



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of International Relations

Peace And Conflict Studies Master's Programme

**ON GENE SHARP, NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE, AND POWER: WHAT DO
MURRAY ROTHBARD AND HUGO CHAVEZ HAVE IN COMMON?**

Nathan Lewis Lawrence

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2014

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ABSTRACT

LAWRENCE, Nathan. On the Mythologies and Ethics of Non-violence: What Do Murray Rothbard and Hugo Chavez Have in Common? Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2014.

This thesis analyzes the relationship between political ideology, power, and non-violent struggle as portrayed by the American thinker Gene Sharp. The means of this analysis is a comparison and contrast between libertarian and socialist critiques of his work for the purpose of discovering reoccurring themes. More specifically, it compares an anarcho-libertarian dialogue from the early 1980s to socialist literature in the late 2000s. It's concludes that the fault line in both conversations is the tension between Leninist strategic theory and the Progressive Substitutionary theory of non-violence.

Key Words: Non-violence, Gene Sharp, libertarianism, Murray Rothbard, Hugo Chavez, Leftism, anarchism, anarcho-capitalism, Carl Watner, Leninism, Thierry Meyssan, and Progressive Substitution.

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INTRODUCTION

Non-violence is a collection of several theories that seek to provide solutions to conflict (the presence of two or more seemingly incompatible goals) that do not result or use bodily harm or any other obvious manifestation of violence. Non-violent struggle is the practice of accomplishing political goals via the withdrawal of cooperation with an institution. The two main articulations of it are Ethical Non-violence, which proposes that the basis for non-violence is a personal commitment to peace or a system of morality, and Strategic Non-violence, which proposes that non-violent strategies are more effective than violent ones and therefore they are the best means to achieve a political end; there is no necessary connection between the strategy and a personal belief in non-violence as a life style in this view. These two perspectives are not mutually exclusive, one could believe in non-violent struggle as a personal life style and for its strategic merits, but both require the use of specific actions. Just as the stuff of war is individual battles, the stuff of non-violent struggle is the individual application of protest tactics. Strikes, economic sanctions, non-cooperation, and persuasion are all individual actions that make up the elements of a non-violent struggle.

In modern scholarship, Dr. Gene Sharp, a three-time Nobel Peace Prize nominee who currently resides in East Boston, Massachusetts, is a leading academic in the study of non-violent struggle. He was born in 1928 in North Baltimore, Ohio and received his education from Ohio State University and at Oxford University. His books pushed a vision that changed the landscape of strategic theory altogether; non-violence, he claimed, is a pragmatic and feasible option even outside the context of a free democratic society. Furthermore, he theorized that non-violence was more efficacious than its violent counter-part; thus it would progressively begin replace it. While teaching at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, he founded the Albert Einstein Institution; an organization whose goal it was to advance the study and strategic use of nonviolent action in conflict. His most notable books include but are not limited to *How Nonviolent Struggle Works*, *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, and *Self-Liberation: A Guide to Strategic Planning to End a Dictatorship or Other Oppression*. These theories regarding non-violence now play a critical role in the field of Peace studies and Conflict Resolution.

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall tell us in their textbook *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* that:

“The work of non-violence theorists such as Gene Sharp (1973), and the persistence of historical traditions and practice of pacifism such as those contained in the beliefs of Quakers and Mennonites or in the ideas of Gandhi, have cross-fertilized with academic enterprise to enhance understanding of violent political conflict and alternative to it.”¹

Due to the work of Gene Sharp and others, the study of non-violent struggles has now become a staple within Peace studies circles to the point that a program without discussing it would be severely lacking. The work of organizations such as the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict have also accompanied this pursuit as well as hundreds of independent researchers who seek to understand how non-violent struggles work and operate. This knowledge has, like any field of research, brought only more questions. Like any legitimate field of research, the more one studies the intricacies of how non-violent movements operate in reality the more alluring it becomes. More specifically, it is somewhat unclear how non-violence, let alone non-violent struggle, relates to structures of power such as states or economic systems. Furthermore, it is unsure how non-violence relates to other ideologies about these structures such as libertarianism and Marxism.

Editors Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash note in their book *Civil Resistance & Power Politics* that people power is a distinct form of power all to its own, but it cannot be considered in isolation from other forms of power. Most if not all non-violent campaigns provide unique challenges to established orthodoxy and showcase an evolution, a new approach, to non-violent struggle; most if not all see strange mergers of power. Most recently, the protests in Egypt illustrate this. In non-violent revolutions, the deep-state or security state apparatus may not change because they function in a manner that is entirely different from that of local municipal organizations or grassroots political parties. Often they operate as a “state-within-a-state”, having

¹ Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 2011), 41.

its own mechanisms for sustaining its existence. These “states-within-states” possess their own bureaucratic system that does not depend on civilians for day to day function. Often they have their own laws for conduct and discipline, and it develops its own methods of obscuring the reality of what is going on behind closed doors. This allows the security apparatus to extend or evolve at an opportune time during the course of a non-violent campaign. As the situation worsens, the traditional mechanisms that controlled the security apparatus are not in place; allowing for its expansion. However, the connection between what Roberts and Garton Ash call people power and other manifestations of power does not end with this mere example.

Most, if not all mass civil protest movements present a unique challenge to the classical conception of the good-willed Gandhian influenced masses that use completely non-violent techniques to curtail the power of an entirely violent security apparatus. As Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash so clearly point out, the list is seemingly endless for non-violent revolutions that violate this preconceived outline. As Howard Clark, Richard English, and Stephen Jones display in their respective essays in Robert and Garton Ash’s book, the non-violent movements in Northern Ireland, Kosovo² and Georgia all gave way to violent outbreaks and even contained instances of non-violent and violent campaigns existing side-by-side each other. Discussing the interplay between the armed forces and protestors, Doug Macadam’s essay shows that the American Civil Rights Movement saw the US National Guard protect protestors at times and played a role in insuring that African-Americans were able to attend formerly segregated schools such as Little Rock Central High school in Arkansas.³ The Civil Rights Movement also saw another strange combination of power that would make some students of Peace studies uneasy: gun rights.⁴ It was opposition to gun control that led the Black Panthers to demonstrate with loaded weapons in front and inside the California state house in 1967. Portugal’s Carnation Revolution, as Maxwell’s essay explains, was a bloodless military coup that ultimately led to destruction of a dictatorship and to the withdrawal of Portugal from its colonial empire. The list continues to go on, but the conclusion seems to be quite clear: non-violent revolutions, much like

² For more on non-violent struggle in Kosovo prior to the outbreak of ethnic violence, please read Howard Clark’s *Civil Resistance in Kosovo*. Pluto Press, 2000

³ For more on this topic, please see John Kirk’s *An Epitaph for Little Rock: A Fiftieth Anniversary Retrospective on the Central High Crisis* (University of Arkansas Press, 2008).

⁴ “Opposition to gun control was what drove the black militants to visit the California capitol with loaded weapons in hand. The Black Panther Party had been formed six months earlier, in Oakland, by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale.” Adam Winkler. “The Secret History of Guns.” *The Atlantic*, September 2011.

violent ones, have complex relationships with power; they always defy that simplistic interpretations that make one's ideological world easier to live in.

Much like the strange relationship that the armed forces/security apparatus and protest movements have, there also exists a strange relationship between economic ideology and protest movements. Like the former, the economic forces of capitalism and socialism are just as described: economic. People power, though obviously influenced and controlled by many factors, is a form of power apart from purely economic forms of power; thus, to ever expect a one to one correlation between one's economic vision for the world and a non-violent revolution is misguided. The revolutions of the 20th century present numerous challenges to the true believers of both capitalism and socialism. The relatively left-wing movement against the apartheid regime in South Africa mostly failed to deliver on its promises and poverty is still rampant; especially on racial lines.⁵ Organized labour and the Catholic Church were bedfellows in an anti-Soviet campaign to create a non-communist trade union in Poland.⁶ All of these examples radically challenge a purely capitalist or socialist interpretation of events. Because of this, attempts to develop a comprehensive economic understanding of non-violence may prove to be frustrating.

Based on these insights into the nature of non-violent struggle and the complications that arise when examining historic examples of it in action, the research question of this thesis is: what are some of the common themes that run throughout debates on Gene Sharp's theories regarding non-violence? What are some of the consistently reappearing themes in critiques, both positive and negative, of Sharp's work? Furthermore, are there any similarities in critiques of Sharp's work from opposing political movements or those who have radically different views regarding economic? This thesis seeks to answer these questions by comparing and contrasting the published work of individuals from radically divergent movements.

⁵ Finn Leibbrand & Woolard (2012). "Describing and decomposing post-apartheid income inequality in South Africa". *Development in Southern Africa*. 1 29: 19–34. "Inequality within each racial group has increased and both standard and new methodologies show that the contribution of between-race inequality has decreased." Abstract. Also see Naomi Klein's chapter on South Africa in her book *Shock Doctrine*.

⁶ David Ost. *The Defeat of Solidarity: Anger and Politics in Postcommunist Europe*. Cornell University Press, 2005.

On June 3rd, 2007, one of the heroes of leftism Hugo Chavez, under the inspiration of French Marxist and political theorist Thierry Meyssan, denounced the work of Gene Sharp and his think-tank the Albert Einstein Institution. Sharp, Chavez claims, is an agent of western imperialism; leading to a heated debate between left-wing supporters and opponents of the institution's work. These opponents, often basing their critique on a Marxist-Leninist worldview, charge the notion of non-violent struggle with the crime of being a tool of western powers. Thus, it's supposed moral authority is a myth. This discussion has become well known in Peace studies circles, but another conversation that occurred in the early 1980s also brings up questions regarding the relationship between non-violence and economics, except from the Right. The internal politics of the libertarian movement in the United States involved a study of the relevance of Gene Sharp's work to their own. Murray Rothbard, perhaps one of the most important men within libertarian thought in the last one hundred years, denounced Gene Sharp as a radical leftist and claimed that his works were leading those within the libertarian movement to give up on electoral politics and take up apolitical positions; thereby pacifying the movement.

Since both Murray Rothbard and Hugo Chavez represent important figures to their respective movements and both have publically denounced Sharp's theories regarding non-violent struggle, the methodology of this thesis is to compare and contrast the conversations that revolved around their critiques for the purpose of discovering reoccurring themes. Both Rothbard and Chavez are comparable to each other due to their ability to organize populist political movements and both claim that their critiques of Sharp are natural extensions of their political philosophy (Rothbard being trained in Austrian economics and Chavez basing his critiques off of the work of Thierry Meyssan). For these reasons, Rothbard and Chavez were chosen as the subjects of this thesis.

Chapter one or "A Review and Analysis of the Libertarian Interpretations of Non-violence in the Early 1980s" opens with an introduction to the political philosophy of libertarianism and other key terms and then explores libertarian approval of Sharp's theories about non-violent struggle, more specifically Carl Watner's claim that it naturally fits into a voluntaryist world view. This approval is then contrasted with Rothbard's disapproval of Sharp, which prompted replies in several libertarian periodicals. The chapter then concludes with an examination of the aftermath of this conversation and its impact on the modern libertarian party, if any. This chapter primarily

uses hard to come by libertarian literature digitally preserved by entities such as the Ludwig Von Mises Institute as part of their historical efforts. Furthermore, some of the information of this chapter was reinforced via interviews with relevant person. These can be found in the appendixes.

Chapter two or “Review and Analysis of the Far-Left’s Attack on Non-Violent Struggle” breaks down and dissects Marxist criticisms of Gene Sharp. Most notable is Hugo Chavez’s public speech, but Chavez’s source is political commentator Thierry Meyssan. Consequently, much of the chapter analyzes Meyssan’s specific criticisms of Sharp. Next, this chapter analyses official responses to Meyssan from Sharp and his associates, including but not limited to Professor Stephen Zunes. It concludes with a discussion on the relationship between leftist ideology and Gene Sharp’s views on Non-violent Struggle.

Chapter Three or “Conclusion: What Do Hugo Chavez and Murray Rothbard Have In Common?” attempts to make a synthesis out of both conversations, though they belong to two radically opposed movements. To borrow Hegelian terminology, the thesis is combined with the anti-thesis to create a synthesis. The thesis and anti-thesis being the two dialogs and the synthesis being the resulting theory of how Gene Sharp’s theories regarding non-violent struggle relate to understanding power. This synthesis is derived from discovering the common themes that run throughout both conversations.

CHAPTER I

1. A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE LIBERTARIAN INTERPRETATIONS OF NON-VIOLENCE IN THE EARLY 1980S

This chapter introduces the reader to libertarianism (more specifically voluntaryism and anarcho-capitalism) and analyses a conversation that took place in the early 1980s. The two camps during this conversation were Murray Rothbard and the Libertarian Party establishment on one side and Carl Watner and apolitical libertarians on the other. Both took opposite positions on the usefulness of Gene Sharp's work. It ends in a discussion about the impact this conversation had on the wider libertarian movement. For the most part, the relevant documents are hard to find. Digital copies of these documents only exist due to the historical preservation efforts of organizations such as the Ludwig Von Mises Institute and through the work of Carl Watner; thereby explaining the lack of research on this topic. Due to these historical factors, the following information has yet to be analyzed and summarized by previous Peace and Conflict studies researchers. It is this lack of literature on this topic that makes this research important for the advancement of the field. The following is based off of a reliance on primary documents and interviews with individuals that took part in this conversation such as Carl Watner.

Libertarianism as a political and ethical system has had a number of definitions over the years. Left-wing anarchists who claim to be the true proponents of libertarianism, such as linguist and social commentator Noam Chomsky, contend that what is called libertarianism in the United States today is a historic break from how the term was used around the world since the Enlightenment.⁷ Right-libertarians, who have for the most part become one in the same with the modern use of the term "libertarian", propose that the prime political and ethical virtue is liberty (as opposed to equality or quality of life). Their use of the term liberty does not just include civil liberties but also economic liberties, which they believe are inseparable. Robert Nozick, a crucial libertarian philosopher in the United States in the twentieth century, claims that all civil liberties have economic components.⁸ For example, he claims that freedom of press is impossible without private property; journalists must own the means by which they inform the populace.

⁷ Noam Chomsky, *On Anarchism*, (The New Press, 2013).

⁸ Robert Nozick. *Anarchy, state, and utopia*. New York: Basic Books, 1974.

Freedom of expression requires freedom of the means to express oneself. He is also known for his “Wilt Chamberlain” argument which argues that all forms of redistribution of wealth are incompatible with his conception of liberty.

The following is a review and summary of a libertarian dialogue critiquing non-violent struggle and the work of Gene Sharp in the early 1980s; more specifically in 1983. Though there are later and prior examples of libertarians discussing non-violence, this specific dialogue is important because of its effect on the Libertarian Party. Starting from the founding of the Libertarian Party in 1971, a question of principles versus pragmatism had been a consistent theme within libertarian literature; Anarchism versus minarchism, a flat-tax versus no tax, and so on. All of these subjects were part of a wider discussion regarding whether the founding of the Libertarian Party was consistent with their own ideals; how can a fundamentally anti-state institution use the mechanisms of the State? Was the State, as libertarian minarchists would claim, justified when it only preformed minimal duties such as sustaining a criminal justice system or enforcing contracts? These were the questions asked by Carl Watner and his fellow constituents in the libertarian newsletter *The Voluntaryist*, which spearheaded a movement within libertarianism by the same name. The *voluntaryist* reply to this question was that the state-craft of the Libertarian Party was inconsistent with libertarian principles and that only mass non-cooperation could uproot the State from its very foundation.

In response, Murray Rothbard, one of the most important thinkers in the twentieth century within libertarianism, utilized Leninist strategic rhetoric in order to convince libertarians to stick with party-line state-craft. Fearing non-violent struggle’s ability to progressively substitute other methods of achieving ends, Rothbard’s criticisms of Watner et al represent one side of the spectrum that made up this discussion. Since both parties have relevantly the same economic ideology, seeking an economic interpretation of the discussion would be misguided. Instead, the spectrum lies between two radically different understandings of power and strategy. This gives clues by which to understand later conversations regarding non-violence (i.e. Chavez’s denunciation of Sharp).

