everyone, as Mudler modes in
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A underground in this cast was need redunful inglet on our clear justification for Committee actions. Our sail was a result of the failure of the Federal Social Responsibility Commission [Federal Social Responsibility Commission [Federal Social Responsibility Commission [Federal Responsibility Commission [Federal Hart Hart of some vice" option in compliance with the 1984 National Social Responsibility Act. The reader with recall that this law requires all graduates of public high action for assupported will recall that this law requires all graduates of public high action for assupported will recall that this law repaires and produced and the second public high action of the post linear trains, this gas post in the result of the produced service. While the libertarian there a free choice to select either a) military service, by while refluence that the produced active of the political suicide not to take advantage of thousands of workers given as by the law. The Republican and Democratic tempted to monopolize the Republican and Democratic commission allocations, but under my direction the LP

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denounce the whole arrange-ment. According to Milton's bizarre logic. Libertarians should not profess experiments on imprisoned criminals or in-voluntary mental patients, but should only discuss grand theories of punishment. Pro-tests against government schemes and experiments like busing are exactly what the LP is for...

 Finally, Millon has come out against homesteading ownership of the radio spectrum and atravers in a new though it has happened in the past, he can't see how it legitimately could be done. Again according to Millon's fanastic logic, one could not homestead the plow are nothing but were standard.
 Figure 1. The first of the continued to the plow are nothing but were standard.
 Figure 2. Another hearty ROM 1987.
 First of the continued in terresting old material from the first of the continued in terresting old material from the first of the first owner ow work at Liberterion flective. The magazine seems to be drifting away from hard core illentariants to a forum for the differs to ride their particular differs to ride their particular before to ride their particular before to ride their particular horses, at least other holds to ride their particular horses, at least other holds the horses, at least other holds the horses, at least other holds the horse on alternate sectanologies, was on an alternate sectanologies, when the holds are seen to be a superior of the particular holds and the control of the control of the ride of the particular holds and the control of the ride of the particular holds and the control of the ride of the ri

After reflecting on our conversation yesterday, I am concerned that there may be some sort of degenerative disease at • This memo reminds us of the need for another PRICKEM T. This one goes to Roy Childs himself who lied to the country of the control of 1991 I.P National Convention. His lie during his normaling speech for David Koch. Roy said that no one in the Koch annily had ever pressured him on any matter. Well. Roy, perhaps revealing his memony...

## Local contacts

ty Linda Freeman 10652 Brighton Drive Santa Ana, CA 92705 (714) 832-4029 Kevin Dye 5845 Doverwood Drive, No. 305 Culver City, CA 90230 (213) 645-9470 Ohio William Shockey P.O. Box 448 Sabin, MN 56580 (218) 789-7565 Tom Verkuilen 5649 N. Drake Ave. Chicago, IL 60659 (312) 463-4741

Bob Waldrop 358 E. 3300 South Salt Lake City, UT 84115 (801) 467-1631 or 262-6773 Eric Isaacson 18 N. College, 3rd f Athens, OH 45701

Rod Culver 22002 Highway 99, No. 20 Edmunds, WA 98020 (206) 776-8420 or 583-0610

Jerry Dickson 1645 Ala Wai Blvd. Honolulu, HI 96815 (808) 955-4917

a national liberation movement which continues the struggle into the present day:



On Oct. 6, 1981 undercover police raided the San Francisco Libertarian Party bookstore. Claiming to have found drugs on the premises, police arrected 11 roots.

Vinguird in over six months. In response, the Libertarian Party of San Francisco has launched a satigation to the same and the same and

singled out for physical attack by the SFPP. A full half hour before police dispersed the protestors police on torselved saudenly and whother protestors police on horselved saudenly and whother protestors police on horselved saudenly and whother protestors police on horselved protestors police of the horselved protestors police on horselved protestors police on horselved protestors police on horselved protestors police of the horselved protestors police on horselved protestors police of the horselved protestors police on horselved protestors police of the horselved protestors police on horselved protestors police of the horselved protestors police on horselved protestors protestors police on horselved protestors protestors

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In 1981 eleven Libertarians were officials in the country. It is important up with the activities of these people officials are listed below. c office. We now have 24 elected libertarians to give input and keep hey keep a Libertarian record. The

ile	IRDITATION	Omce
aska	Dick Randolph	State Legislature
aska	Ken Fanning	State Legislature
aska	Stan Thompson	Mayor, Kenai Borough
aska	Bruce Wammack	Borough Assembly, Fairbanks
aska .	John Davis	President, Kenai Borough Assemb
aska	Bill Privett	City Council, Wrangell
izona	Murray Feldstein	City Council, Flagstaff
izona	Joe Saggio	Sch. Bd., Apache Junction
ntucky	Terry Bogel	City Council, Brownsboro
nnesota	Jack Ardoyno	Sch. Bd., Apple Valley
nnesota	Robert Floyd	Sch. Bd., Brownsville
ssouri	Marshall Cobb	Alderman, Lakeshire
ntana	Michael Tanchek	City Council, Troy
w Hampshire Thomas Reed	Thomas Reed	City Budget Comm., Londonderry
w Jersey	Dick Siano	Town Board, Kingwood
egon	Paul Dillon	City Council, Philomath
nnsylvania	Jay Zane	Study Comm., Schuylkill County
nnsylvania	Rod Bowman	Tax Assessor, East Buffalo
uth Carolina	Marshall Danenburg	City Council, Elgin
uth Carolina	Michael Carruth	City Council, Landrum
xas	Honey Lanham	Board of Ed., Harris County
xas	Bill Fraser	Board of Ed., Harris County
xas	Jeffrey Calvert	Board of Ed., Harris County