1.1 THE VOLUNTARYIST UPRISING

The most notable work published within libertarian circles regarding non-violence and the work of Gene Sharp in 1980s was easily the very first issue of *The Voluntaryist*, a libertarian newsletter that openly endorsed Gene Sharp's works and took issue with libertarian criticisms of his work and that of the life of Gandhi. Watner and associates pushed a libertarian theory that all relationships and social interaction should be voluntary; hence the name of the movement and the newsletter. Because of this interpretation of libertarianism, they objected to all forms of taxation (which they believed to be a form of force) and were committed anarchists. By the mainstream libertarian movement and more specifically by Murray Rothbard, they were regarded as deviants and were counter-productive to the overall goals of libertarians due to their refusal to engage in state-craft.

1.1.1 Issue One of *The Voluntaryist*: A Treatise to the Apolitics

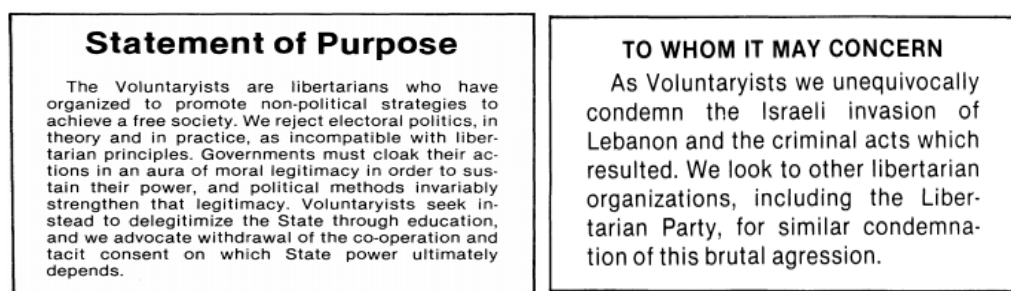


Figure 1 The statement of purpose from the very first issue of *The Voluntaryist*

Figure 2. *The Voluntaryist* condemns Israel.

The question of being apolitical within the libertarian context took full pace with the creation of *The Voluntaryist* newsletter in 1982, of which the two main articles were short essays arguing for the incompatibility of voting and libertarian theories regarding the nature of government. In George H. Smith's essay *The Ethics of Voting*⁹, Smith argues that anarchism (especially in its individualist or libertarian form) is incompatible with voting since the act of voting makes one

⁹ George Smith, "The Ethics of Voting," *The Voluntaryist*, 1, no. 1 (1982): 1-5,

partially responsible for a system that is inherently violent. Voters, he claims, are akin to a “driver of a getaway car”.¹⁰ The editorial by Wendy McElroy entitled *Neither Bullets Nor Ballots* directly attacks the idea of a libertarian party and instead argues that the course towards liberty is found in non-violence and mass civil disobedience; hence their affinity for the work of Gene Sharp and his associates at the Albert Einstein Institute. Non-violent struggle, both authors believe, is key to uprooting the state.

George H. Smith, a secular humanist and a long-time libertarian author, has published in many periodicals within and outside of the libertarian movement in the United States. This includes *The New York Times*, *The Cato Policy Report*, *The Humanist*, *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*, *Humane Studies Review*, *Reason Magazine*, and of course *The Voluntarist*. Smith, in his essay *The Ethics of Voting*, begins his argument against politics by highlighting the urgency of the discussion and calling attention to his belief that “a detailed libertarian critique of electoral voting is long overdue” because “political libertarians (i.e., those who support the effort to elect libertarians to political office) are usually silent on the moral implications of electoral voting.”¹¹ Furthermore, it is his belief that much of the dispute can be reduced to the fundamental divide between libertarian minarchists and libertarian anarchists. He says that:

“This essay is directed to fellow libertarians who are familiar with the standard debates in contemporary libertarianism, such as that between minarchism and anarchism”¹²

Smith enters into argumentation by focusing on two central libertarian axioms. These are (1) the State is inherently criminal and (2) criminal liability can extend to those who do not directly use force or threaten the use of force. Judges makes unjust decisions. Legislators pass unjust laws. Police officers make unjust arrests; but only the latter directly uses force. So, to consider the former as criminal, we must take a position that not only those directly carrying out violence are responsible for said actions. If this were not taken for granted, Smith points out “we could not even regard Hitler or Stalin as aggressors, so long as they did not personally enforce their

¹⁰ Ibid 1

¹¹ Ibid

¹² ibid

monstrous orders. The only condemnable persons would be in the police, military, and other groups assigned to the enforcement of state decrees.”¹³ Logically, the next question is how far can culpability be carried? Smith’s answer to this question is that culpability can be carried straight down to individual voters. Legislators almost certainly pass unjust laws, thus those who vote for them are at least partially responsible for said unjust laws, consisting an act of aggression. To his lament many other libertarians did not share his conclusion. In his own words, “few libertarians are willing to accept this bizarre conclusion...” and “unfortunately, this is one crucial question among many on which political libertarians remain silent.”¹⁴ Smith believes and quite rightly so that he is within the minority in regards to libertarian theorizing.

Smith then begins to outline the burden of proof that is necessary for this debate. Namely, the voluntaryists must prove that the act of voting is invasive or aggressive. Secondly, political libertarians and anarchists, he says, have far more the burden of proof in that they possess ideologies that are inherently anti-state. As Smith puts it:

“Indeed, in dealing with anarchism—the principled rejection of the State—I maintain that there is a presumption against political office holding and therefore a presumption against voting for political office. Thus the political anarchist is the one who must defeat the basic presumption. When two anarchists debate the ethics of voting, it is the political anarchist who assumes the major burden of proof. It is the political anarchist who must demonstrate to the voluntaryist why voting—an overt participation in the political process—is not a violation of their common anarchist principles.”¹⁵

The vast majority of the rest of Smith’s essay puts forwards the argument that the State is inherently aggressive, a premise that most libertarians would subscribe to. He does this by not giving a proper argument since the essay does not contain the space to make such a case. To make such a case would be utterly redundant since the reader already should have that belief. Instead, he contemplates on the essential meaning of the word *anarchism*. This ideology is the

¹³ Ibid 2-3

¹⁴ Ibid 3

¹⁵ Ibid 3-4

principled rejection of the State and its legitimacy. To come to a conclusion which is pro-state based on this ideology is, according to Smith, completely unrealistic; hence the creation of the newsletter. The crux of Smith's argument is that of definitions and an attempt to be consistent with them.

McElroy's article *Neither Bullets Nor Ballots*¹⁶ serves as a rallying call to apolitical libertarians to take up arms via non-cooperation. Elroy is a Canadian individualist anarchist and individualist feminist who helped co-found The Voluntaryist newsletter and now runs the website wendymcelroy.com. McElroy's essay laments that within libertarian circles, the principled rejection of the state had been slowly eroding away:

“Somewhere in the history of libertarianism, this rejection of the State has been eroded to the point that anarchists are now aspiring politicians and can hear the words ‘anarchist Senator’ without flinching. No longer is libertarianism directed against the positions of power, against the offices through which the State is manifested”

The Voluntaryist, McElroy says, was founded out of this logical gap. The question of anarchists being involved in politics is indeed an interesting one. In retrospect, this question may become key in understanding the modern Libertarian Party and the ideological gap between libertarians associated with the Ludwig Von Mises Institute (which openly proclaims the ideology of anarchism) and those associated with organizations like the Cato Institute (which is minarchist). If political action for libertarians is illegitimate, what option then do libertarians have for mass social change according to Smith and McElroy? Carl Watner's answer is non-violence.

¹⁶ Wendy McElroy, "Neither Bullets Nor Ballots," *The Voluntaryist*, 1, no. 1 (1982): 2. For her work regarding feminism please see Wendy McElroy. *Liberty for women: freedom and feminism in the twenty-first century*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.

1.1.2 Watner's Review of *The Politics of Non-Violent Action* by Gene Sharp

The most telling and intellectually important article that appeared in the first issue of *The Voluntaryist* was a review of Gene Sharp's book *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* by Carl Watner, despite it not being one of the main articles in that issue. Watner, in an entirely positive review, endorses Sharp's work and explains that his "studies in the theory and history of non-violent action merit the serious attention of all voluntaryists".¹⁷ In the conclusion of his review, Watner explains the importance of Sharp's work for the libertarian movement: "Despite differences in outlook, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* should be the 'bible' of nonviolent activists. It offers voluntaryists a strong lever by which to uproot the idea of statism. It was Benjamin Tucker, the well-known editor of *Liberty* and individualist-anarchist of the late 19th Century, who had the foresight to recognize nonviolence as the tool that Sharp portrays."¹⁸ As noted by Watner, Benjamin Tucker was a 19th century proponent of individualist-anarchism, a movement that slowly evolved into modern day libertarianism. In fact, in 1977 Watner published an article outlining Tucker's work in the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*.¹⁹ He was born in 1854 in South Dartmouth, Massachusetts, was educated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and he took up the cause of individualist anarchism around the age of eighteen.²⁰ The basis for Tucker's anarchism was what he called the Four Monopolies²¹, all of which he believed were the result of state intervention. These monopolies were: (1) the state's requirement that banking businesses must obtain a charter to remain in operation, (2) The granting of land titles to unused land (Tucker argued that land must be in use in order to claim property ownership), (3) The state's monopoly on the imposition of tariffs, and (4) the use of government imposed protections via patents. In regards to non-violent resistance, Tucker writes in his *Methods of Anarchy*:

¹⁷ Carl Watner. "Books of Interest." *The Voluntaryist*, Vol. 1, No. 1. October 1982, 6-7.

¹⁸ *Ibid* p. 7.

¹⁹ Carl Watner. "Benjamin Tucker and His Periodical, *Liberty*." *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. No. 4 (1977): 307-318. http://www.mises.org/journals/jls/1_4/1_4_4.pdf (accessed September 23, 2013).

²⁰ *Ibid*

²¹ Benjamin Tucker. "State Socialism and Anarchism" *Liberty*, no. 120, 1888, 2-3.

"Power feeds on its spoils, and dies when its victims refuse to be despoiled. They can't persuade it to death; they can't vote it to death; they can't shoot it to death; but they can always starve it to death."²²

Watner's review looks at each volume of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* individually. For Volume I, *Power and Struggle*, Watner posits that the theoretical basis for the voluntaryist approach to libertarianism and Sharp's theories of power are one in the same. Namely, they both posit that power is essentially voluntary. As Watner points out, elected officials exercise power over those who question their legitimacy in the sense that they claim "...jurisdiction over those who voted against them, as well as over those who did not vote at all."²³ Nevertheless, to some degree this power is still voluntary. As Watner so eloquently puts it, Gene Sharp:

"Concludes that obedience is essentially voluntary, even though one is threatened with sanctions and reprisals. A man who is ordered to go to prison may refuse and be physically dragged there. Such a man cannot be said to have obeyed."²⁴

It is on this point the supposed similarities between the theoretical basis of voluntaryist libertarianism and Sharp's theories on non-violence begin to coincide, but this fails to touch on the more controversial aspects of Albert Einstein Institute's influence on the studies of non-violence. Most notable of these controversial perspectives is the realization that non-violence may just be an innovation or an evolutionary adaptation of warfare. Underlining the various theories of conflict resolution, there is the notion that conflict and violence are two distinct things.²⁵ Conflict is the presence of two or more seemingly incompatible goals or means towards a goal. Armed violence, especially in the context of war, is only one expression of conflict. As Albert Einstein Institution associate Robert L. Helvey tells us, "a strategic non-violent struggle is a conflict waged in a manner that allows the people to liberate themselves. They constitute the

²² Benjamin Tucker, "The Methods of Anarchy," *Instead of a Book*, (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1887), 415.

²³ Carl, Watner. "Books OF Interest." *The Voluntaryist*, Vol. 1, No. 1. October 1982. 6

²⁴ *ibid*

²⁵ Oliver Rambotham, Tom Woodhouse, and Hughes Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 2011), 30. "By *conflict* we mean the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups."

‘citizen army’ in Machiavelli’s recommended concept for waging war.”²⁶ Mass civil disobedience is also a form of conflict, but it is expressed in a radically different way than war; however the dynamics of warfare still exist because both are forms of organized conflict. Non-violence, one can put it, is a form of organized conflict... maybe even organized warfare since, in contradiction to Watner’s depiction of non-violence, non-violent struggle may include invasive measure such as the destruction of property.

The Albert Einstein Institution’s associate Robert L. Helvey’s interpretation of non-violence in his book *On Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Thinking About the Fundamentals* maybe be perhaps the most notable example of non-violence interpreted in warlike ways within the literature on mass civil disobedience. Helvey spent the latter years of his career as an US Army Senior Fellow at the Center for International Affairs from 1987-88²⁷ on top of a thirty year career in the US infantry. Helvey, an associate of the Albert Einstein Institution, applies Clausewitzian logic to strategic non-violence. According to Helvey, one Gene Sharp quote influenced him to take up the cause of non-violence: “Strategic nonviolent struggle is about seizing political power or denying it to others. It is not about pacifism, moral or religious beliefs.” Any familiarity with the work of Clausewitz would call into question Watner’s association of non-violence and voluntaryist libertarianism. Watner’s interpretation of non-violence may, ironically, be too Gandhian for it to be considered Sharpian.

Volume II of Gene Sharp’s trilogy is entitled *The Methods of Nonviolence*. In his review of this volume, Watner brings up no comparisons between libertarianism and non-violence. However, he does discuss historical examples of societal withdrawal and economic boycotts within the classical liberal tradition in the United States of America. He brings up the tactic of mass withdrawal of congregants from pro-slavery churches during the Garrisonian abolitionist movement. Within the vain of economic boycotts, Watner brings up the role they played during the American Revolution, particularly the Boston Tea Party. Watner’s review of the volume is interesting but somewhat lacking in substance since the review is only a few pages long.

²⁶ Robert Helvey, *On Strategic Non-violent Conflict: Thinking About the Fundamentals*, (Boston, MA: Albert Einstein Institute). 89. Helvey goes on to use Clausewitzian logic to understand the specifics of non-violent strategy.

²⁷ Ibid xii Helvey takes classic Clausewitzian phrases such as “war is an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will” to analyze non-violent struggle.

Regarding historical examples of civil disobedience, it is no surprise that the libertarian Carl Watner makes no mention of the massive trade-union based protests breaking out across the United States at the same time; the most infamous of which was the rally that eventually gave way to the Haymarket Affair. Other events such as a Bay View Massacre highlight the positive connection between organized religion and organized labor within the context of American history. Robert Michael Smith's book *From Blackjacks To Briefcases — A History of Commercialized Strikebreaking and Unionbusting in the United States*²⁸ follows the plight of unions in the United States and possesses more than enough material to show the history of non-violent action in the New World before the Civil Rights movement. Unsurprisingly, Watner (a staunch libertarian) uses no examples from organized labor.

Regarding Volume III, *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action*, Watner pays attention to two topics: The importance of non-violence to libertarians and anarchists and the potential non-violence has in actually destroying the state-based system. As Watner understands Gene Sharp's work, non-violence has the capacity to "literally uproot the weed of statism. By attacking governmental legitimacy, nonviolent techniques not only minimize bloodshed and loss of life and property, but actually go much farther than traditional violent revolution in demystifying and desanctifying the governmental apparatus." A stateless society would require a large portion of the population to be practicing anarchists in order to prevent the creation of a new state out of the ashes of the old. Non-violence, in Watner's mind, is key to making people more dependent and capable of standing up against potential new threats; thus the realization that the State may not be a necessary aspect of society. In the last paragraph in Watner's review of Volume III, *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action*, Watner mentions Richard Gregg and his influence on the works of Sharp. Gregg was an American social philosopher that wrote mostly on the subject of pacifism. His works were incredibly influential on the world-views of Martin Luther King Jr. and Aldous Huxley.²⁹ In his book, *The Power of Non-violence*, Gregg coined the phrase "political jiu-jitsu", a phrase used later in Sharp's writings. This is vital when evaluating Watner's views

²⁸ Robert Smith, *Blackjacks To Briefcases — A History of Commercialized Strikebreaking and Unionbusting in the United States*, (Ohio University Press, 2003).

²⁹ Joseph Kosek, "Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi, and the Strategy of Nonviolence," *The Journal of American History*, 91, no. 4 (2005): 1318-1348

on Sharp's materials because it shows definitive evidence that he possesses knowledge regarding the application of non-violence outside of that of Sharp and his immediate company. Without a doubt, by this stage in Watner's career, he is already familiar with an array of literature on non-violence.

On the theoretical level, Watner's attempt to fuse libertarianism and Sharp's theories of non-violence calls into question economic interpretations of non-violence; namely that non-violence is inherently and necessarily dominated by left-wing progressivism. This is not to suggest that economics has no place in the study of non-violence, rather that highly abstract theories about the economy should be structured do not have one to one correlation with the genuine practice of non-violence. Thus, economics is not a useful spectrum by which to understand debates about non-violence. This ought to come to no surprise, but, as pointed out in Chapter Two, the left-wing discussion in the mid-2000 is teeming with economic language.

1.1.3 "No Comment" on the Struggle Within Libertarianism

Another reason the first issue of *The Voluntaryist* is of critical importance is its highlighting of not only the struggle within the libertarian movement in the early 1980s regarding the direction it should take when approaching the State. It also explores the radicalness that some members of the Libertarian Party possessed. At the end of the first issue, Watner and associates created a section named "No Comment" to highlight the absurdities of mainline libertarianism by showcasing absurd quotations. First of which was a quote from Thomas John Holton from the publication *Frontlines* regarding the possibility of nuclear war with Russia:

"Nuking Moscow would mean violating the rights of its inhabitants, but rights are only part of a hierarchy of moral values. When higher values are threatened, the individual rights of Muscovites are literally outvalued... Libertarians who are squeamish about this should recall the praise Friedrich Nietzsche lavished on the age that will wage wars for

the sake of ideas and their consequences. In other words, if the values of a free society mean something to you, they are worth fighting for!"³⁰

This quote, though supposedly from a libertarian, can be shrugged off as a criticism of libertarianism because it contradicts the principles of isolationism³¹. At best, it shows evolution has occurred within libertarian thought or that there are non-true-believers within their fold; something every political movement possesses. The second section from "No Comment" is far more damning. It contains a short story regarding a Texas congressional 23rd district libertarian candidate named Parker Abel. In a press release, he favored hanging public officials for favoring amnesty and "betraying the Constitution". The Texas Libertarian Committee discussed repudiating his statements, but ultimately failed to do so.

The final quotation is from Dick Randolph during an interview with the publication Free Texas. Randolph was a long time member of the Alaska party and the Libertarian Party and was one of the first members of the Libertarian party ever to win a public office.³² Randolph takes issue with seeing libertarianism and voting as mutually exclusive:

"I believe there are at least two parts of libertarianism. There are the philosophical positions that we are coming from and then there is the libertarian political party. I think that much of what was in the article was very appropriate for libertarians and libertarianism but I don't think it was appropriate for a libertarian party. I very bluntly believe that the only real function of a libertarian party is to elect people to office in an attempt to implement both philosophies"

Here, clearly, the tension between the different factions within the libertarian party is ever present. Libertarianism, like any other movement, is and was hardly a monolithic entity. Each camp and subsection possessed a slightly different ideology and these tensions are more than exemplified in this section of the newsletter. This discussion does not end here of course. Many

³⁰ Carl Watner et al. "No Comment Department." *The Voluntarist*, Vol. 1, No. 1. October 1982. 8

³¹ Isolationism is a form of foreign policy that proposes that the affairs of other countries best ought to be kept off at a distance. It was of the ideas that was foundation to the Old Right in the United that protested US intervention in World War One.

³² *ibid*

more issues of the newsletter were published and many criticisms of their support for non-violence followed. The next most important piece from Watner's newsletter comes out of an edition from 1983.

1.1.4 February 1983: *The Voluntaryist*

Easily, the second most important newsletter from the early days of *The Voluntaryist* is the third issue. Appearing in February, 1983, it contains two articles that tell the stories of anarchists leaving the mainstream Libertarian Party ("Why I Quit the Libertarian Party" by Burgess Laughlin and an editorial entitled "Climbing Off the Bandwagon" by Wendy McElroy). It also includes a book review of Gene Sharp's *Gandhi As A Political Strategist with Essays on Ethics and Politics* by Carl Watner, and several headers of historical interest. Like the first issue, it begins to lay out the libertarian case for non-violence and its implementation in the United States of America.

Burgess Laughlin's article gives incredible insight into the internal politics of the Libertarian Party because it is written and is about an individual who "invested thousands of dollars and over a thousand hours in the Libertarian Party" and volunteered as a "state committee member, newsletter editor, campaign manager, county chair and active candidate for state-wide office."³³ Laughlin's defection from the party is not that of an academic spending far too much time going to through the particular ideological ramifications of libertarian thought, rather it is of an individual working hands-on with the party and coming to terms with the realities of said party. In the early 1960s, Laughlin was influenced by the works of Ayn Rand and moved towards a form of minarchism, but in the early 1970s (under the influence of thinkers such as Murray Rothbard) he evolved towards libertarian anarchism and became more involved in libertarian activism. The major landmark that changed his opinion of the Libertarian Party was a series of events that occurred after the Tax Day protest in front of the Portland main U.S. Post Office building. Laughlin had chastised two fellow protesters for "misrepresenting the LP when they said that the LP doesn't oppose all taxes, only the federal income tax ('because it is

³³ Burgess Laughlin "Why I Quit the Libertarian Party" *The Voluntaryist* Vol. 1 No. 3. February 1983. 1

unconstitutional,' they said).”³⁴ Since Laughlin is a true individualist anarchist, he believes that Tolstoy is fundamentally correct in saying that taxation is truly a form of coercion.³⁵ One of these men would later be the Oregon Libertarian Party’s gubernatorial candidate and was nominated almost universally by the party. Minus a token opposition by Laughlin, all agreed that the man should be offered the position. Laughlin explains that it was this moment in which he realized that a truly anti-statist position was missing from much of the Libertarian Party. In regards to the ineffectiveness of electoral politics, he says that:

“Electoral politics is an ineffective educational tool because the people in the electoral audience are most likely to be statist. They pay attention to electoral politics because they think they benefit from government coercion. The people who are disgusted with government in general and electoral politics in particular are unlikely to listen to campaign speeches and ads. Promoting libertarian ideas to most voters is like advertising milk to alcoholics.”³⁶

Wendy McElroy’s article on the same issue reinforces this point. The most memorable line in her one page article is the header of her article and not even the article itself: “Two politicians, one of whom is an anarchist, have more in common than two anarchists, one of whom is a politician.” McElroy tells the reader of the almost comical situation that she is in; namely, having to convince anarchists that party politics in an electoral system is inconsistent with anarchism. Her point is that it is seemingly hypocritical for the Libertarian Party to promote the notion of a stateless society and yet have their prime objective simultaneously be “elect my man to office.” McElroy’s point seems quite rational and consistent with her initial propositions.

The next important article to appear in the newsletter is yet again by Carl Watner. Like Watner’s last review of a work by Gene Sharp, this review is relatively short (it is only one and half pages long); however, as per last time, it gives incredible insight into the libertarian take on work regarding the strategic application of non-violence. Watner spends most of the review on Sharp’s

³⁴ *ibid*

³⁵ Leo Tolstoy, *The Slavery Of Our Times*, (Maldon, Essex: Free Age Press, 1900). For example, Tolstoy says “Slavery results from laws, laws are made by governments, and, therefore, people can only be freed from slavery by the abolition of Governments.”

³⁶ Burgess Laughlin “Why I Quit the Libertarian Party” *The Voluntaryist* Vol. 1 No. 3. February 1983. 1

account of Gandhi's ideological evolution. Namely, the time he spent in South Africa and his studies of the works of Leo Tolstoy, John Ruskin and Henry David Thoreau. Unlike his last review in the very first issue of *The Voluntaryist*, Watner puts in very little of his own personal ideology in the article, though there is some commentary. Most interesting is Watner's comparison of some of the viewpoints of Ayn Rand and Gandhi. After discussing Gandhi's emphasis on only using non-violent means, he writes "it is an interesting coincidence to see how closely this reasoning follows Ayn Rand's strictures that the moral and the practical are always synonymous." This also largely reflects the motto of *The Voluntaryist*: "If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself". Although Mr. Watner's comparison is interesting, he fails to take into account the rampant individualism found in Rand's work versus the collectivism found in the various works on Gandhi; hence his popularity in left-wing circles. In fact, Rand's magnum opus *Atlas Shrugged* is more or less a homage to individualism and its moral necessity.³⁷

Perhaps one of the most interesting facets of this newsletter is not an article at all. Below is an announcement for a libertarian conference on non-violent struggle at the Center for Libertarian Studies; a libertarian think-tank that was founded by Murray Rothbard in 1976 and was headquartered at the time in New York but was later moved to Burlingame, California. It appeared immediately after Watner's review of one of Gene Sharp's book:

FEBRUARY 26:

The Voluntaryists are co-sponsoring with the Center for Libertarian Studies a one-day conference in New York featuring Gene Sharp, author of *The Politics of Non-Violent Action*. Other speakers include LeRoy Pelton (*The Psychology of Non Violence*), Richard Curry (University of Connecticut) and Carl Watner of the Voluntaryists. Registration, which includes lunch and reading material, is \$10. For information, please contact *The Voluntaryist*.

³⁷ For discussions of the theme of individualism in the work of Ayn Rand and her book *Atlas Shrugged*, please see Ludwig von Mises's Letter to Rand on *Atlas Shrugged*. (<http://mises.org/document/3381/>) (Accessed 10/3/2013) "You have the courage to tell the masses what no politicians told them: you are inferior and all the improvements in your conditions which you simply take for granted you owe to the effort men better than you."

Of course, the most interesting aspect of this announcement is that it appears that Sharp knew at least some libertarians personally. LeRoy Pelton is a psychologist who studies non-violence and is commonly cited in literature on the topic. Richard Curry is a professor of American History at the University of Connecticut and edited such books as *Freedom at Risk: Secrecy, Censorship, and Repression in the 1980s*.³⁸ Sharp's work with dissident movements around the world is very well known, so it is no surprise that he has met with groups associated with the fringes of the American political system. Regardless, the exact extent of which the Albert Einstein Institute was working with libertarians is a subject worth exploring. Another short blurb of interest is that of a call of solidarity for support of activist Paul Jacob, a libertarian who refused to register for selective service. For more on this subject, please see *Replies to Rothbard* in section two of this chapter.³⁹

**NOT ALL UNSUNG HEROES
ARE IN THE PAST**

Paul Jacob, a libertarian activist, has been living underground in order to avoid arrest by the F.B.I. His crime: refusal to register for the draft. Do *not* let this act of heroism pass without your support. Don't just talk freedom. Contribute to the Paul Jacob Fund established by the Voluntaryists to be held in trust by Kathleen Richman, Paul's sister and a long-time libertarian activist. Please make your checks payable to the Paul Jacob Fund. For more information and to pledge your support, write to *The Voluntaryist*.

1.2 THE ROTHBARDIAN CRITIQUE OF GENE SHARP

The voluntaryist support for non-violence and its specifically Gandhian interpretation of it took the eye of many mainstream libertarians, especially in the light of its disapproval of the Libertarian Party. One of the most important men behind the creation of the party was a

³⁸ Richard Curry, *Freedom at risk: secrecy, censorship, and repression in the 1980s*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

³⁹ Please see page x for Wendy McElroy's discussion of the Paul Jacob affair. She refers to the Paul Jacob fund as a form of non-violent action taken out by libertarians.

professor at Brooklyn Polytechnic University and a major proponent of anarcho-capitalism⁴⁰ named Murray Rothbard. Hans-Hermann Hoppe, a modern libertarian theorist, accurately put it: “there would be no anarcho-capitalist movement to speak of without Rothbard.”⁴¹ Despite his anarchism, Rothbard supported the Libertarian Party on the grounds that individuals elected into office could then do their best to make the said office defunct and push for its abolishment. Because of this support, he took issue with the apolitical views of Carl Watner and the voluntaryists. Rothbard feared the progressive substitution of libertarian state-craft with non-violence.

Murray Rothbard’s most notable critique of the work of Gene Sharp and non-violence was an article published in the *Libertarian Forum* entitled “The New Menace of Gandhism”. Approximately eight pages long, Rothbard launches out are a series of claims against Sharp’s work by attacking the legacy of his hero Mahatma Gandhi; because Gandhi was a centerpiece of many of Sharp’s early books. Most notable of these was *Gandhi As a Political Strategist: With Essays on Ethics and Politics*. Many of Sharp’s original theories regarding the nature of political power were influenced and evolved out of a Gandhian analysis of social organization. Despite this, there are still notable differentiations between Sharpian and Gandhian perspectives on non-violence. In a radical departure from the more analytical style that runs throughout much of his other work, the Austrian economist Murray Rothbard made constant use of ad hominem arguments and ultimately the article fails to make a convincing argument against the work of Gene Sharp. In fact, Rothbard’s xenophobia becomes quite apparent in the article on the very first page. In reference to Marx’s classic line on communism haunting Europe in the Communist Manifesto⁴², Rothbard proclaims: “there is now a spectre haunting the libertarian movement: the spectre of Gandhian non-violence, of the old Hindu baloney sliced once again.”⁴³ A new menace was diluting the message of libertarianism and, according to the Rothbard, this menace is the

⁴⁰ Anarcho-capitalism is an ideology that advocates the elimination of the State due to arguments derived from free-market principles and private property rights. Typically, anarcho-capitalists adhere to the Austrian School of Economics.

⁴¹ Hans-Hermann Hoppe. lewrockell.com, "Anarcho-Capitalism: An Annotated Bibliography." Last modified Dec. 31, 2001. Accessed October 3, 2013. <http://archive.lewrockwell.com/hoppe/hoppe5.html>.

⁴² Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, (1884), 1.

⁴³ Murray Rothbard, "The New Menace of Gandhism," *Libertarian Forum*, no. 3 (1983), http://mises.org/journals/lf/1983/1983_03.pdf (accessed September 24, 2013).

movement surrounding advocates of non-violence and those associated with the Albert Einstein Institute.

Throughout much of the article, the libertarian thinker makes use of similar rhetorical devices as mentioned above to allude to a supposed connection between Sharp's theories and the New Age counter-culture movement during the 1960s. According to Rothbard, those associated with The Voluntaryist such as Carl Watner, Wendy McElroy and George H. Smith "deny vehemently either that they are mystics or that they are courting martyrdom", but he is "unconvinced." Drawing from his own life experiences, Rothbard tells the reader that:

"I knew a bright young Trotskyite who, during the New Left epoch, suddenly discovered LSD, and started distributing LSD tracts instead of Trotskyite ones. Pretty soon, one mind-destroying experience begat another, and he was putting up Krishna/Vishnu Indian mystical posters and babbling accordingly."⁴⁴

Libertarianism, Rothbard believed, was starting to come under the influence of these prophets of non-violence. The strict axiomatic rationalism of Rand, Hayek, and Mises was seemingly tainted by outside forces that were less than rational⁴⁵. During the closing of the article he launches his perhaps most personal attack, he proclaims that:

"Enough! I had not thought that the libertarian movement, steeped as it is in the rationalist heritage of Rand and Mises, would ever fall prey to the wiles of this little Hindu charlatan. But once again, I seem to have underestimated the folly of which the libertarian movement is capable"⁴⁶

Besides the use of ad hominem attacks, Rothbard's argument against non-violence falls into two general categories. The first category appears under the heading "The Mahatma Desanctified"; Here, arguments are presented that aim at undermining the credibility of Gandhi; thus leaving Sharp's and Watner et al's hero and inspiration for action defunct. When analyzing Gandhi, he

⁴⁴ *Ibid* p.1

⁴⁵ The worldview of Austrian economic is largely based off of what Ludwig Von Mises calls praxeology. That is, it is argued from axioms about human relationships..