## The Ten Points of the LPRC

David Ripp

Town Board, Waunakee

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

- Principled Mass Party The Libertatian Party should be a mass-participation party operating in the electoral arona and elsewhere, devoted to consistent libertarian principle, and committed to liberty and justice for all.
- Resistance & the Oppersued The Libertatian Party should make a speeld effort to recruit members from groups must oppressed by the government or that the indiquation of those with o sportens oppression is joined to that of those wito oppose oppression in principle. The Libertatian Party should arere approve of the initiation of force, nor should it rule out self-defense and resistance to tyranny.
- Anti-State Coalition The Radical Caucus agrees to the view, adopted by the Libertarian Party at its 1974 Dalias convention, that for purposes of party programs and activities the issue of the ultimate leightness of government per se is not relevant. We oppose all efforts to exclude either anarchists or minimal statists from party life.
- Populium The Libertanian Party should trust in and rely on the people to welcome a progr of liberty and justice. The Libertanian Party should always aim strategically at convincing bulk of the people of the soundness of libertanian doctrine.
- No Compromise The Radical Cuccus insists that all reforms advocated by the Libertrian Bet y companies of the control of the
- Anticoprolism 6 Centrality of Foreign Policy Because the United States government agricus to avoid with control of central, foreign policy is asymptoperstillarly from none important uses of our time. The Libertians Party should wink to the public, the ruth about the U.S. powernment's major repossibility for the cold war and the containing threat to world proce posed by U.S. foreign policy. No one should be deserted by the notion that any government, this the American, which has a relatively benign domestic policy, therefore has a relatively benign foreign policy.
- Our goal is to build an international revolutionary libertarian movement, and our task is to hold up the banner of liberty so that all the world's peoples and races can rally around it.
- Mutual Disarmament The Libertarian Party should support general, joint, and complete dis-armament down to police levels. The Libertarian Party should be in the forefront of efforts to end policies that prepare for mass management.
- Rights Are Primary The central commitment of the Libertarian Party must be to individual liberty on the basis of rights and moral principle, and not on the basis of economic cost-benefit estimates.
- elite. Libertarian Party strategy and

Land Reform — Because of past land theft and original claims not based on homesteading, many includings in America are lifegitimate. The Libertusian Party in cases of theft [for example, from the Nature Americans and Chamono) should apport restoration to the victims or their heirs and in cases of invalid claims should advocate reopening the land for homesteading.

10.

Angola

Continued from page 2)
that South Africa was only interested in publicity for virtualization of the publicity for virtualization and publicity for virtualization and publicity of publicity and publicity of publicity and publicity of publicity of the publicity of publicity of the publicity of the publicity of the publicity and and consigns them to the butter states, an expansion of the butters at site, an expansion of the butters at site, and and consigns them to the status of a permanent understance of the publicity of

tion of Numbia. Unlike the internal parties who serve as a
decontrol for South Africa's military might. SWAPO
has real mass support and a real
organization. This has nothing
to do with Soyiet influence, or
arms, indeed, sophisticated
arms will not save the South
Africans in the end. SWAPO
could not exist without broad,
deep-roond support. No wer of a
mitional liberation against a
cobinal regime care continue
to the liberation against a
constitution dictated to
some pupper tregime in Windhost.—Numbia's capital city
was a continued only by a
reque's gallery of make-balieve
parties can bring poace or will
bring poace to Numbia. Any
election which takes place
under the auspieses of the South
African war muchine will
rightfully be determed invalid
by SWAPO (and all other antiby SWAPO (and all other antiby SWAPO (and all other antiby SWAPO (and all other anti-

imperialist forces.

South Africa is Next
As important as the struggle
of the Namibian people is to the
future of Africa, it is but a preliminary skirmish compared to

... A recent issue of the Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa shows that the total amount of land owned by the whites is about 230 million acres, whereas the narives own armillion mound by missions and 23 million acres; for five and a 120 million acres; for five and a half million acres; for five acres of the second firms. ... (fin-perfution and world optidics; bandline, 1927; p. 165)

The continuity of SWAPO, the ANC and PAC, as the inbardtors of a history of armed 
struggle against colonialism 
can be understood if we 
examine the revolutionary legacy of these modern-day 
feedum-lighters. SWAPO and 
the Swall Africum benefits 
are SWAPO and 
the Swall Africum benefits 
the first spanns 
the property of reemactment of the heroic fight 
put up by the Bantas in the 
upland grass-covered wild, and 
along the rich eastern coast. 
The Bastros her Africas and the 
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This historic injustice must be rectified if justice is to be served. Tribal lands must be re-stored to those from whom it



MARCHING FROM PRETORIA — South African soldiers atop an armored personnel carrier in southern Angola last August. (Wide World Photos)

It is clear that the Angolans consider the presence of Cohan troops a necessary wil in the face of the South African face of the South African consulent the greatly clear that South African is embaldened by the electric of combant of Romald Reagan, the US veto, and the Magan, the US veto, and the Magan and US. Assistant Secretary of South Africa's millicans that South Africa's millicans that South Africa's millicans that South Africa's millicans on Angola, with full US Africa will continue, as will at tack on Angola, with full US cooperation. The desire of the United States to get equick, cosmetic settlement basically gives South Africa cartie through the Linder State to get a quick, sometic settlement Decements, Covert Accounted Contact Group. "Crocker memorandum of Percoranment Documents," Covert Accounted Group. "Crocker in the Contact Group." (Crocker in the State to get a quick, parties, writing a constitution and then selling it through the memorandum of Percoranment Documents," Covert Act on Information Bulletin #13, laly Aug. 1981; p. 309

The real issue, of course, is South Africa's millicans and the Africa's millicans of the South Africa's millicans of t the scale the sheer scope of the struggle undellary within south Africa itself. This is the real significance of the wor in Namibia and the investor of Angola: It is an aspect of the struggle to overturn the hard spartheid system of white and growing desperation of the proper of the underlying weakness and growing desperation of the European dominion in South Africa, the underlying weakness and growing desperation of the European dominion in South Africa dates back to 1682, when the Dutch haval skinton growing on Dutch colony of turners, when the Dutch haval skinton growing to European dominion in Southwest bounds as the structure of the South Africa Alexes from Southwest back skienes from Southwest back skienes from Southwest back skienes from Southwest the Napoleonic wars. The abolition of sleavely in 1885, caused sevent hundred Boses to rek out of the Colony, and establish set attements in the high vedit. The Boar Kephilos of the Transvail and the others of the sease of the south Africa which is part of the Colony, and establish settlements in the high vedit. The Boar Kephilos of the Transvail and the others of the South Africa which the security of the South Africa which these computes of the land, and the enablement of the South Africa has overthrown the head and the enablement of the South Africa has overthrown the back and "coloned" of the South Africa which these computes of the land, and the enablement of the South Africa has been from of apartheid — the hard of system which reserve the best both as structured system which reserve the best both as structured system which reserve the best both as structured system which reserve the second to the structure of the second to the conduction of the conduction of the structure of the second to the structure of the second to the structure of the second to structure of the se

was stolen, or their heirs; the vilesystem known as parthed must be smalled, and white minority rule must come to an end in South Africa.