⁴⁶ *Ibid* 6.

uses arguments from economic modernization, argument against the moral superiority of Gandhi's life-style, argument from efficiency, and argument from consistency. The second category are critiques of the works published by Gene Sharp and *The Voluntaryist*. The latter of these are clearly more important, but yet take up far less space in his article.

Rothbard's character assassination begins with his assault on Gandhi's views on economics and globalization, which, pray tell, have little if anything to do with his theorizing on non-violent strategy as a means to a political end. Rothbard attacks Gandhi's views on economics by quoting his work and taking passages out of context. The first quotation that the Austrian economist introduces to the reader is regarding Gandhi's views pertaining to railroads. He selects the following passage from *Hind Swaraj* (*Indian Home Rule*) by Mahatma Gandhi: "God set a limit to a man's locomotive ambition in the construction of his body. Man immediately proceeded to discover means of overriding the limit"⁴⁷ Given no context, Murray Rothbard's remark that "Gandhi literally took the line that if God meant us to move around he would have provided us with personal locomotives"⁴⁸ would be fairly accurate; however, the passage the quote appears in reveals a far deeper meaning to the quotation. Namely, the topic of discussion in which it appears in is examining the conflict between Muslims and Hindus in India. Given innovations in transportation, globalization will be an inevitable process. Because of this "Man", Gandhi explains, makes "contact with different natures, different religions, and is utterly confounded." The advancement of technology, he explains, will cause the clash of cultures: Hindu, Islamic, and as well as foreign cultures. The paragraph following where the quotation appears, he elaborates on this quite well:

"If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in dreamland. The Hindus, the Mohammedans, the Parsis and the Christians who have made India their country are fellow countrymen, and they will have to live in unity, if only for their own interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule)*, translated into English by MK Gandhi, (1910), 27

⁴⁸ Murray Rothbard, "The New Menace of Gandism," *Libertarian Forum*, no. 3 (1983), http://mises.org/journals/lf/1983/1983_03.pdf (accessed September 24, 2013). 3

⁴⁹ Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule)*, translated into English by MK Gandhi, (1910), 27

Discussions about the consequences of globalization are more than present in today's literature. A simple search of academic literature about discussions regarding the negative consequences of globalization are abound. Dozens of books have been written on the topic of economic globalization, let alone cultural and other forms of globalization. In fact, the geostrategist Thomas Barnett has written heavily on this exact topic. His books *The Pentagon's New Map*, *Blueprint for Action*, and *Great Powers: America and the World after Bush* focuses on the deterministic effect globalization and changes in global rule-sets have on creating conflicts. As new factors come into play in a geographical region, there is a natural period of readjustment. This readjustment period can cause disastrous or prosperity depending on how it is handled.

The next economic smear that Rothbard launches against Gandhi is that of Gandhi's criticism of hospitals. Like the quotation regarding railroads, the passage Rothbard cites is taken out of context. Rothbard creates a composite quote out of sentences from pages 6-7 and page 18 of the *Hind Swaraj*. Thus to read the following quote as one coherent paragraph is completely misleading:

"Hospitals are institutions for propagating sin... Hospitals are the instruments that the devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery and degradation and real slavery"⁵⁰

The first phrase regarding the propagation of sin is on a completely different page than the proceeding sentences. Given the entire context, the phrase reads:

"Hospitals are institutions for propagating sin. Men take less care of their bodies and immorality increases. European doctors are the worst of all. For the sake of a mistaken care of the human body, they kill annually thousands of animals. They practice vivisection. No religion sanctions this. All say that it is not necessary to take so many lives for the sake of our bodies."⁵¹

⁵⁰ MK Gandhi , *Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule)*, translated into English by MK Gandhi, (1910), 36

⁵¹ *ibid* 35

Though Gandhi's statement may sound extreme to the common readers' ears. On the surface, his concern seems to be that particular practices violate certain religious prohibitions and his stance on live animal experimentation; not with the entire enterprise of western medicine as a whole. Gandhi's concern was about that the political ramifications of western doctors practicing in India had. He later notes in the same passage that:

“The English have certainly effectively used the medical profession for holding us. English physicians are known to have used their profession with several Asiatic potentates for political gain.”⁵²

The use of missionaries, doctors, lawyers, and other professions for colonial purposes is fairly well known today. Not just in colonial India. For example, the use of public education to uproot indigenous populations. Under the false pretense of universal educational rights, children are stripped from their communities and put into state ran schools for indoctrination. One of the most notable modern examples of this is the case of the United States government's draconian policies in regards to its indigenous people's educational rights and forced relocation as a tool for assimilation.⁵³

The next issue regarding globalization which Murray Rothbard takes issue with pertains to education and Gandhi's views on the issue. According to the critique put forward by Rothbard, Gandhi was skeptical of the entire notion of education. He based his case for this via a quotation showing skepticism of English education: “to give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave them.”⁵⁴ Within the societal context, this quotation is yet another classic example of hyperbole in the face of globalization. In Gandhi's India, English had mostly replaced the indigenous languages as the tongue of professionals, academics, and lawyers. Any discussion of national independence or liberation that was meaningful or useful had to be in the English language. All official documents, successful newspapers, courts, and high-end business deals were all in

⁵² Ibid chapter 12

⁵³ Ward Churchill. *Kill the Indian and Save the Man: the genocidal impact of American Indian residential schools*, San Francisco: City Lights Press (2004).

⁵⁴ MK Gandhi , *Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule)*, translated into English by MK Gandhi, (1910), 57-58

English.⁵⁵ India, as many other countries going through a process of globalization, began to develop a new caste that simply adopted the practices and the mannerisms of the colonial masters; hence his statements regarding the enslaving nature of English.

To no surprise, Murray Rothbard's economic critique of Gandhi seems to reflect his views regarding capitalism; this is to say his unwillingness to critique the Industrial Revolution. Gandhi's approach to economics reflects a combination of mutualist and protectionist economic policies; fused with nationalistic rhetoric. Thus, a far more compelling and fruitful discussion would be a careful analysis of notions such as subsidiary and indigenous property right. Regardless, given the context, Rothbard's critique of Gandhi's views on economics and technological innovation seem somewhat absurd. As noted before, even if his critique was fairly accurate it would have no bearing on whether the voluntaryist interpretation of libertarianism was correct or on whether non-violent action is an efficient vehicle for societal change.

The most relevant and crucial criticism that Dr. Rothbard launches against Gandhi is questioning the efficiency of his actions and his consistency throughout them. "The life of Mahatma Gandhi", Rothbard says "was essentially a scam, from start to finish."⁵⁶ There is no doubt that some of the results of Indian independence were far from non-violent (I.e. the Kashmir wars), but these unforeseen results were looked down upon by Gandhi himself and many of these unforeseen events happened after his death. Given the context of a critique of Gene Sharp, the most important argument in this section is the claim that the Gandhian movement only played a minor role in a series of events that led towards the liberation of India:

"In general, we can say that Gandhi's non-violence did not 'liberate India'; on the contrary, the British decision to pull out of India was triggered far more by their general withdrawal from Empire after World War Two, attendant upon British economic exhaustion, than it was by Gandhi's campaigns of non-violent resistance.

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ Murray Rothbard, "The New Menace of Gandism," *Libertarian Forum*, no. 3 (1983), http://mises.org/journals/lf/1983/1983_03.pdf (accessed September 24, 2013). 4

Indeed, many historians have pointed out that India would have won independence earlier without Gandhi's existence."⁵⁷

Here, Rothbard's statement departs from classical Clausewitzian logic regarding strategic planning and modern literature on the topic; which he did not have the benefit of reading since this article was written in 1983. Rothbard seems to be unfamiliar with what Clausewitz calls "a fascinating trinity"; the three components of conflict. Clausewitz explains that the three components of conflict are the "primordial violence, hatred, and enmity, which are to be regarded as a blind natural force; the play of chance and probability, within which the creative spirit is free to roam; and its element of subordination, as an instrument of policy, which makes it subject to pure reason."⁵⁸ Within a modern context, this can be interpreted as (1) the unbridled feelings of conflict, (2) chance and mere probabilities, and (3) policy and strategic planning. Clausewitz, based on this reduction of conflict, then concluded that proper planning alone is not enough to reach one to victory; namely the timing of events is key.

It is here that Rothbard's argument seemingly backfires. Perhaps Gandhi was well aware of the slow collapse of the British colonial empire and took advantage, as Clausewitz would recommend. Many other, if not all, non-violent campaigns erupt in a societal setting that nurtures the movement. The collapse of the economy and high unemployment rate among young males prior to the Arab Springs provided the perfect setting for mass civil disobedience⁵⁹ and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa was a meeting point between US and Soviet interests in the region⁶⁰. Thus to conclude that Mahatma Gandhi's movement was somehow illegitimate because it took place during a wider set of events completely ignores that nature of mass civil disobedience because no events are isolated islands. In fact, it may be proof of Gandhi's strategic genius.

⁵⁷ Murray Rothbard, "The New Menace of Gandism," *Libertarian Forum*, no. 3 (1983), http://mises.org/journals/lf/1983/1983_03.pdf (accessed September 24, 2013). 4

⁵⁸ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, originally *Vom Kriege* (3 vols. Berlin: 1832-34). Edited by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, Princeton University Press, 1984, pp.75.

⁵⁹ George Joffe. "The Arab Spring in North Africa: origins and prospects." *The Journal of North African Studies*. No. 4 (2011): 507–532.

⁶⁰ Sam Kliener's article for *Foreign Policy* "Apartheid Amnesia" presents an easy to read analysis of the Republican Party in the United States supporting the apartheid state in South Africa as part of the Cold War.

As noted earlier, the vast majority of the article is spent laying out a series of personal attacks against the image of Gandhi; thereby, according to Mr. Rothbard, depriving Sharp of intellectual justification of his claims. However, page three contains the most thorough critique of non-violence in the whole article since it focuses on the topic at hand (as opposed to being distracted by Gandhi). Rothbard traces the anti-party libertarian movement to an individual named Sam Konkin, a left-libertarian and a major proponent of Agorism⁶¹, and laments: “there has long been an anti-party tendency in the libertarian movement, headed by Sam Konkin, a tendency holding all voting and political action to be immoral for libertarians.” Konkin’s strategy included what he called “black marketeering”. This is to say that economic activity that is explicitly banned by the State should be purposefully taken up with the intent of creating a counter-economy to that of the State (what he calls “white markets”).⁶²

It could be noted that Konkin’s strategy for counter-markets and black-markets in his *New Libertarian Manifesto*⁶³ may be a new avenue for peace and conflict resolution research. In Gene Sharp’s classic pamphlet *198 Non-Violent Strategies*⁶⁴, the word “blackmarket” or “counter-economics” does not appear once. Within libertarian circles, this form of rhetoric is largely coming back into style via discussions of BitCoin, a crypto-currency popular among cyber-anarchists and libertarians. Peace research may benefit from a fresh new set of potential non-violent tactics. Konkin makes it clear in his works that the application of black-markets is not inherently violent; in the *New Libertarian Manifesto* he notes that the mafia:

“is not black market but acts as government over some of the black market which collects protection money (taxes) from its victims and enforces its control with executions and beatings (law enforcement), and even conducts wars when its monopoly is threatened. These acts will be considered red market to differentiate them from the moral acts of the black market which will be discussed below. In

⁶¹ Sam Konkin. "The Last, Whole Introduction to Agorism." *The Agorist Quarterly*. No. 1 (2008): Reprinted in ALLiance a journal of theory and strategy. <http://www.agorism.info/docs/LastWholeIntroductiontoAgorism.pdf> (accessed October 3, 2013). Agorism is defined as revolutionary libertarianism via black marketeering.

⁶² Sam Konkin, *New Libertarian Manifesto*, (Koman Publishing, 1983), 20

⁶³ *ibid*

⁶⁴ Gene Sharp “198 Non-violent Strategies” *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Vol. 2: The Methods of Nonviolent Action. Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973

short, the ‘black market’ is anything non-violent prohibited by the State and carried on anyways.”⁶⁵

Rothbard dismisses Konkin’s strategy for social change by claiming that the strategy does “not strike at the core of State power.” This appears like a perfectly logical analysis of Konkin’s argument since Konkin does not make it clear how a libertarian enlightened black market would necessarily differ from that of the non-violent black markets that already exist in the world today. This, however, could be an avenue for peace and conflict studies research. The idea of applying black markets to a socially good cause is still in its infancy.

Once Rothbard introduces Konkin, he then looks to another anti-political figure within the libertarian movement: George H. Smith, a leader within the voluntaryist movement. Rothbard accuses Smith of only paying lip service to non-violent struggle and claims that the voluntaryist call to non-violence will go absolutely nowhere. Boldly, he says “there is zero possibility of Smith and his confreres generating a mass movement for civil disobedience.”⁶⁶ In retrospect, Rothbard may be right. The Libertarian Party is still one of the major libertarian organizations in the United States and the association of libertarians with modern literature on non-violence is weak, but what is the explanation for this? Numerous ones could be given, only one of which is the supposed weakness of non-violent struggle itself.

Another of Rothbard’s arguments against non-violence is its role in ushering in the Khomeini revolution in Iran. Even in much of the literature in Peace and Conflict studies, non-violence is seen as an intrinsically positive tool. The result, it is said, will be moral because the means are moral. This comes out of a naturally Gandhian interpretation of non-violence. As Rothbard points out, non-violence is capable of bringing about tyrannical theocracies. Rothbard then goes on to claim “the comparative record of non-violent revolutions is, then, worse than that of violent ones” This claim, however, is far from the truth. A simple reading of the work of Maria Stephan and Erica Chenoweth on the statistical analysis of non-violent revolutions shows this to be extremely inaccurate. To quote their paper in the journal *International Security* “Our findings

⁶⁵ Sam Konkin, *New Libertarian Manifesto*, (Koman Publishing, 1983), 24

⁶⁶ Murray Rothbard, "The New Menace of Gandism," *Libertarian Forum*, no. 3 (1983), http://mises.org/journals/lf/1983/1983_03.pdf (accessed September 24, 2013). 2

show that major nonviolent campaigns have achieved success 53 percent of the time, compared with 26 percent for violent resistance campaigns.”⁶⁷ To Rothbard’s benefit, this article was written well before this research and before the collapse of the USSR and the subsequent revolutions that came out of it. But, all in all, Rothbard’s critique of the work of Gene Sharp ought to leave the student of Peace and Conflict studies feeling a sense of lack. His critique spends far too much time being bogged down into the life of Gandhi and focuses little on the topic of non-violent struggle itself.

1.2.1 Replies To Rothbard

After the publication of Murray Rothbard’s article in the *Libertarian Forum* regarding Gandhi and the work of Gene Sharp, numerous replies began to flood into various libertarian publications. This includes but is not limited to George H. Smith’s article *Murray Rothbard, Voluntaryism, & the Great Gandhi Smear* published in the June issue of *The Voluntaryist*, a short reprinted letter between George H. Smith and Carl Watner in the August 1983 issue of *The Voluntaryist*, Wendy McElroy’s *The New Menace of Gandhism: A Comment* in the May-June issue of the *Libertarian Forum*, and letters to the editor by Lorraine M. Valencia and Carol Moore in the July-August issue of the *Libertarian Forum*. Regardless of the conclusion that one might draw from these documents, these replies candidly reveal the large array of opinion within libertarian thought in the 1980s regarding non-violence.

The main voluntaryist reply to Murray Rothbard’s article is easily George H. Smith’s *Murray Rothbard, Voluntaryism, & the Great Gandhi Smear* in *The Voluntaryist*.⁶⁸ Smith’s essay focuses on the absurdness of Rothbard’s article, Rothbard’s seemingly inconsistent views of Gandhi, a lack of citations of voluntaryist literature, and most importantly Smith accuses Rothbard of “strategic Leninism”, a theme that would appear in later literature. It appears that Smith had been

⁶⁷ Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security* 33, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 7-44.

⁶⁸ George Smith, "Murray Rothbard, Voluntaryism, & The Great Gandhi Smear," *The Voluntaryist*, 1, no. 5 (1983): 1-8,

anticipating Rothbard's article in the *Libertarian Forum*, but he never predicted the personal attacks of the kind and level of absurdity that Rothbard utilized in his "New Menace of Gandhism" article. In Smith's own words, he did not "foresee anything resembling Murray Rothbard's" article. Furthermore, Rothbard's listing of personal attacks is further complicated by Smith's recounting of Murray Rothbard giving positive reviews of the life of Gandhi in the past. According to George H. Smith, in 1975 at the California Libertarian Party Convention, Smith discussed an anthology written Arthur Koestler entitled *The Heel of Achilles*⁶⁹, of which one of the essays was named *Mahatma Gandhi: A Re-valuation*. Since it used many of the same arguments that Rothbard would later use in the article in the *Libertarian Forum*, Smith called the essay "revisionist" and Rothbard seemed to agree at the time. According to Smith's account of the event:

"I vividly recall Murray's reaction. Stating that Gandhi was a 'good guy' who was 'sound' on British imperialism, Murray emphasized that one's personal life is irrelevant to one's political beliefs and accomplishments. A simple point perhaps, but it sunk in."

In the light of this information, assuming that Smith's account of these events are reliable, Murray Rothbard's article seems that much more confusing. It seems as if Rothbard had radically changed his beliefs regarding the political philosophy of Gandhi sometime between 1975 and 1983 and began accusing others of focusing on his life too much. Ironically, even Rothbard's own article on the topic spends substantial time reviewing Gandhi's life and spends very little time critiquing published voluntaryist literature. In fact, as Smith points out in his article, "indeed, not one word from Wendy McElroy, Carl Watner, or me is quoted anywhere in 'The New Menace of Gandhism,' nor is a single article cited. Rothbard's information comes from unidentified informants, an overwrought imagination, and thin air."⁷⁰ It appears that Rothbard may have his own obsession with the moral demotion of Gandhi among libertarian ranks.

⁶⁹ Arthur Koestler, *The Heel of Achilles: Essays, 1968-73*, (The Heel of Achilles: Essays, 1968-73, 1974).

⁷⁰ Ibid p. 2

From here Smith begins to explain, from his perspective, just why Rothbard seemingly changed his viewpoint. Smith's explanation is what he calls Strategic Leninism, the strategic theory that teaches that the prime strategic virtue is "obedience and loyalty to the Party. All enemies, and especially internal enemies ("deviationists"), must be 'crushed.' The end (the good of the Party) justifies the means. Short of violating rights, Libertarian Leninists exhibit few constraints on their behavior."⁷¹ To the onlooker this would appear odd (libertarian Leninism?). Smith is quick to point out that Rothbard himself used this terminology to describe his own position but later abandoned it for a more decentralized view of strategic planning. Smith believes that libertarian considerations of Gene Sharp's work was hindered by Rothbard's strategy. For example, Murray Rothbard's *Strategies for Libertarian Victory* clearly advocates for a centralized party and for a view of strategic planning that puts emphasis on efficiency:

"If the advancement of liberty requires a movement as well as a body of ideas, it is our contention that the overriding goal of a libertarian movement must be the victory of liberty in the real world, the bringing of the ideal into actuality. This may seem a truism, but unfortunately many libertarians have failed to see the importance of victory as the ultimate and overriding goal."

Rothbard's fascination with Lenin is mentioned in John Payne's article "Rothbard's Time on the Left" in the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*.⁷² It documents Murray Rothbard's strategic relationship that he formed with the New Left during the mid-1960s. Because of the increasingly growing interventionism of the Right in the United States due to Cold War politics, he sought alliances with non-interventionist socialists to create a pro-peace lobby. As one could easily imagine, disputes between Rothbardians and the New Leftists were bound to occur and by 1970 they split. In an editorial in the *Libertarian Forum*, Rothbard explains the demise of the New Left in completely strategic Leninist terms and chastises libertarians for attempting to preserve the alliance. It would appear that though he organizationally left the Leftist movement, he took some of their ideology with him:

⁷¹ *ibid* p. 1

⁷² John Payne. "Rothbard's Time on the Left." *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. No. 01 (205): 7-24.

“One tragedy in this whole affair is that many of the libertarians of New York, New England, and Washington, D.C. have completely forgotten the crucial strategic principle of Lenin: that, in associating with other groups, one must remain firm and steadfast in one's principles, while remaining open and flexible in one's tactics, in response to ever changing institutional conditions. The original idea in allying ourselves with the New Left was to work with a new generation permeated with strong libertarian elements. Now that the New Left has died, and its genuine libertarian elements have disappeared, objective conditions require that we make a tactical shift away from the current Left. Instead, too many of our young East Coast libertarians have done just the opposite of Lenin's strategic advice.”⁷³

Smith is not the only individual to point this out. French journalist Philippe Simonno wrote in the publication *Le Monde* several articles about libertarianism in Europe that strangely caught the eye of the Ludwig Von Mises Institute (they have pdf copies of these articles easily available on their website). He comments “in this text, titled *Toward A Strategy for Libertarian Social Change*, Rothbard takes as his model Lenin, who knew enough to promote capitulation before Germany in 1917, and to let the peasants occupy feudal lands. In the manner of Lenin, Rothbard recommends a ‘centrist’ strategy designed to avoid left-wing utopian deviations and right-wing opportunist deviations.”⁷⁴ To George H. Smith, this strategic Leninism is behind Rothbard's actions in the *Libertarian Forum* and that he possesses a hidden agenda to weed out opposition. Leninist strategic theory, with its emphasis on a centralized vanguard party, runs counter to the inherently decentralized nature of Sharp's work on non-violence. Smith goes on to describe some of the measures that the mainline party had gone to attack opposition:

“It is no secret that the higher echelons of the Radical Caucus have kept a close eye on The Voluntarists for some time. RC members attend voluntaryist meetings and ‘report’ back to Bill Evers and Murray Rothbard. An RC member may be instructed

⁷³Murray Rothbard. "Farewell to the Left," *The Libertarian Forum* 2, no. 9 (May 1, 1970): 2

⁷⁴ Philippe Simonno. "Murray N. Rothbard traces economic history from Plato to Jean-Baptiste Say." *Le Monde*, translation by Roderick T. Long edition Oct. 7, 2003. <http://www.mises.org/etexts/lemonde.pdf> (accessed September 26, 2013).

to distribute anti-voluntaryist literature at a voluntaryist conference, with advance copies rushed to him through the mail.”⁷⁵

What Smith takes on next is Rothbard’s inaccurate representation of non-violence and takes issue with Rothbard’s own strategy for overthrowing the State. Smith mentions that voluntaryist have been using Gene Sharp’s book *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* in a discussion group in Los Angeles. Smith asks the reader to “examine the work of Gene Sharp and judge first-hand whether most of Rothbard’s points are criticism or caricature.”⁷⁶ In regards to Rothbard’s strategy, Smith brings up the valid point that Rothbard’s longing for a centralized party and his “praise for the success of violent revolutions, suggests” Smith claims “that he favors eventual violent revolution in the United States.”⁷⁷ This seems to force Rothbard into reconsidering the libertarian principle of non-aggression (assuming Smith’s analysis is correct).

Only by page four does Smith begin to defend the life of Gandhi. Smith claims he defends Gandhi not because he is a disciple of his but because of Gandhi’s historic legacy is on par with the historic libertarian thinkers. Furthermore, Smith is concerned that Rothbard’s reputation as a credible libertarian historian may trick the reader into thinking that his analysis is thorough and accurate. As Smith puts it, “few libertarians who read Rothbard’s treatment of Gandhi will suspect how terribly distorted and unfair it is. And why should they? Rothbard, after all, is an accomplished historian.”⁷⁸ To rebut Rothbard’s claims regarding Gandhi, Smith’s tactic is to quote mine the life of another person of interest: Samuel Adams. Smith portrays, using the rhetorical techniques used in “The New Menace of Gandhism”, Adams as a religious fanatic and a supporter of the US government’s brutal crackdown of the Whisky Rebellion of 1794. Though this section does draw the interest of the reader, intellectually there is little substance. He spends nearly a whole page expanding on this tongue-in-cheek analysis of Samuel Adams.

It is not until several pages later does Smith’s defense of Gandhi becomes more in-depth and even goes as far to claim Gandhi into the individualist anarchist tradition. Smith also cites Gene

⁷⁵ John Payne. "Rothbard's Time on the Left." *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. No. 01 (205): 7-24.

⁷⁶ George Smith, "Murray Rothbard, Voluntaryism, & The Great Gandhi Smear," *The Voluntaryist*, 1, no. 5 (1983): 1-8,

⁷⁷ Ibid 4

⁷⁸ Ibid

Sharp's *Gandhi as a Political Strategist* as a source. Smith claims "it is important that Gandhi repeatedly called himself an anarchist, that he refused positions of political power, that he called for the abolition of the Indian Congress after independence, that he criticized Nehru's government, that he desired the abolition of the Indian military and the maintenance of, at most, a minimal police force." To prove this, he cites Raghaven N. Iyer's *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*⁷⁹ and B .R .Nanda's *Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography*.⁸⁰ From this Smith concludes that there is, in fact, a strong relationship between voluntaryism and what is called Gandhism. It appears that the intellectual basis for both may be the same; that is to reduce the amount of coercion in society. This of course contradicts notion that non-violence itself may be a form of conflict or maybe even warfare.

Smith ends the article on this note but promises a part two in the next issue. However, this was delayed and eventually the entire idea of a second article was dropped. What appeared instead was a correspondence between George H. Smith and Carl Watner that occurred during the early days of the voluntaryist movement (i.e. May 2nd 1982). Below is the header that appeared in *The Voluntaryist* before the letter:

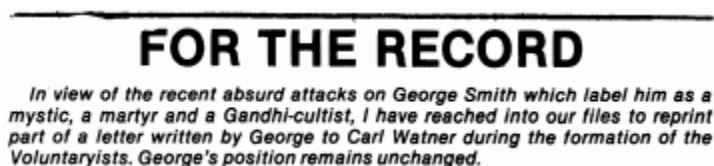


Figure 3 header for the letter between Watner and Smith.

In the letter, Smith points out that the focus of the voluntaryist movement is the delegitimization of the State via education of the population. This, he says, could theoretically have a violent end. For example, he says "one way to destroy the legitimacy of the state is to convince a large number of people that they have the right to use force to defend themselves, against it, as they

⁷⁹ "It would not be extravagant to consider Gandhi as one of the most revolutionary of individualists and one of the most individualistic of revolutionaries."

⁸⁰ "The distrust of the apparatus of government was almost as deeprooted in him as in Tolstoy. He would have agreed with the nineteenth-century doctrine 'that government is best which governs least'."

would against any criminal.”⁸¹ This similar to the strategy used in 2013-2014 Ukraine by the opposition, but Smith rejects this means as ineffective. Regardless here is a strong example of the rationale behind Gene Sharp’s theory of progressive Substitution. Namely, the goal is what is being sought and the means are being explored. Non-violence, upon this investigation of means, seems to be the most rational and effective; thereby replacing violence. Smith also seems aware that using Gandhi as an influence and a figure for strategic study may be controversial among some circles of the libertarian movement. He notes that non-violent strategic planning from a Gandhian perspective “will ‘turn-off’ some libertarians in the movement because the ideology comes off as ‘somewhat cranky’ to them.” From here Smith recommends that the voluntaryists “cast as wide a net as possible” to attract as many anti-political libertarians as possible. In seeming contradiction between Watner’s book review of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* which argued from common ideological starting points, George H. Smith makes it quite clear that the insight of the voluntaryist movement and that of Gandhism are actually quite different. He notes:

“I remain uncomfortable with nonviolent strategy (i.e., nonviolent in the broad sense, e.g., a Gandhian theory). There are important insights here, certainly, but they have not been fully adapted (to my satisfaction) to libertarian ends. In other words, more work remains in this area.”⁸²

The record seems clear that Smith’s understanding of the voluntaryist movement and that of Gandhian non-violence are not one in the same. Rather, the use of non-violence is only a tool from his perspective; a very useful one though. This seems to line up perfectly with the classic Sharpian perspective on non-violence which sees this distinction between goals and means. Non-violence, even if the ideology is not taken up, appears to have the power, after clear and rational induction, to preemptively deescalate conflict by giving clear alternatives to those who may have not had another means of expressing their struggle.

In the *Libertarian Forum*, an article by Wendy McElroy’s constitutes the main voluntaryist rebuttal to Rothbard in that publication. It largely focuses on Rothbard’s accusation “that

⁸¹ Carl Watner and George Smith. "For the Record," *The Voluntaryist*, 1, no. 6 (1983): 2-3,

⁸² Ibid

Voluntaryists are neo-Gandhians bent on martyrdom as a strategy”; which she calls “absurd”.⁸³ She takes issues with the charge that the authors for *The Voluntaryist* are worshiping Gandhi as a near god-like figure and points out that they look to him “as one of the foremost strategists of this century”⁸⁴; while simultaneously they “do not share his religious, economic, cultural, or lifestyle views.”⁸⁵ Non-violence, according to Mrs. McElroy, is only one tool that libertarians can use among many and that libertarians may still “advocate the moral right to use defensive force.”⁸⁶ She instead points towards libertarian history and provides a case that non-violence as a tool against the State has a firm basis in libertarian ideology:

“In expressing and expanding the theory of anti-political anarchism, the Voluntaryists are exploring various non-political strategies of fighting the State. One of these is non-violent resistance as advocated by such Nineteenth Century libertarians as William Lloyd Garrison, Ezra Heywood, Henry David Thoreau and Benjamin Tucker; that is, a withdrawal of the cooperation and consent upon which so much of the State depends.”⁸⁷

McElroy begins to make a case by pointing to an example of non-violence currently being employed by the authors of *The Voluntaryists* and their latest project: the creation of a fund to support and defend Paul Jacob who was indicted for refusing to register for the draft and violating the Selective Service Act. After making his refusal public, he spent nearly two years on the run and was eventually caught attempting to see his wife and newborn child briefly. He was sentenced to six months in prison and to four and a half years of community service.⁸⁸ His essay “The Draft Is Slavery” was published as an “afterwords” to a J. Neil Schulman's science fiction novel entitled *The Rainbow Cadenza*, which also came out in 1983.⁸⁹ Jacob, in his essay, claims that if a government has the ability to draft people into the armed forces, it “owns’ the people.”

⁸³ Wendy McElroy, "The New Menace of Gandhism: A Comment," *Libertarian Forum*, May-June (1983): 3-4,

⁸⁴ *Ibid* p. 3

⁸⁵ *Ibid*

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

⁸⁷ *Ibid*

⁸⁸ Brian Doherty. *Radicals for Capitalism: A Freewheeling History of the Modern American Libertarian Movement*, Public Affairs, 2007, pages 510-513.

⁸⁹ J.N. Schulman. *The Rainbow Cadenza: A Novel in Logosata Form*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983. Afterwords: Red, *The Draft Is Slavery* by Paul Jacob.