Namitha, too, has a long the group and coloralism. The hands of European coloralism. The brushlity of Southwest Africa's pre-World War I German overcode provoked several native reballons. The Herero tribe rose up. in 1994, only to be ruthlessly crushed? A long series of native insurrections, which were spaties by bitter rectail antagonism, were all tracking and the series of native insurrections, which were spaties by bitter rectail antagonism, were all the series of their German producessors—but were, as historian Parker. Thony writes, some first on the matters, "Because the whites complained that there were too many hunting dogs killing game, the British took over the produces of the first log, ten pounds for fire first log, ten pounds for fire dogs, Many of the natives, wend to one of 100 members of the series of the series of the control of the natives would have to work for white randers and mine owners."

The Bondelawards rose up against the colonal administration in 1921 levied a dog tax to pay a fire of two pounds or spend two weeks in in large haven't so one upstrain the colonal administration, in 1922 Things haven't changed all that much in Namitha what Parker T. Moon describes in Imperation and words which what hashed or describes in Imperation and words work for which series in Imperation and words be that we that work of which what he history of the law works and fines in Imperation and words be history of the history of

Bechanas were towering destacles to British imperalism in the region. The Bushmen, too, were intracable, after force opposition, they were driven into the degen towth of Capie Colony. Today, they face virtual extinction.

But the struggle continues, Although Dutch, British and German imperalism have long since declined, their colonial legacy laves on in Pretoria.

But the struggle continues, Although Dutch, British and alone against the world, as much as the hardline descendants of the Bores like to think they can ratched the segons into the sound of the Bores like to think they can ratched the segons and to the segons and to the segons and to the segons and the segons are the segons and the segons and the segons are the segons and the segons are segons of the burst and segons are the segons and the segons are segons as a segons are segons as a seg

ISSouth Africa Axis
The US ultrowed South Ax
Tric aurplies to come from an
administration with officially
differentiates between autheritation and totalization regenes - with the former being
desirable - we should expect
mothing better.
The most frightnening aspect
of Reagan's alliance with apartheid is the likelihood of South
Africa obtaining a source of enriched uranium. The nuclear
closession of the Nationalist regene in Perotine - as a final
solution to the rising tide of rebellion — is well-known: the
South Africans have been trying to build atomic weapons
for years. The recent expulsion
of US agents from South Africa
who were allegedly attempting to photograph South Africa
is nuclear facilities — is only
a hart of the developing crisis.
The text of Cocker —

Another aspect of Washingtor's growing links to Preteria is the possibility of a South Adlantic Alliance, which would indicate which would include South Africa. Argentina, Brazil and Chile would include South Africa Argentina, Brazil and Chile the recent visit of top South Links and Chile the recent visit of top South Africa Argentina, Brazil and Chile the recent visit of the South Africa Hornary and Chile the recent visit of the South Africa which was the send as a south Africa which was the South Africa when the South Af

protest



A REICCRAT to Committan Unparty President William A McDenald for maladrottress at least in discussing gay rights in McDenald for maladrottress at least in discussing gay right is main interview entitled "Why the Unparty" McDenald raigness that a major reason for founding the Unparty was the prominence of homosexuals in the leadership of the LP of Canada and the LP active defense of particular that the LP active defense of homosexuals has most Canadians think libertarianism is a synomy for gay rights. McDenald maintains in the subject. McDenald maintains that audiences hey radar has the averyone think Demonsexual is "diversability." McDenald calains that everyone think David Wolans' "Libersign" (a McDenald calains that everyone think David Wolans' "Libersign" (a McDenald calains that everyone think David Wolans' "Libersign" (a McDenald calains that everyone think David Wolans' "Libersign" (a Wolans' "Liber

Nathan for her position on Sheldon Richmans, "bad on Sheldon Richmans," bad on on "theory of the sate. Nathan believes that to question the waiting of the sate is to "generate the cancers for millions who willingly find our government, believing it offers the best hope of security..." and have been supposed to the sate in the best hope of security..." and have been supposed to the sate of the sate o A BRICKBAT to Tonie nan for her position on the Richman's "bad on-

th: Roy Childs's claim in the mail solicitation the te "takes a firm stand for trian principle."

month: Roy Child's claim in a recent mail solicitation that Update "takes aftm stand for libertaina principle."

A BOUQUET to Jule Herbert for urging that hwashington, D.C. tuition tax-credit initiative make vigorous, public uses of power elite analysis in expaning to the answer and a why things to the areas model with the proposing the initiative. A BRICKRAT is organizer Chuck Place for refusing to take up the analysis of the areas was proposing the initiative. A BRICKRAT to label Herbert for having told Libertarians over the years that when the control of the proposing the part for having told Libertarians over the years that when the proposing the part of having told Libertarians over the years that the cram mediatine stepled from the case of the part of the proposing that the proposing the state's accialized and mental hospital systems, opposing tax cuts for farmers, and asting up a special enforcement unit to crack down on commercial its public school and mental hospital systems, opposing tax cuts for farmers, and asting up a special enforcement unit to crack down on commercial its public school and mental hospital systems, opposing tax cuts for farmers, and asting up a special enforcement unit to crack down on commercial its public school and mental hospital systems, opposing tax cuts for farmers, and habmanas astonid have been spured.