This, he says “must constitute a cold, hard slap in the face to those whose history books contain the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights...” McElroy describes *The Voluntaryist*'s support for Jacob as such:

“Thus far, the Voluntaryists’ main expression of non-violence has been a fund established to support the efforts of the libertarian Paul Jacob who was indicted for his refusal to register for the draft and who has been balancing precariously the need to live underground with his anti-draft agitation (e.g. Giving interviews to numerous periodicals).”⁹⁰

From here McElroy goes along a classical Sharpian bent and seems to articulate his theories quite well. For example, she understands the distinction between non-violence and pacifism and has reached the conclusion that non-violent tactics are the most efficacious tool against the State since it draws power based on consent of its subjects. According to McElroy, defensive force against the State and oppressors “is moral but may be the least effective method of achieving the goal of libertarianism- a peaceful society. This is not simply because force tends to breed force. Non-violence is based on a particular analysis of the U.S. government as requiring legitimacy.”⁹¹ This distinction between non-violence and pacifism is one of the key intellectual contributions Gene Sharp made to modern political science.

After the article, Murray Rothbard published a short editorial note rebutting Wendy McElroy’s article in the *Libertarian Forum*.⁹² He charges McElroy with giving “the official line of voluntaryists” by claiming that they are not “Gandhi cultists and protomartyrs”; however, he believes that a much deeper dynamic is at work. He makes it clear that he does not believe that they are lying about their beliefs, rather that their fixation with Gandhian non-violence is pushing them in the direction of cultism. He asks:

“After a sober investigation of Gandhite strategy is over, do they propose to explore the empirical possibilities of *other* successful historical strategies for social change:

⁹⁰ Wendy McElroy , "The New Menace of Gandhism: A Comment , " *Libertarian Forum*, May-June (1983): 3-4

⁹¹ Ibid p. 3

⁹² Murray Rothbard. “The Editor Replies” *Libertarian Forum* , May-June (1983): 3-4

such as the American Revolution, Lenin, the Zionist movement, etc? Somehow, I bet not.”⁹³

From here, Rothbard begins to divert from the issue by calling attention to George H. Smith’s rebuttal of his original article in *The Voluntaryist*. “If McElroy were right...” he says “then George H. Smith would have written a very different response to my ‘Menace of Gandhism’...” Rothbard claims that Smith’s article was merely an attempt to protect the image of Mahatma Gandhi and not the same rebuttal laid out by McElroy. From here, Rothbard hopes to put the issue to rest by declaring his refusal to explore Gandhi more and that he will leave the voluntaryists alone so that they can become a cult on their own devises. Similarly in the *Libertarian Forum* were two letters to the editor in the July-August 1983 edition; one by Lorraine M. Valencia and the other by Carol Moore, who is now a libertarian writer and runs the website www.carolmoore.net. Valencia’s letter largely focuses on questioning the notion that libertarian theorizing is one in the same as the philosophies of randianism and that of the economic views of Mises. Though she clearly supports violence in some cases (“I have always been a supporter of the American Revolution, violence and all.”), she claims she supported non-violent action before actively reading Gandhi, based solely on libertarian literature:

“Before Gandhi came into my reading, I was cheering Thoreau who advocated the same civil disobedience. Where do Randians get off setting the standards for a philosophy and movement, ages old, long before Ms. Rand came upon the scene?”⁹⁴

Valencia’s rebuttal is very powerful in that it strikes at the very basis of Rothbard’s worldview. However, Moore’s letter to the editor is far from this since it could be used to reinforce Rothbard’s claim that there is a connection between the counter-culture of the 1960s and the practice of non-violence. Moore seems to confirm this connection and supports the use of new age of rhetoric and epistemic relativism. Moore believes “the ‘revolution’ will come from those of us who believe in the metaphysics of relativistic creative consciousness, the ethics of freewill

⁹³ Ibid

⁹⁴ Moore and Valencia. “Letters to the editor”. *The Libertarian Forum*. Vol. 17, No. 7-8, July-August, 1983

and non-violence.”⁹⁵ Rothbard’s replies that her claim that non-violence naturally comes out of a relativistic worldview; however, he spends no time critiquing Valencia’s letter to the editor; thus showing the strength of here critique. This could constitute an admission that the world-view supported by Ayn Rand may be at odds with non-violence at some level.

1.3 DISCUSSION

An in-depth analyses of non-violence and Gene Sharp within the context of their role in shaping and remolding the Libertarian Party in the early 1980s is far from complete. This chapter merely analyses recently available materials released by organizations such as the Ludwig Von Mises Institute. The subsequent chapter begins to explore leftist conversations on the same topic and the following reaches a conclusion about the nature of these conversations. Outside of libertarian circles, there is next to no literature on the topic, but what was the lasting impact did this dialogue had on free-market ideology and the later internal politics of the Libertarian Party? Did these discussions continue in some capacity and by whom? Was Sharp’s interaction with libertarian groups limited to a conference in the early 80s or was this involvement on a continual basis? Did the Libertarian Party continue its “strategic Leninism”? These are all questions to be explored in this discussion section for this chapter.

Libertarian anarchism and, in fact, anarchism in general has always been in the position of finding non-state alternatives to the services we currently enjoy on a daily basis. Services such as road construction are activities that are seemingly impossible without the State. Regardless, libertarian anarchists have attempted to rebut these arguments from necessity. For example, published by the libertarian anarchist think-tank the Ludwig Von Mises Institute, Walter Block’s book *The Privatization of Roads and Highways: Human and Economic Factors*⁹⁶ presents a theory of road privatization and attempts to provide mechanisms for speed limits, drunk driving prevention, replacements for motor vehicle bureaus, and other facets needed for a functional transportation system. Security, like road building, is another function that too may seem impossible without the State. Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada and Senior

⁹⁵ Rothbard, Murray. “The Editor Replies” *Libertarian Forum*, May-June (1983): 3-4

⁹⁶ Walter Block. *The Privatization of Roads and Highways: Human and Economic Factors*. Auburn, Alabama: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2009.

Fellow at the Ludwig von Mises Institute, co-editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, and co-editor of the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* Hans-Hermann Hoppe undertook the challenge of providing a conception of security apart from that of the State. In 2003, his efforts produced a collection of essays entitled *The Myth of National Defense: Essays on the Theory and History of Security Production*.⁹⁷ There in, different authors such as Murray Rothbard, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, Joseph R. Stromberg, Gerard Radnitzky, Walter Block, and of course Hans-Hermann Hoppe himself critiqued the security state apparatus and offered alternatives to the role it plays in modern society. Hans-Hermann Hoppe's 1999 paper "The Private Production of Defense" in the *Journal of Libertarian Studies* serves as the theoretical basis for many of the theories of replacement proposed in *The Myths of National Security* and more specifically influenced most of the content Hoppe's essay for the book "Government and the Private Production of Defense". Though Hoppe's theory of security acknowledges that all power is legitimized from consent and that the withdrawal of this consent will be necessary to overthrow the State,⁹⁸ Hoppe's theory rests on the production of private insurers and militaries for the purpose of protecting property holders. He explains in his fundamental 1999 paper that:

"Defense is a form of insurance, and defense expenditures represent a sort of insurance premium (price)... The better the protection of insured property, the lower are the damage claims and hence an insurer's costs. Thus, to provide efficient protection appears to be in every insurer's own financial interest; and in fact even now, although restricted and hampered by the state, insurance agencies provide wide-ranging services of protection and indemnification (compensation) to injured private parties."⁹⁹

Essentially, Hoppe imagines a world of militarized insurance companies enforcing the interests of their customers. Hoppe takes the propertarian¹⁰⁰ viewpoint of property rights and then applies

⁹⁷ Hans-Hermann Hoppe, *The Myth of National Defense: Essays on the Theory and History of Security Production*, (Auburn, Alabama: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2003).

⁹⁸ For example, Hoppe's 1999 article in *The Journal of Libertarian Studies* cites Etienne de la Boetie's *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* and exclaims that "For the power of every government, even the most despotic one, rests ultimately on opinion and consent, as La Boetie, Hume, Mises and Rothbard have explained." P. 49-50.

⁹⁹ Hans-Herman Hoppe. "The Private Production of Defense," *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, 14, no. 1 (1999), 35

¹⁰⁰ Propertarianism is the ethical position that liberty and rights are derived from private property.

them to collective self-defense. The purpose of protection and security, he explains, is to “defend private property owners from aggression”.¹⁰¹ Hoppe’s theory seems to only replace the structures necessary for violence instead of seeking to abolish them. Hoppe’s theories of security, to no surprise, caught the eye of Carl Watner (one of the authors behind advocating for non-violence among apolitical libertarians in the 1980s). This prompted Watner to publish “Without Firing A Single Shot: Societal Defense and Voluntaryist Resistance” in *The Journal of Libertarian Studies* in 2006 after libertarian David Gordon published a positive book review of *The Myth of National Security* in the Ludwig Von Mises Institute’s *The Mises Review*.¹⁰²

Watner’s central thesis of the paper is that though he does “heartily endorse” the need to move beyond the State in regards to security, he chastises the authors who represent mainstream anarcho-libertarian thought for failing to consider the possibility of non-violent resistance. He points out that they fail to even cite literature relevant to the topic:

“Neither its author, nor the editor, nor the contributors to *The Myth of National Defense* (the volume Gordon was reviewing) consider one important variant of nonstate defense, namely, civilian based nonviolence... practically none of the current advocates of nonstate defense strategies suggest civilian-based nonviolence (Stromberg 2003, p. 237). What they overlook is the possibility of a nonstate society defending itself ‘without firing a shot.’”¹⁰³

Watner is quite right that Hoppe’s collection of essays fails to even mention the work of Gene Sharp and others. The collection makes absolutely no reference to Sharp’s books like *Making Europe Unconquerable*, *National Security Through Civilian-based Defense*, or his *Self-Reliant Defense without Bankruptcy or War*. In fact, the word “non-violence” makes no appearance throughout the entirety of the essays. It appears that Watner’s work to bring non-violent struggle into mainstream libertarian thought largely failed. Even in his own words, Watner laments that

¹⁰¹ Ibid 51.

¹⁰² David Gordon. "Security Without a State," *The Mises Review* , 10, no. 1 (2004),

¹⁰³ Carl Watner. "Without Firing A Single Shot: Voluntaryist Resistance and Societal Defense." *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. no. 3 (2006). 1

“why has there been so little consideration of nonviolent resistance among libertarians?”¹⁰⁴ He seems to blame the rejection of non-violence (both Gandhian and Sharpian) on an invalid interpretation of the libertarian concept of a moral right to use force in self-defense situations. Rhetorically, he asks “is it because they [libertarians] are so enamored with the concept of self-defense that they automatically assume that violence in the sphere of self-protection should be automatically extended to national defense?”¹⁰⁵ This seems to lend truth to the Gandhian belief that personal non-violence seems to precede the application of non-violent resistance.

Another explain for this rejection can be found in George H. Smith’s reply to Murray Rothbard in *The Voluntaryist*. Namely, that deviationist and unorthodox libertarian groups were the subject of what Rothbard himself called “strategic Leninism”. Rothbard’s fascination with Lenin is clearly outlined John Payne’s article “Rothbard’s Time on the Left” in the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. Rothbard agreed with Lenin that the key strategic value is, when “associating with other groups, one must remain firm and steadfast in one's principles while remaining open and flexible in one's tactics, in response to ever changing institutional conditions.”¹⁰⁶ Payne shows that this insight seems to be derived from Rothbard’s failure to create a successful libertarian caucus in the 1970s and 1960s and a long lasting relationship with the New Left. The very first conference of Rothbard’s Radical Libertarian Alliance on Columbus Day 1969 was described by Rothbard in the *Libertarian Forum* as a complete disaster and was “counter-productive”. Rothbard explains “one obvious lesson of the Conference is the emergence of ultra-left adventurism as a major threat to the movement...” and that libertarians must produce “far more selective, and more homogeneous meetings, in which there will be far more room for much-needed internal education of cadre, and for genuine discussion and dialogue.”¹⁰⁷ It appears, given Rothbard’s insight into the formation of the Libertarian Party and the collapse of the former Radical Libertarian Alliance, that libertarian theorizing into non-violence was greatly hindered by

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. In an interview with the author, Jesse Walker (a writer at the libertarian publication *Reason*) noted that Sharp’s influence upon libertarians was quite limited. “I don’t know that Sharp & co. have had much of an influence on the institutional level, though. Nor am I sure why that should be so. I haven’t encountered much *hostility* to him from libertarians, so I suspect it has more to do with not being aware of his work than not liking it.”

¹⁰⁵ Ibid 30. In an interview with the author, Jesse Walker (a writer at the libertarian publication *Reason*) reinforces this interpretation. “I suppose some Second Amendment activists might react unhappily to the ideas that guns might not be the best means of overthrowing an oppressive government.”

¹⁰⁶ John Payne. “Rothbard’s Time on the Left.” *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. No. 01 (2005): 22.

¹⁰⁷ Murray Rothbard. “Two Steps Forward, Two Steps Back: THE CONFERENCE.” *The Libertarian Forum*. No. 15 (1969): 3.

“Strategic Leninism” because it was seen as a deviation from the official party line. The past failures of libertarians to weed out political deviants within their own ranks engrained into Rothbard an ideology of institutional uniformity and the notion of non-violent struggle fell victim to it. Even in libertarian literature outside that of the Ludwig Von Mises Institute and its immediate associates, discussions of the strategic input of Leninism were still abound. For example, also in 1983 Stuart Butler and Peter Germanis wrote in the Cato Institute’s *Cato Journal* that Leninist strategy may prove useful for privatizing Social Security; the creation of a resilient coalition that pushes for radical reform. They explain that “as we contemplate basic reform of the Social Security system, we would do well to draw a few lessons from the Leninist strategy”¹⁰⁸ and “what libertarian must do is construct a coalition around the Ferrara plan, a coalition that will gain directly from its implementation.”¹⁰⁹ The plan of which they speak is Peter Ferrara’s model of social security privatization that is outlined in his books *Social Security: The Inherent Contradiction* and *Security: Averting the Crisis*.

Outside of anarcho-libertarian circles and into minarcho-libertarian ones, short and limited discussions of non-violence are brought up from time to time. For example in 1994, in the *Humane Studies Review*, Bryan Caplan published a bibliographic essay entitled “The Literature of Non-violence and Civilian Based Defense”.¹¹⁰ The purpose of the essay was to provide the associates of the Institute of Humane Studies at George Mason a summary of the academic material in the field. A more recent example of libertarians diving into the work of Gene Sharp and others is that of Jesse Walker, a contributor to the libertarian publication *Reason Magazine* and an author of several books such *Rebels on the Air: An Alternative History of Radio in America* and *The United States of Paranoia: A Conspiracy Theory*. For *Reason Magazine*, Walker wrote many articles on non-violence and even conducted an interview of Sharp himself. Regardless, both of these examples only seek to explore non-violence and do not bring it into libertarianism as a central strategic tenet, unlike Watner and other writers at *The*

¹⁰⁸ Stuart Butler and Peter Germanis. "Achieving a 'Leninist' Strategy." *Cato Journal*. No. 2 (1983): 1. <http://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/cato-journal/1983/11/cj3n2-11.pdf> (accessed November 20, 2013).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid 2

¹¹⁰ Bryan Caplan. "The Literature of Nonviolence resistance and Civilian Base-Defense." *Humane Studies Review*. No. 1 (1994).

Voluntaryist. Thus, outside of history books and certain deviant libertarian groups, academic theorizing on Gandhian or Sharpian non-violent struggle is at best a passing fad within the larger libertarian movement.

It also hard to measure the influence of radical libertarian or anarcho-libertarian thought had on the work of the Albert Einstein Institute, but it is clear that at least one associate there is at least familiar with their work. Murray Rothbard is not mentioned in the text of any of the institute's books but he is mentioned though in the footnotes of *Nonviolent Struggle and the Revolution in East Germany* by Roland Bleike.¹¹¹ Sharp mention's Boétie's book *Discours'* which discusses the relationship between power and consent; of which Rothbard wrote the introduction to the English version because its popularity within anarchist circles. Bleike describes this introduction "as a good exposition of a structural interpretation of de la Boétie." However, in the text of the book, Bleike clearly says that *Discours'* has "so far received a relatively one-sided reading, which focused primarily on existentialist and anarchist interpretations..." Thus Bleike clearly believes that non-anarchist readings of the text are certainly possible.