• A BOUQUET to Stwesside with other liberturians and twenty goods.

say no. There is no prantical way to spray a checkerboard pattern all over the country, avoiding property where there is no first. Therefore anyone who would block the spraying so first. Therefore anyone who would block the spraying on grounds hat his yard has no fruit would be looped trial the service of the service of

largest antiver, antidarf demonstration in over decade in that part of California, Protesting against those speaking at a day-long forum on defense and military issues sponsored by the World Affairs Council, about 100 demonstrators picketed for over two hours in downtown Riverside. Local inferturians have also pinned the council of th

There's no distinctly to organize unlibertarian way libertarian or

beyond, of course,

aggression abstaining from

(January 1982) article entitled "Is this LP Like a Government?" Hansan is promptly 
critical of these who attemptly 
critical of these who attemptly 
manulyze the structure of the 
nanulyze the structure of the 
party and other movement 
consistents in terms of liberatian principals, lastes there's no 
distinctly libertarian way to 
live one's life, there's no 
distinctive the 
the constitution or unliberatian way to organize—beyond 
of course, abstaining from agorseition.

e. A. BRICKBAT to Alaska membership chair tydis Randophi for criticizing by landophi for criticizing the same and the stage of the LPs. Texas, the radical issue-criented newspaper of the Texas Libertarian Party, has, we are saft or sport, been almost completely cut out of the budget by the party leadership, to whom we therefore award a BRICKBAT. In an ideological dispute with editor with dittor Michael Grossberg over the gradualists and antiradicals got the voites and cone of the party of the production of the best organs of principled libertarian analysis get the shaft.

• Butter Jeff Fradman left with an and his staff put to gether two most amazing is:

suss of Liberty, the "violee of Students for altherstand Social energy." They were septically notable for their outrogeously seaturian use of the organ of a broad-based organization. Friedman sind Milton Mauler repeatedly attacked the Radical Perhaps most amazing was a broat review of Peter Breggin's Archive the Friedman reved on about the Friedman reved on about the Friedman reved on about the RC, about Museller's and aboly six of "culture," and aboly may be about the last through the six of the purgetphs. Though to have after him a well-deserved BECKBAT.

Make that two BECKBAT's We understand that Fredman, who while he was SLS Nethank Cod, we take the results and the six of office—saying that the national office of SLS is irrelevant," see a Bellow of the six of the same when he is out of office—saying that the national office of SLS is irrelevant, so the same six of the same

• A BRICKS AT to Lance Laborator Color the Color to the C

which they contend that draft resistance now is "remaiture" and the draft should not be that to the general issue of foreign and the draft should not be that to the general issue of foreign policy; and "Self Trichents to the Soviets' What Embargoes the Soviets' What Embargoes on produce shamed concrive tractions of the Soviets' What Embargoes on Products as before the Soviets' What Embargoes on Products as before the Soviets' What Embargoes on Products as the Soviets' What Embargoes on Products as the Soviets' What Embargoes on Products as the Soviets' What I was the Soviets' What I was a solid that U.S. embargoes on produced by feeting a severament is solid to the Soviets' What I was a solid with a sague that U.S. embargoes on Products as the Soviets' What I was the Soviets' What I was a solid what I was the Soviets' What I was a solid what I was the Soviets' What I was the Soviet

Continued from page 1) precious time planning a united front campaign to defend the Polish Revolution, these secturines spent the better part of an hour and a half dealning which we remain the polish Revolution, the section of the property of the propert

could have a spacker, that the December 16 rally would flop — in spite of pleas from sane leftists calling for a broad-based united front — these who remained decided to organize their activities around their own narrow concerns.

On December 16, 300 people showed up at the special part of the special par

Solventor.

The Polish people are on strike. They are on strike against evaluate them to gainst a pystem which cannot find the speake, atthest when a lay or spiritually. They are on strike against the comopit that life is sateffice. They are on strike against the victious idea that man must live for the sake of the stale.

In the shadow of the Kremlin the people of Poland have conducted a brave and prolonged struggle to brook the chains that bind them. Every obstacle, every delay, every diversion has been med by a people united against a common ensemy. The Red Army and the vile system its erres And now the final struggle has come. Today, Poland stands on the brink of revolution. It is only a matter of time before the shock of the communist crackdown wears off. It is only a matter of time before the growth of the system.

hours before the people begin to fight back.

The communist regime has instituted the death penalty as punishment for those who refuse to work. What rould be a punishment for work what roude a fixed penalty of the pe

But how is such bravery pos-sible? How is it hat millions of people have been brought to the point where they refuse to work? How is it that millions would rather face Soviet tanks than live another day in the so-called "worker's paradise."? As the death-knell of Marxism is heard from one end of Poland to the other. the failure of the so-called market was no long the dentity of the failure of the be dentied. The failure of the be dentied out as an at-tumpt to reform the system is a tumpt to reform the system is and the proposed of the system is an at-tumpt to reform the system is an at-tumpt to reform the system is an at-

First and foremost, it is a revolution based on the idea of self-connection. It is a revolt against the creed which such a respective of the self-connection of

musis government.

This fight for the right of self-covered by the right of the right o

This hard-shiting, libertu-rian analysis of the Folish Re-volution was greeted with load choest by handreds of Polish-Americans and other suppor-ners of Solidarity assembled in UN Plaza Duri Indestreamalysis socialism and the Codd War rhetoric of the AFI-CIO bureaucrats — could not have received a better reception.

(CIC) is organized to fight this mensee. We are open to gay & non-gay libertarians who are concerned about the natural rights of gay & lesbians. We publish a monthly newsletter called the "No-Name Newsletter Annual dues are \$5 a subscription to our newsletter also costs \$5.00. For more information write:

POB 6175 Salt Lake City,

UT 84106

Many people cruceded around our literature table back issues of *Chieratorian* Vangurof featuring articles on the Polish weets proved to be especially popular, along with copies of our leaflet Polish and a first enough. Not more than that of the control of the provided up their bands of the rowed the control of the cont



HOW BIG IS "BIG BROTHER" when "he" can dictate the sexual choices of the American people? Gay men & lesbian women are often singled out for special harasment by the government due to our sexual orientation. Sodomy laws, vice squads the IRS, & the military police are among the many tools government has at the IRS, & the military police are money the forth is country. Gays are often denied basic notice protection when attacked—while police departments spend millions on "entrapment" procedures.