Carl Watner makes no appearance in any of the books produced by the Albert Einstein Institution, but he does appear on the institute's news feed for an article he wrote for the *Vermont Commons* entitled "Of A Quiet and Peaceable Behavior: The Freeman's Oath and the Nonviolent Defense of a Vermont Republic".¹¹² The article advocates of the secession of Vermont from the Union via non-violent struggle. Needless to say, the Albert Einstein Institute merely showcasing an article in their newsfeed is far from institutional support for libertarianism and other such ideologies. At the very least though, it shows that the institute keeps an eye on libertarians using their work.

Given the Left-Wing nature of many Peace and Conflict Studies programs, using libertarian theorizing seems to be an efficient avenue for (ironically) developing a truly Critical Theory

¹¹¹ Roland Bleike. *Nonviolent Struggle and the Revolution in East Germany*. 1430 Massachusetts Avenue Cambridge, MA 0213: The Albert Einstein Institution, 1993. Footnote 80.

¹¹² Carl Watner. "'Of A Quiet and Peaceable Behavior' - The Freeman's Oath and the Nonviolent Defense of a Vermont Republic." *Vermont Commons*, August 31, 2007. "Citizens must be prepared mentally, spiritually, and physically to resist the demands of the federal government when it opposes Vermont's peaceable secession."

regarding conflict resolution. For purposes of challenging students of Peace and Conflict studies to think outside the box, an introduction to Carl Watner's various writings supporting non-violence seems to be worthwhile when discussing different perspectives regarding non-violence to jar the student's intellectual worldview. Since people-power is a form of power by itself, to expect it to correlate to any one economic ideology is purely a fantasy. As discussed elsewhere, the expectation that one's personal ideology, especially economic ones, somehow has a monopoly on non-violent struggle will only lead to disappointment. This suggests that the spectrum by which to understand debates about non-violence may not be economic at all. The fault-line of this libertarian conversation in the early 1980s was between inherently centralized "strategic leninism" and the inherently decentralized progressive substitutionary power of non-violence.

CHAPTER TWO:

2. REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF THE FAR-LEFT'S ATTACK ON NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE

The mid 2000s erupted into a debate regarding the work of Gene Sharp and his associates but largely from far-left critics. This reinvigorated the conversation around non-violence, but in respect to perceived crimes against leftist agendas. The most iconic moment during this conversation was easily Hugo Chavez's public statements attacking the Albert Einstein Institution. Other facets of the debate were French Marxist Thierry Meyssan's article in the Voltaire Network, the "Open Letter in Support of Gene Sharp and Strategic Nonviolent Action" by Professor Stephan Zunes, and Jamila Raqib's public statement on the issue. Like the previous dialogue, this conversation took place over several years but was mostly confined to 2005-2008. In these years the radical left moved one step closer to the realization that the power of the people is a power of its own; no mere economic ideology can contain its ability to destroy and create civilizations. Based on this conversation about the so-called imperialism of the Albert Einstein Institution, numerous bloggers of the Marxist persuasion wrote articles repeating the claims of these publications and it became an internet sensation for some time on the far-left.

Whether the intellectual content of the speech is up to par or not, Hugo Chavez's June 3rd, 2007, speech denouncing the Albert Einstein Institution alone represents the fault line between leftism and non-violence. Made in the presence of Daniel Ortega, the elected president of the Nicaraguan Republic, and the Cuban Minister for Economic Cooperation, Marta Lomas, Chavez launches out a series of criticisms against the United States of America. Such accusations include but are not limited to the notion that the United States of America was behind the attacks on September 11th, 2001, and that there exists a plot against him that is driven by the imperialist government of the United States in conjunction with Albert Einstein Institution. According to the leftist news publication the Voltaire Network (a periodical which Chavez cites), "alerting the peoples he was addressing, President Hugo Chavez quoted the works of Thierry Meyssan, author

of The Big Lie, The Pentagate and president of the Voltaire Network.”¹¹³ Unlike the previous example of controversies around the works of Gene Sharp and the Albert Einstein Institution, this criticism was from a head of state and not from the edges of political culture; hence it being wider known than the libertarian conversation on the same issue.

Was there or is there a plot against the Chavez regime? It does seem clear that to some degree that foreign NGOs that specialize in non-violence have attempted to train opposition forces in Venezuela. It does seem clear that The Center for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS) was at least involved in consulting individuals in the US and Venezuela. In a series of e-mails leaked by WikiLeaks from the Texas-based private intelligence company Stratfor, it was revealed that CANVAS has written reports on regime change in Venezuela and that they have been active in the country. According to Reva Bhalla, the vice president of Global Analysis at Stratfor, CANVAS has a document that outlines a “strategy for Venezuela” and that they are “ramping up their work there.”¹¹⁴ However, there may be an explanation for this. It is also clear that CANVAS views their role as advisory according to the same e-mails. In the e-mail exchange, Marko Pasic, a Senior Eurasia Analyst at the geopolitical analysis house Stratfor, translated an e-mail sent to him from an individual designated as “CANVAS leader”. Part of the e-mail reads:

“We only give them the tools to use them [activists]. In Venezuela's case, because of the complete disaster that the place is, because of suspicion between opposition groups and disorganization, we have to do the initial analysis. Whether they go on to next steps really depends on them”¹¹⁵ [all typographical errors original]

Regardless of whether CANVAS's role in the country is legitimate or not, the e-mails do not mention the Albert Einstein Institution or Gene Sharp. However, AEI has self-reported its consultations with the opposition in the country. In the *2000-2004 Report on Activities*, the

¹¹³ Voltaire Network, "Hugo Chavez recommends reading Thierry Meyssan's investigations." Last modified June 8, 2007 . Accessed November 20, 2013. <http://www.voltairenet.org/article148932.html>.

¹¹⁴ Reva Bhalla, email message to Marko Pasic. WikiLeaks. Accessed November 20th, 2013. <http://search.wikileaks.org/gifiles/?viewemailid=1116408>

¹¹⁵ Marko Pasic. Email to a secure network. WikiLeaks Accessed November 20, 2013 <http://search.wikileaks.org/gifiles/?viewemailid=1708470>

public is told that a “nine-day consultation was held by consultants Robert Helvey and Chris Miller in Caracas for members of the Venezuelan democratic opposition. The objective of the consultation was to provide them with the capacity to develop a nonviolent strategy to restore democracy to Venezuela. Participants included members of political parties and unions, nongovernmental organization leaders, and unaffiliated activists.”¹¹⁶ These consultations were not hidden and were not part of a secret government scheme to take control of the country; contrary to the picture given by that of Hugo Chavez. Furthermore, it is in full agreement with the organization’s consolation policy.¹¹⁷ Finally, the question of whether Chavez’s Venezuela demonstrated undemocratic tendencies is still largely under debate in academic circles. Right-wing American think-tanks and intellectuals point towards the country’s crack-down on opposition forces. Javier Corrales for *Foreign Policy* writes that one of the major themes in Chavez’s propaganda campaign is “the evil of political parties” and the “Chavez-controlled election body ensures that voting irregularities committed by the state are overlooked.”¹¹⁸ However, some reply that the regime’s economic policies are more than generous to the poor. Jeffery R. Webber, an author for the American socialist publication *Jacobin*, writes “extreme poverty dropped 57.8 percent, from 16.6 to 7 percent between 1999 and 2011.”¹¹⁹ Whether the government of Hugo Chavez is authoritarian or not, it is clear American neoconservatives have an eye on Venezuela. The Heritage Foundation, one of the biggest neoconservative think-tanks in the United States of America recommends “democracy promotion” in the country:

“Despite Chávez’s consistent efforts to undercut and demonize support for the democratic opposition, the Administration should not be afraid to increase support

¹¹⁶ *Report on Activities: 2000-2004*. Boston, MA: Albert Einstein Institution, 2004. <http://www.aeinstein.org/organizations/org/2000-04rpt.pdf> (accessed November 20, 2013).

¹¹⁷ “The Einstein Institution and its personnel do not themselves become participants in specific conflicts, as by engaging in civil disobedience or hunger strikes on behalf of the cause of one protagonist. Nor do the Institution’s personnel participate in strategic decision-making.” Albert Einstein Institute, “The Albert Einstein Institution Consulting Policy.” Accessed November 12, 2013. <http://www.aeinstein.org/AEIconsultPOLICY.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ Javier Corrales. “Hugo Boss.” *Foreign Policy*, Jan. 4, 2006.

¹¹⁹ Jeffery Webber. “Venezuela After Chávez.” *Jacobin*, April 8, 2013.

for the political opposition, especially in the area of party formation and electoral observation.¹²⁰

It is this push by American neoconservatives to interfere with the domestic affairs of Venezuela that prompted Hugo Chavez to denounce Gene Sharp and the work of the Albert Einstein Institution, who openly admits giving advice to the opposition. Is this advice part of a larger program led by the United States of America? If yes, how many modern revolutions fall within this category? If no, at what point does the work of the Albert Einstein Institution end and the work of entities connected to the United States security apparatus begin? The following is an exploration of this very issue.

2.1 MEYSSAN AND THE VOLTAIRE NETWORK

As noted before, the inspiration of Chavez's criticism of Gene Sharp are the writings of Thierry Meyssan, a French Marxist who published a scathing expose of Sharp on a left-wing publication called the *Voltaire Network* in 2005.¹²¹ In France, he is known for his conspiracy theories regarding the attacks on September 11th, 2001, in the United States. His theory that a Boeing 757 did not hit the Pentagon in Washington D.C.¹²² has been heavily criticized even by other 9/11 conspiracy theorists such as Jim Hoffmann, one of the main proponents of 9/11 denial in the United States and an operator of the pop-conspiracy theorist website 911research.wtc7.net.¹²³ He also received notoriety for his claims that the CIA was behind the Beslan school massacre¹²⁴ and for claiming that the CIA was attempting to assassinate him in Libya.¹²⁵ For the most of his critique of Sharp, Meyssan attempts to (1) prove that Sharp is an agent of U.S. imperialism by drawing connections between Sharp and particular individuals within of the U.S. security

¹²⁰ Ray Walser. *What to Do about Hugo Chávez: Venezuela's Challenge to Security in the Americas*, (Heritage Foundation, 2009), 21.

¹²¹ Thierry Meyssan. "The Albert Einstein Institution: non-violence according to the CIA." *Voltaire Network* Jan. 4, 2005.

¹²² Thierry Meyssan. *9/11: the big lie*. London: Carnot Pub, 2002.

¹²³ Hoffman, Jim. The Pentagon No-757-Crash Theory: Booby Trap for 9/11 Skeptics, "911research.com." Last modified Nov. 15, 2004. Accessed October 14, 2013. <http://911research.wtc7.net/essays/pentagontrap.html>.

¹²⁴ Thierry Meyssan. "Beslan: the mystery clarified one year later" *Voltaire Network*. Sept. 7, 2005.

¹²⁵ Thierry Meyssan. "Thierry Meyssan and Mahdi Darius Nazemroaya Under Death Threat in Tripoli." *Voltaire Network*. August 22, 2011.

apparatus, (2) show that there is no ideological common ground between himself and Sharpian strategic non-violence, and (3) pointing to particular revolutions that he considers illegitimate.

Meyssan begins his examination of Sharpian non-violence by appealing to the traditions of Henry David Thoreau and M.K. Gandhi. Non-violence was a religious and moral enterprise for these activists, but, as noted constantly throughout much of Sharp's work, Sharpian non-violence makes a distinction between goals and means. Gandhian non-violence much like Carl Watner's interpretation of libertarianism, as opposed to George H. Smith's interpretation, claims that the goals and the means are always connected; therefore, if the means are moral and the ends will be. However, Meyssan, in the very first paragraph is beginning to spin a web of ideology instead of fact. More specifically, Meyssan criticizes Sharp for having ideological differences with Gandhi and Thoreau, but he fails to note that Thoreau was, in fact, a libertarian and a tax-protestor.¹²⁶ Thus to allow no room for ideological innovation would also exclude Meyssan himself since he is a hardline Marxist.

Meyssan jumps quickly into showing that Sharp may have less than respectable connections in terms to leftist credentials. He makes much of the fact that George F. Kennan, one of the men behind the United States Containment Policy during the Cold War, wrote the forward to Gene Sharp's book *Making Europe Unconquerable*. Though this is entirely true, a careful reading of Kennan's forward is quite useful to students of non-violent struggle. Kennan reflects on the futility of nuclear deterrence and points to civilian-based defense as a viable alternative to a possible future invasion by the Soviets into Europe. He points out "to create a nuclear arsenal or to accept someone else's missiles on one's own territory is to increase immensely, from a point of near zero to a very high level, the danger that in any sort of a nuclear conflict one's own country will become a likely target." By this point in his career, Kennan seems to have grown immensely tired of war and he even rebuked both of the World Wars in his forward. He says "It is inescapably clear that in the two great European wars of this century there were, in reality, no victors. These were, in effect, simply senseless orgies of destruction."¹²⁷ At no point throughout the forward does the reader have the sense that Kennan has the intent of using non-violent

¹²⁶ Jeff Riggenschach. "Henry David Thoreau: Founding Father of American Libertarian Thought." *Mises Daily*, July 15th, 2010.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* Kennan, George. "Forward" xiii.

struggle for pro-imperialist purposes. Given the book was written in 1985, it is highly unlikely that Kennan wrote the review with the purpose for it to be used for dissenting movements in Eastern Europe in 1989.

Another figure that Meyssan points to is Thomas C. Schelling, who won the Nobel Prize in economics in 2005 for his work in Game Theory. Schelling was the chairman for the Albert Einstein Institution for five years and was replaced by Elizabeth F. DeFeis, the former Dean of Seton Hall University School of Law.¹²⁸ Schelling also wrote the introductions to Gene Sharp's *The Politics of Non-violent Action*.¹²⁹ Schelling's work on Game Theory pertains to strategic behavior in conflicts. His books *The Strategy of Conflict* and *Arms and Conflict* look at conflict as a series of bargaining maneuvers. In an op-ed for the Washington Post, Michael Kinsley accurately described Schelling's research as such: "you're standing at the edge of a cliff, chained by the ankle to someone else. You'll be released, and one of you will get a large prize, as soon as the other gives in. How do you persuade the other guy to give in, when the only method at your disposal – threatening to push him off the cliff – would doom you both?"¹³⁰ Schelling's work in Game Theory is also useful for showing how subtle racism can lead to full on segregation. His famous paper "Models of Segregation" in the *American Economic Review* showed that a preference for having a neighbor of the same skin color may eventually lead to segregated communities based on the insight of Game Theory. However, despite these contributions, Meyssan may be correct in saying that Schelling may need closer examination.

Though Meyssan does not go into depth in his article about Gene Sharp on the background of Schelling, he does do so in another article of his.¹³¹ Meyssan claims that Schelling helped inspire Operation Rolling Thunder, the bombing campaign in Vietnam from 1965 to 1968. Fred Kaplan, a journalist for The Slate's *War Stories* column seems to agree at least partially with Meyssan

¹²⁸ "AEI Board Elects New Chair," *Nonviolent Sanctions*, 6, no. 3 (1994/5),
<http://www.aeinstein.org/organizationsbb9c.html> (accessed November 12, 2013).

¹²⁹ pp. xix-xxi.

¹³⁰ Michael Kinsley. "A Nobel Laureate Who's Got Game." *Washington Post*, sec. Op-Ed, Oct 12, 2005.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/10/11/AR2005101101336.html> (accessed October 16, 2013).