CONCERNS

GAY & LESBIA

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#### Jeath--knel

reymulated by femry kissing-er's office during the Nixon years, as Steel says, "Its central promise was that the interests of both sides could best be served by respecting the integ-rity of their spheres of influ-ment in Europe." And is so our better of Europe is, for the forescale feture, and the com-plementary interests of the superpowers." For the libra-tion of Poland and perhaps other Societ satellites would put the resultation of Ger-many, these triumps of the Eurocautalism and quite pass. Behind the rhetorical gar-bage spewed forth by every Western leader is this poison ous cynicism. Behind the ritual denunciations and "sanctions," and authored by Western leaders is the Sonnenfeld Doctrine. Formulated by Henry Kissing-er's office during the Nixon years, as Steel says, "its central Revolution
The death keal of socialism is sounding from one end of Poland to the other. Reformist elements within the Solidarity leadership have been overwheimed by the logic of events and the nature of the struggle itself. In Foland today, even the demand for rull is formach's, in itself, as a nadiciment of the socialist system and the "plantang" economy, us even that for this momentum on take a political spectrum to take a

altar of the Cold

themselves into thinking that the Polish people are lighting for something called "democratic socialism." But if the Polish have learned anything it is that such a creature is impossible contradiction in terms. When the State owns the means of production the rise of a bureaucratic elliet, the rise of the New Class, is inevitable. It is the power of that New Class are which, alone, is defending the bloody legacy of Polish socialism — which is being shaken to its very foundations in Poland doday; along with the nationalized property forms which make New Class rule president in the New Class rule in the New Class in the New Class in the New Class rule president in the New Class rule president in the New Class rule in the New Class rule in the New Class rule at 10 is Reliated charges in the New Class rule i



months, thus indicing by im-plication those modernies who wanted Solidarity to travel down the road to efform before the military coup made it clear that revolution is the only route. Addressing himself to the families of "smudered workers," he expressed hope that their "path and grief" and its killed for advocating individual rights. Turning to the families of those detained. Biglis still be believes "that out its



shly the and of the NATO al-liance on Europe's political agenda.

Reagan's phony economic sencions quints Poland and the Soviet Ition are just so much Cold War bluster: West-ern bankers have werything to gain from martial law in Po-land, and nothing to lose. It is they who have been financing Polish socialism for many years, and it is they who will ultimady decidente fate of the Pilsh economy. The measures aken by the United States will as

sand which underscores the political bankurpty of both the right and the left.

On the right we have Ronald Ragan and the pro-war crowd belowing about the "Soviet theat," tiching to spend their \$1.5 billion military budget—theat," tiching to spend their \$1.5 billion military budget—while the political reality of the socialist ober in crists is plain to all the world to see.

On the other hand we have the US-left—divided, demonshed and so despends to redeem a thoroughly discredient of the socialist of the properties of sociality to the socialist of the properties of sociality in the impotence of isolation and growing discredients of the fact of the facts, leftiss from the content freedom—in spite of the facts, leftiss from the Gurdian to in Tirese Times of the Socialism of the growth of the plate of the facts, leftiss from the Gurdian to in Tirese Times claim Solidarity is their own. Many leftiss point to \$6 called "workers self-called self-

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are applianting their own polli-ical demise. They should know that what they are witnessing is not the "democratization" of Polish socialism — but the final verdict of history regard-ing the socialist appriment, the death-agony of the idea that man must live for the sake of the State. The Polish upsurge is the first ray of hope to emerge out of the total tieran darkness. Whether that light will burn brighter or be smilled out de-pend on how well a trans-temed Solidary has learned the lessers of the past few against a wall as on the con-against a wall as on the con-

of your suffering will come a Poland without prisons and in-ternment camps, a Poland without police round-ups and constant feet. Then he went for the jugular he said he hopes solders and officers of the Polish Army and the police would

ilian to the voice of their con-science before that of their or-ders. I hope you all remember that first you are human beings and bries and only season the should allow themselves to be should allow themselves to be used for fretrictie, when you have to pay the highest price. I lead with the time will come when your own orderly when instead of being tools in the hands of the criminal authorities waging a war against the nation, you will become its real defenders.

Let the architects of "Realpolitik" in the West and their
counterparts in the Kremilia
tremble before the power of a
mation awakened. The brave
battle of the Polish poople will
serve as a shining example to
all those yearning to threw off
the Communist voke. The declaration issued by Solidarity to
the Communist to the The
declaration issued by Essivant
to the people put Essivant
tion on the agenda throughout
the socialist bloc. This is the
best the Polish peoplecan work
and hope for — so that the
counted from Warsaw to Sofia
to Moscow itself:

Reformi



Lech Walesa

Thus the bitter truth begins Thus the bitter truth begins to dawn on the Polish people: even as the reformists in the Solidarity leadership were spreading illusions about a union/Church/PUWP "coali-

According to a draft proposed the referendum would designer that "society cannot my leiger toleract the existing situation in the country," and would raise a present far you for establishing a temporary government and free electrons?

Any you for establishing a temporary government and free electrons?

Any you for providing milliparts that the providing milliparts that the providence of the Soviet Union in Folials United Workers Party be the instrument of earth guarantees in the name of the whole society?

This localization of independence was apparently and attempt by the Solidarity leader-ship to head of the Communist crackdown they knew was coming, And herein lies the roast important lesson of the Polish Recolution; the mythodogy of "gradualism" and reform was exploded The revolution that the Communist crackdown was prayed fair in the Allian government with the PUWP — settles the internal strategic debate within Solidarity once and for fall.
Whatever Walesa's fife, the Polish revolution has bypassed the reformation contributions with the PUWP — settles the internal charity once and for fall.
Whatever Walesa's fife, the Polish revolution has bypassed the reformation stratums. Whatever Pullscains strategic dozerom-

union activities, a strict curfiew, an a dict coloiding all
public gatherings and requiring permits for private meatings—the imposition of these
measures had been in the
works all along. In response,
Sailadrity called a nationwide
strike — and reports indicate
that the people of Folanda are
therefore a strict of the people of Folanda
the people of Folanda are
therefore a strict of the people of Folanda
throse who are tooking for
some sort of demantic Russian
invasion are apt to be sorely
disappointed — the invasion
invasion are apt to be sorely
disappointed — the invasion
took place long ago, when Stelin awallowed up to Bastern
Europe.

Everything hinges on the
guestion: will fire Polish army
fight if East Germans and
Cochs cross the bonder—and.
For on what stiff rested—a
Took whill invasible to the
Polish army toops to fire on
Polish wall for a vital
part of Solidarity is preparation
tor the final offensive. Only
time will fell whether this essantial task was undertaken too
late. Will invasible do what he
pedgad he d never do—order
Polish Army tropps to fire on
Polish workers?

Up until now, the Polish
envirolem of the Russian KCB
special units, unaboring
units of dity
has witce been extended—fire
on their own people?

The answer to this question
may be well-known very soon.
Reports and numes emanating

Continued from page 1)
First Gall, it's still winter
in this part of the world not an
ampticipat time to harnch an
invasion, (Look what happened to Napoleon not to mention. Hitler; although these
would-be conquered; were
coming from the other direction, the lesson still holds true, by
the lesson still holds true,
This, of course, is why solidarthris, of course, is why solidarthris,

themse; for and definance. Fac-tory occupations, street de-monstrations — and "falian" strikes, where workers menely pretend to work, deliberately sabotaging production — con-tune in all parts of Poland.

But Jaruzalish and Cam-munist hardlines are willing to go to any lengths to redain munist hardlines are willing to go to any lengths to redain power. While they raid at their own people for "broading," as faw potatoes, the Yed Jurna is deliberately witholding food from the people; (50 much for the proper of the people; (50 much for the proper of the people; (50 much for the people; (5

Countryside.

If hardline elements within the PUWP consolidate their had over the party and converted the property and converted the military that such steps are all necessary such a steps are all necessary such a sequence. At the Possants sequences, As the Possants in military uniform and defending the basic values of our nation. But if these possant's some or ordered to free on their own relatives, on people who have werything in common with themselves.

Because so many illustons that bean spread by the reformant leadership of Waless & Ca. Solidarity was unreparred for the savage Communist counteratteet. Deluded by the solidarity organization continues a clandestine existence against overwhelming odds.
How is it that the Poles have so far resisted the best efforts of the PUWP, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the Roagan administration and Solidarity "underease" like Walesa to negotiate a so-taled "political solution". Under enormous pressure to apartialstix our pressure to jarnatistix or or pressure to jarnatistix or or paradical anti-sattism. In response to jarnatistix or or paradical materials of the properties of the pr



ng to Solidarity i Marek Brunne, are authentic. They

facts we'll do our work and wait." But even Walsas had to concede a some fundamental points. The confrontation is unavoidable." Walsas said. We have to awaken people to that. I wanted to reach the confrontation in a natural way, when almost all social groups were with us. But I made a missiake because I thought we could keep it up longer and then we would keep it up longer and then was not contails is a reference to local and national legistics and so on." ("These parliaments and conneils is a reference to local and national legistics and so work with Valesa." If you make a step back, "Warsaw region deputy chairman sower way havorsk said." I will cut your head off, And if don't do and the state of the Solidarity windows and the someone dae will.

The Polish phenomenon has always read alhead of the Solidarity windows and thout advance approval from Solidarity's national suddership—and control is sufficiently a factors without advance approval from Solidarity's national suddership—and control is sufficiently and the sufficient was not control and control in the strikes now young on in Poland legis as wilden the sufficient was without advance approval from Solidarity's national suddership—and control is sufficiently and the sufficient was sufficiently and suffici

Sources from Warsaw radio to UP (describe them needing as a showdown between the militant and satissacinist fraction—Warsaw SolidarifyRulawski Katal Solidariy—and Lech Warsaw Solidarify leader Lech Walesa, who trist to be a modern adicial and milliants demanding discrete action and confrontation had already come—the storming of the fire cadet cardemy, the confrontation with the government." Of a stake han. According to the New York Times, Walesis contribution to the discussion consisted of a saserting that Solidarity should not say "atout that confrontation is therethishe, but should say. We love you, we love socialism and the party ward of course, the Sovied Union, and by the accomplished ton.

Solidarly moves. Walesa was off on a trip to France, basking to the Western spotlight. Meanwhile, in his absence, Solidarly's national commission was treading the path of reform and reconciliation first pioneered by Walesa himself in response to the first hints of the coming crackdown the national commission called for a two-month mentionium on all strikes and demonstriktions.

By the time Walesa could get



Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski

Vanguard

#### eath P

Continued from page 5)
on the night light to Warsaw,
workers were on strike in 28
out of 49 Polish provinces—
and the Polish Revolution had
begun.

This entire phase of the revolutionary process in Poland
is characterized and colored by
the Cotlank, congress gathoring—at which time a plattering—at which time a platterwes adopted and officials were
democratically elected.

Some indication of the precrackdown factional line-up
within Solidarity was revealed
by the election for chairman.
Aside from Walsas, three other
candidates—all of them more
tradical than the leading, contradical than the leading, contradical than congress by suggesting that the limitations imposed by the Warsaw Pact were
incolorable: Solidarity, said
Rulewski, had had back the
movement in response to "the
review fution.

"We've gone hardwords," asserting that the leadership had
failed to effectively prodest renewed censorship and increase
ing arrests of radical Solidarity

18.0

All these groups supported the established order, and did their best to keep hes Solidarity movement well within the confines of the socialist system. But they were pushed forward by fear of losing their mass base of the socialist system. But they were pushed forward by fear of losing their mass base by the Communist regime. All they the Communist facists in a pre-Communist facists in

a motion deleting all mention of the word socialism from the final drait of Solidarity's plat-form.

As described by Abraham Brumberg in the November 25, 1981 New Republic, the Sol-idarity program is one of mixed economy syndicism guided by indicative planning:

The program's vision of the future of Foliad: segitiarism, and demoratic — is accompanied by a well thought-out plant for rectourity reductive, and formeratic — is accompanied by a well thought-out plant for rectourity reductive, and in repeated to rectourity reductive, and in plant of the control and implemented not by party bureaucratish into "party discount of the control and first plant of the control and the control

This is known as administering the accounty frought a 50 mm of command distribution. In such a situation, individual enterprises do not have any freedom in the determination of the production plan or in the choice of methods, thereby setting to the making of unstring to the making of unstring, the contemplant of the

Although no significant persons or groups were alling applicitly for privateation of howy industry in really suddiffy members generally application of the properties of the p

But the most demantic change — even mort sudden than the radical transformation of Solidarity — was the rise of General Wojciech Jaruzski, When Kania was deposed by hardliners of the PUWP Contral Committee, jaruzski took his place, idealy Frimo Minister, as well as Minister of Defenses, this concentration of power in jaruzski is justice to the construction of power in jaruzski is justice, as well as Minister of Defenses, as well as Minister for the construction of power in jaruzski is a trapeated to the construction of power in jaruzski is of the construction of the contract of the c

Librania, ithe Uksaine and Budernassia. Plindiski at tacked the Storiet Union and sont the Red Army rending But the Red Stains regrouped, countered the Red Army was at the gates of Warasaw. It was then that the "mine deep in the Pelish army, led by Piliah army, led

count of the Katowice riot I lished in the New York Ti throws some light on a ra murky incident:

"(sey it was all propared" said a young man, about 17 years old for my my about 17 years old for group of firmth years old for groups and the material front of the Wyspianskii Theater on Market Square as friend who will be the said the police were brought in days ago," the young man said "These things" don't just happen." "His friends nodded, [100 2281]

Propared — why whon? And for what purpos?

The suspicious of these anneymous young people seem to be borne out by the facts. It is more han curious that the regime was arresting people for distributing photographs of Plisatski in October — and honoring the old dictator no more than two months later. It is no accident that less than '24 hours after the Kitowice incident, admonstituding the tention of several selfactive in Worksow — providently the policy of the Salvarian than the company of the Salvarian that the work of the several selfactive in Worksow — providently the policy activities with those of Solidarity — harvasski took full advantage of the Katowice precedent.

In addition to photos of Pillsuches and other KPN litera-

View From Washington

US policy analysis see openrebellion behind the fron Curtain as doomed from the start,
in the end, the United States is
boping that a "systemment of
autional reconciliation" will
recoup Western bankers investiments — and perhaps even
vestiments — and perhaps even
some univer metric vestiments — and perhaps even
some univer metric vestiments — and
tiper metric vestiments — and
tiper metric vestiments
by members of the American
financial community over enported in the news media in
late December . On December
18, the Woll Street Journal
printed an interview with trularg Gressol, are analyst with
Beats, Stearn's & Oo, Gressell

Roman Catholic Church, which has worked out a mories vive and with Warsaw and fears a crackfown on its activities are crackfown on the activities are crackfown on the activities the proper of the company of the compa

tied States long ago consigned Eastern Europe to the Soviet "sphere of influence"—in exchanging for Soviet de factor necessary for the Soviet Factor of US interests in other areas, (The rehotoric of "collack" has nothing to do with indigenous revolutionary movements behind the Iron Caritan. The advocates of Ternard Tollack, the most fermand within the US Soviet leafon with the United States and the Soviet Union — with the United States and the Soviet Union — with the United States and the Soviet Union — with the United States and the Soviet Union — with the United States and the Soviet Union — with the United States and the Soviet Union — with the United States and the Soviet Union and comment. Any force not controlled from Washington is looked upon with the utment suspicion. At the tument except and menghing the Soviet US State Dapartment urgaed, in the words of Aucander Haig, a policy of "cooperation, conciliation and compromise" upon Solidarity.

One currious aspect of US rat, in the words of Aucander Haig, a policy of "cooperation, conciliation and compromise" upon Solidarity.

One currious aspect of US rat, in geller reaction of juncariski's crackdown amounts to a moral inversion, summed up in a Newsweek article and Newsweek article and Newsweek at Earopan Correspondent, withes

dition to being dangerously unpragnante, the deeper for its dependence is "bordering on arragance"!

Now all of this sounds familiar. Polish journalists — in military uniform — say the same thing on the state—controlled media evy day.

And Stanglin contradicts have deeper controlled media evy day.

And Stanglin contradicts with a same thing on the state—controlled media evy day.

And Stanglin contradicts with a same thing on the state of the media of the same thing of the same thing of the same thing of the same thing the same thing the same than the same through thro



activists. Marian Jurzyk a Szczeńn worehouse managen made his own pitch on the basis of criticizing Walesa's "dicatorial" methods.

Walesa polled 53% of the voc. With three other candidates dividing up the rest, lurzyk led his puck, Gwiazda traised not les behind and Maswisk polled 6%. Bean and his appears was to red in militaris and enter a "government of national second" led by the ptupe of the military. This power-sharing scheme has been in the works for a while the ptupe of the military. This power-sharing scheme has been in the works for a while what Walesa wants is a tripartic oscillation government consisting of the Church, the Sinte, and the reformist national commission of Solitarity. The amounts of the Ptupe Junsais of the Ptupe Junsais of the Ptupe Junsais of preserving, the mythical second for the military. The military and the reformatic and the reformatic and the proper leading the military. The militarity is a party backed by the military. The militarity as new, all-inclusive party backed by the military. The military is a content of the condition mentors — the abey-main of the purple of the condition of the condition of the only Catholic daily. Slowe Powacchinely, and the crackdown. Pay qubb lisher of the only Catholic daily. Slowe Powacchinely, and the condition and Social Sudisc Carrel, and the

Yet another Catholic political grouping, the integredant Catholic Appropring the integredant Catholic Novement, takes a somewhat more radical states a somewhat more radical states as the control of the Catholic Novement, Typodrilk Powerchty, the Catholic Intelligential Clubs (RIR), and the Catholic monthlies Zook and Wiesz. Like the Pax/ODISS/PXFS faction, the independents were eager to enter a tripartite coalition government, provided they got their piece of the piec. Unlike their piece of the piece of the piece of the piece of the piece of their piece.

Jacek Kuron and what used to be the combined of the same straight vision and the same straight with preserving the satus of the Chart-ta being 'above polities.' Kuron and his social demonstratic friends are concerned mainly with preserving and the social straight would be considered the combined of th

by compensatory provisions for the neety, and are "accepted by the Union through a referen-dum."

It urges the government to seek "foreign aid" and "rejoin the International Monetary Fund."

The state of the s

The demand for "covekers self-management" is a partial concression to the market economy. This demand, in the context of a socialist economy. This demand, in the context of a socialist economy, is a significant plut in itself insufficiation of society. This sufficiant sept toward the destatification of society. This sufficiently syndicalist irrard could be a poline that for the social supporting syndicalist irrard discovery of the free market economy. Essentially, the call discovery of the social self-with in some passages sounds like Missea and they self-with in some passages sounds like Missea of the recommic calculation debate of the 120s and 130s.

were expression of the popular will ran into the initiations of the socialist system. It was only a matter of time before radical anti-statists put themselves at the head of a mass movement to overthrow the Communist Yanus, which is a strong of the control of t

came to power. This attempt to hide the red banner behind the Polish flag was also a ploy to link the new military regime to an older military heritage. As the New York Times said:

Indirectly, today's event also honored the memory of Mashal lozer Plautski, the nationalist military leader who led Poland to independence in 1918 and headed an authoritarian military regime from 1926 until his death in 1935.

Like Mussellin, Pilaudoki subag from socialism to fast an una fith Left — supported by a man of the Left — supported by the Polish Socialist Party IPPS] and the Communists — Pilaudoki vanud up in the facets camp. Pilaudoki y party, the probase of Polish autonalism Eventually, the PFS-Left over the question of Polish autonalism Eventually, the PFS-Left over the PFS-Left over the property of the PFS-Left over the PFS-Left over the property of the Polish Socialist Party worked into a deep control to the Polish Socialist Party worked into a local variation on Italian fascist and German National Socialist and Socialist Party worked into a mysioned by his entitability of the Polish Socialist Party worked into a mysioned by his entithile alies in 1917. Released in 1918. Pellaudoki was plaudoki vanudoki plaudoki plaudo

late in 1830 Plistudski mowed to dissolve the Som arresting and terturing his social democratic opporents—and against levil and the Calmbic hierarchy by intituting a campaign against levils merchants. Plaudski himself did not push anti-Sentitism—but his followers, sepacially after his deeth, were and are smong the most virulation of the control of t

Two dramas are taking pilace in Foland today.

The first is the apparent denouncer of Solidarity is 
struggle against an autocratic, 
aroungerous, and corrept construggle against an autocratic, 
aroungerous, and corrept condeavor, tinged with syndicalism and annerhism, has 
touched the hearts of people 
werywhere.

The second drama involves 
the stability of the European 
rounaric story, it concerns a subsordid matters as of alpionascy, 
and intermetational fitfilance, and intermentational fitannee.

The terrible truth about the 
Solidarity movement is that citminer in the ambitions. Not the intermittenal bankers, who are holdmig 827 billion in 10 U 's from

the Foliah Government. Not the

ture, the Katowice vendors were also distilbuting photos of slain Polisis officers shall be stated by the state of the sta minimal diluit the crackdown by the Polish milliur van lakou unrest may will decrose the chance of the Polish government defaulting on its loans to western banks.

"If the Polish government is successful in gaining better control, or if the Russians take own; it will be unfortunate for the Polish poople, but the loans to the Polish poople, but the loans will be paid off. said Gescol. If the Polish poople, but the loans will be paid off. said Gescol. Will be paid off. said off. said Gescol. Will be paid off. said I his said Gescol. Will be paid off. said off. said off. said off. Said Gescol. Will be paid off. said his said Gescol. Said Gescol. Will be said Gescol. Said Gescol. Washington, because Roand to Washington, because Roand to Said Gescol. The line said off behavior. In the interests of an imperial strong polish of sists with American banks for the paid of sists with American banks form their Washington, because Roand to American banks form their Washington, because of February 1 to bail out the American banks form their Washington, because of February 1 to bail out the American banks form their washington procured to the American banks form their washington procu

These "sphershinded" obsome to domain types of
authy of the same US railing
class circles who brought us
'Alla, where the superpowers
redivided the world after
redivided the world after
world War II (see Gabriel Kolko, Limits of Power, chapter
41). Apparently these observers are so sober-mided that they
cannot even conceive the
Polish people might reseat
their datalities of the source of the
her backlitering writes and
tredulation in the medial
tredulation is what source. This is what
Sanglin means when he refers
to Solidarity's "dangerous lack
of prognatism" indeed, in ad-The PUWP itself is split into several warring facts as priority and the production of the PUWP is now a rather moot point — since the party has virtually ceased to exist. One should bear in mind that the PUWP is now a rather moot point — since the party has virtually ceased to exist. One should bear in mind that the proper of the PUWP was ending, then they were absolutely corner. Their only error was assuming that Solidarity beaters saw that the prover of the PUWP was ending, then they were absolutely corner. Their only error was assuming that Solidarity would necessarily move into a power vacuum unopposed.

The military luriar represents the most of the Publish union of the Solidarity would necessarily move into a power vacuum unopposed.

The military luriar represents the publish union of the Solidarity would necessary that the publish the military and secrete police as well as a vicious anti-Semitist little speving forth from Polards militarzed mass and secrete police as well as a vicious anti-Semitist little speving forth from Polards militarzed mass media is assuming Hudlands and the subsider in the end of the Publish militarzed mass media is assuming Hudlands and the subsider in the end of the Red Hustelds. Publish military discussion in the end of the Red Hustelds in the end of the Red Husteld in the end of the Red Hustelds in the end