¹³¹ Thierry Meyssan. Voltaire Network, "Thomas Schelling and Robert Aumann, the Nobel Prize winners who see war as a game." Last modified Oct. 26, 2005. Accessed November 12, 2013.
<http://www.voltairenet.org/article130204.html>.

and says that in an interview with Schelling for his book *The Wizards of Armageddon*, John McNaughton asked Schelling, the then assistant secretary of defense and adviser to McNamara (the secretary of defense), for advice on the bombing campaign that would soon begin in Vietnam: “Schelling and McNaughton pondered the problem for more than an hour. In the end, they failed to come up with a single plausible answer to these most basic questions... He did leave McNaughton with one piece of advice: Whatever kind of bombing campaign you end up launching, it shouldn't last more than three weeks.”¹³² Though Meyssan's painting of Schelling as the mastermind of the campaign is inaccurate¹³³, it would be fair to say that Schelling was at least partially responsible since the bombing campaign was based off of his theories in Game Theory. Nevertheless, one must be fair and point out that Operation Rolling Thunder did not last three weeks, rather three years. This casts suspicion on Meyssan's interpretation of the events.

Beyond attempting to show direct relationships between Sharp and various figures, Meyssan's theories regarding Gene Sharp largely rests on showing that there exists some overlap regarding the interests of certain non-violent revolutionary organization that Sharp helped train and the interests of the United States government (which in the mind of Meyssan always equals imperialism). For example, Meyssan claims “Sharp has always been present everywhere American interests are put at risk. In June 1989, he and his assistant, Bruce Jenkins, went to Beijing, two weeks before Tiananmen events.” In another article on the failure of protests in Syria, Meyssan asks the reader to recount “in 1989, Sharp was tasked by the CIA with conducting the practical application of his theoretical research in China. The United States wanted to topple Deng Xiaoping in favor of Zhao Ziyang. The intention was to stage a coup with a veneer of legitimacy by organizing street protests...”¹³⁴ It is clear that Sharp and Jenkins did indeed visit Beijing, China, two weeks before the massacre at Tiananmen Square. The Albert

¹³² Thierry Meyssan, Voltairenet, "Western leaders slip back into their childhood." Last modified August 9, 2012. Accessed October 21, 2013. <http://www.voltairenet.org/article175241.html>.

¹³³ Kinsley 2005 “in 1964, national security advisor McGeorge Bundy, worried about the possibility that the US officials could repeat in Viet Nam the same errors that General Douglas MacArthur had committed in North Korea (he tried to ‘vitrify’ the country to get rid of the communists once and for all) he asked John McNaughton and Thomas C. Schelling to create a gradual strategy, that is, a scenario that included provocations and that would allow for an escalation that would force the Vietnamese to cede.”

¹³⁴ Thierry Meyssan. Voltaire Network, "Western leaders slip back into their childhood." Last modified August 9, 2012. Accessed November 21, 2013. <http://www.voltairenet.org/article175241.html>.

Einstein Institution even released an article covering the events on their regular newsletter.¹³⁵ This is hardly the behavior of a covert CIA operation. Sharp's and Jenkin's article on the subject makes it clear that the Albert Einstein Institution's work had very little influence on the events that took place. After interviewing students, they came to the conclusion that there is no "evidence of more formal understanding of the nature of non-violent struggle. None of the students we spoke with knew of any books, pamphlets, or audio-visual materials (in any language) dealing with non-violent struggle."¹³⁶ The manner in which Meysan portrays Sharp's involvement with the student movement in China is that Sharp somehow caused the movement himself and that the interests of the students were somehow illegitimate because of certain anti-communist motives. Furthermore, Meysan fails to provide a mechanism to explain how this is so.

Meysan uses a similar mode of reasoning when approaching the problem of Milosevic and the internal politics of Serbia. He claims that the Albert Einstein Institution "provided ideology and technique to Otpor! (Resistance), a group of Slobodan Milosevic's young opponents...Otpor quickly became a choice to overthrow Milosevic who was very popular for resisting NATO." Though Meysan is correct in stating that the United States government has a vested interest that roughly corresponds with the interests with that of Otpor!'s interests, Meysan seems to be implying that the rule of Milosevic was entirely legitimate, even though he was involved in electoral fraud and was a war-criminal. At what point was Otpor!'s move on the capital an illegitimate course of action? Here, Meysan is caught in a quandary; peace is pitted against leftism and leftist ideology won out in his mind. However, the most interesting of the arguments presented by Meysan is that from legitimacy. He explains "focusing on the morality of the means of action avoids debate on the legitimacy of the action." This is perhaps the most profound statement in his review of Sharp's work.

Meysan's words point out a disconnection between the morality of final goals, of which economic ideology would fall under, and the morality of the means. This reinforces the worldview that non-violent struggle can have true believers and true skeptics on both sides of the

¹³⁵ Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins. "Nonviolent Struggle in China: An Eyewitness Account," *Nonviolent Sanctions News from the Albert Einstein Institution*, 1, no. 2 (1989): 1, 3-6,

¹³⁶ *ibid*

political spectrum. Sharp clearly articulates non-violent struggle as entailing political freedom. In his book *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*, Sharp highlights some factors that make a democracy durable upon the dismantling of a dictatorship. Features such as blocking coups, being vigilant against attempts to establish a new dictatorship, democratic defense policies, drafting a new constitution, the empowerment of oppressed peoples, and so on are pointed to as vital by Sharp, but none are explicitly economic. Instead, Sharp sees political freedom as a prerequisite for justifiable economic conditions:

“No one should believe that with the downfall of the dictatorship an ideal society will immediately appear. The disintegration of the dictatorship simply provides the beginning point, under conditions of enhanced freedom, for long-term efforts to improve the society and meet human needs more adequately. Serious political, economic, and social problems will continue for years, requiring the cooperation of many people and groups in seeking their resolution.”¹³⁷

One could interpret Sharp’s lack of economic input in this way: free elections and political liberty do not guarantee a just society. However, if there is no accountable government structures in place, building a just society becomes virtually impossible. Democracy affords a political opening whereby economic justice can be pursued. Meyssan’s critique presupposes that economic justice can be realized outside of democratic institutions. It is this aspect of democratic structures that persons from across the political spectrum can push towards; thereby explaining how persons from across the economic spectrum may get involved in genuine non-violent struggle. The destruction of totalitarian autocracies is a prerequisite for both socialist and libertarian visions of the economy.

¹³⁷ Gene Sharp, *From Dictatorship to Democracy A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*, (East Boston, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2010), 73.

2.2 SHARP AND ASSOCIATE'S REPLY

As one could imagine, the explosion on the internet of leftist criticism of strategic non-violence would catch the eye of the Albert Einstein Institution and would merit some addressing from the Institution's associates. Of these rebuttals, the most notable would be Sharp's public letter to Meyssan which was published on the Institution's website and on the Voltaire Network in 2007, a public statement written by Jamila Raqib, the Executive Director of the organization, and Dr. Stephen Zunes' public letter of support (which had more than one hundred signatories). Together, these three documents constitute the official reply to Meyssan et al. It is important to note, that, like much of Meyssan's material on the topic, none of these public letters underwent a peer-review process nor were they published in an academic magazine or something of the sort. However, given the nature of conversation, an online discussion may be entirely appropriate.

2.2.1 Sharp's Personal Rebuttal

It took two years for the Albert Einstein Institution to release a statement on Meyssan's critique of their work. On June 12th, 2012, Gene Sharp released a public letter to the Voltaire Network entitled "CORRECTIONS: An open letter from Gene Sharp". Lasting four pages long, Sharp discusses a few of the topics brought up in Meyssan's initial article "The Albert Einstein Institution: non-violence according to the CIA". Gene Sharp lays out the case that Meyssan's accusations represents the "prime example of inaccuracies about nonviolent action and about myself. Why and how this came to be is somewhat puzzling."¹³⁸ Sharp's popularity within left-wing circles would lead one to think that he would be exempt from criticism by them, but, as with any form of politics, conflict involves power. Power necessarily is the object of agents and agents have an array of ideological perspectives

Sharp denounced as untrue many of Meyssan historical claims. The funding for the institute, he claims, is not received from any government; though while at Harvard University writing his

¹³⁸ Gene Sharp. Albert Einstein Institution , "CORRECTIONS An open letter from Gene Sharp." Last modified June 12, 2007. Accessed November 12, 2013. <http://www.aeinstein.org/CORRECTIONS.pdf>.

doctoral dissertation he received funds indirectly through a grant from the United States Department of Defense. An analysis of the Institution's Statements of Financial Position seem to verify this.¹³⁹ Sharp denies that he has ever met the members of the Iraqi National Council and claims that his expedition to China to study the student protests there was completely academic in nature; he gave no advice to the opposition. This is completely consistent with his early accounts of the events in China which appear in the fall 1989 edition of *Non-violent Sanctions*¹⁴⁰ and the Institution's *Biennial Report: 1988-1990*.

The weak chain in Sharp's article is that he makes no mention of the direct connections that Meysan take issue with to construct his case against the Albert Einstein Institution. Namely, the persons of Thomas C. Schelling and George F. Kennan. Their involvement with the organization is not automatically damning but does deserve some clarification. For example, though Kennan is supportive of Sharp's interpretation of non-violent struggle and wrote the forward for *Making Europe Unconquerable*, their view on non-violence are not one in the same. Kennan notes that:

“I am not in total agreement with all of Mr. Sharp's argument. There are places where the emphasis, in my view, could have been usefully shifted. I would have placed more weight on highly centralized, clandestine direction, less on spontaneous mass action. I am not sure that the nature of civilian defense planning should be so widely publicized as the author of the book would seem to envisage.”¹⁴¹

The exact relationship between Sharp and these men is somewhat unknown, but ,in the light of the well-known fact that Dr. Sharp served nine months in prison for protesting the conscription of soldiers during the Korean war, there is no reason to believe that their presence is a sign of ideological compromise on Sharp's part. The theory of Progressive Substitution requires that persons who are in place to do violence be approached with the practical applications of non-

¹³⁹ Please see appendix D: “Analysis of the Institute's Financial Records in the Light of Meysan's Accusations”

¹⁴⁰ Sharp, Gene, and Bruce Jenkins. "Nonviolent Struggle in China: An Eyewitness Account." *Non-violent Sanctions*, Fall 1989.

¹⁴¹ Sharp, Gene. *Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense*. Taylor & Francis Publishing House, London 1985 XV-XVI

violence. Thus, it is truly no surprise that Sharp has connections of this type. This was clearly outlined in the organization's consulting policy outline: "Because much of the work of the Einstein Institution is about the use of nonviolent sanctions in place of violence and passivity, consulting may appropriately require contacts with state and non-state actors which have in the past favored or used violence, or which now do so."¹⁴² Regardless, further clarifications of this relationship are not expounded upon in his work. A proper defense of his work should and ought to contain an explanation if there is to remain a long lasting relationship between leftists and proponents of strategic non-violence.

Though Dr. Sharp's reply to Meyssan is notable, it may leave the reader feeling disappointed due to its narrow focus and a lack like of citations to easily accessible information that may reinforce the article's argument. He completely skips addressing his connections to various figures with connections to organizations that may not necessarily be left-wing; hence criticism from Marxists such as Meyssan. Much of the reply spends time reiterating the sharpian theory of non-violence that conflict can manifest in numerous different ways and that the goal of non-violence is to provide a more viable and fruitful mechanism for achieving an end without armed conflict.

2.2.2 Jamila Raqib's Open Letter

Executive Director of the Albert Einstein Institution, Jamila Raqib published an online public letter of support for Gene Sharp and the Institution on the organization's website. It covers many of the same issues discussed in Sharp's public letter such as funding for the organization and the role it plays in consulting political parties and activist organizations. The Albert Einstein Institution does "not give groups specific instructions or advice, nor do we prohibit any person or group from accessing or making use of this information. It is therefore accessed by individuals from a range of countries and environments with diverse backgrounds and views."¹⁴³ This is completely consistent with the consulting policy which is readily available on the Institution's website:

¹⁴² The Albert Einstein Institution Consulting Policy. <http://www.aeinstein.org/AEIconsultPOLICY.pdf>

¹⁴³ Jamila Raqib. The Albert Einstein Institution, "Confronting False Allegations." Last modified Dec. 8, 2007. Accessed November 20, 2013. http://www.aeinstein.org/JR_STATEMENT_12_07.pdf.

“Consultation with both sides in a given conflict is more likely and desirable when the distribution of rights and wrongs between the two contending groups is mixed. The Einstein Institution and its personnel do not themselves become participants in specific conflicts, as by engaging in civil disobedience or hunger strikes on behalf of the cause of one protagonist. Nor do the Institution's personnel participate in strategic decision-making.”¹⁴⁴

Raqib, interestingly, brings up the institute’s book *Anti-Coup*¹⁴⁵ by Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins. The book analysis methods of preventing the overthrow of a democratically elected government and lists “specific legislative steps and other measures that governments and non-governmental institutions can follow to prepare for anti-coup resistance.” Critics of the Albert Einstein Institution forget that this research exists and present the organization as one only involved in overthrowing governments. Besides these points, Miss Raqib public statement on the issue does not shed too much light on the topic. Much like Sharp’s public letter, she spends very time addressing specific criticisms.

2.2.3 Zunes’ Open Letter and Subsequent Writings

Easily, the most important defender of Gene Sharp that came out of the political Left was Dr. Stephen Zunes. Zunes, a professor at University of San Francisco, sent a letter to various activists and scholars asking for them to sign an open letter¹⁴⁶ to express their belief that Gene Sharp and the Albert Einstein Institute has inspired “generations of progressive peace, labor, feminist, human rights, environmental, and social justice activists” and were not part of the “National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the International Republican Institute (IRI) and other U.S. government-funded efforts to advance U.S. strategic and economic objectives under the guise of ‘democracy promotion.’” Zunes’ petition, though only 138 persons long, lists some of the most important leftists in the world at this date and surely casts a shadow of a doubt on the

¹⁴⁴ The Albert Einstein Institution Consulting Policy. <http://www.aeinstein.org/AEIconsultPOLICY.pdf>

¹⁴⁵ Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins. *The Anti-Coup*. Boston, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution, 2003.

¹⁴⁶ Stephen Zunes. "Open Letter in Support of Gene Sharp and Strategic Nonviolent Action." Last modified June 2008. Accessed November 20, 2013. <http://stephenzunes.org/petition/>.

claims of Meyssan. Persons of interest that appear in the petition include but are not limited to Howard Zinn, author of *A People's History of the United States*, Noam Chomsky, the world renown linguist and critic of U.S. foreign policy, representatives from NGOs such as Nonviolence International, World Policy Institute, Training for Change, War Resisters' International, War Resisters League, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, and professors from notable universities such as Kent State, Bradford University, King's College London, and Coventry University. Needless to say, at least at first glance the list is quite impressive.

Though the petition lists off many important people, one can tell that it was prepared poorly due to spelling mishaps and because some of the names listed come from individuals who may not carry any authority on the topic. For example, one mishap is spelling "university" as "unversity" after the signatory Dr. Michael Randle, Writer & Researcher, formerly Visiting Research Fellow, Department of Peace Studies, Bradford University, UK. However, this seems to be a minor problem since the petition only made an appearance on Zunes' personal website and should not be considered fully academic material. The greater issue is that some of the signatories are from less than academic persons. For example, an individual named Dan Clore lists his organizational affiliation as the "Soylent Green Party", but such a party does not seem to exist. It is clear that the use of this organizational affiliation is not meant to be entirely humorous since Mr. Clore also signs other open letters¹⁴⁷ and writes on the internet for websites like anarkismo.net declaring this organizational affiliation¹⁴⁸, but no official organization with this name can be found. Another interesting signatory is Jacob Freeze, who lists his organization affiliation as jacobfreeze.com and nothing more. Given the title one might expect the website to be a personal blog or something of that nature, but in reality it is a painting and photography website to showcase Mr. Freeze's work. The exact extent to which Mr. Freeze's opinion on the topic is noteworthy is impossible to gauge since the website gives no biographical information.

At most, these problems show that Zunes was lazy in the preparation of this open letter in the defense of Gene Sharp. The letter is absolutely vital to the debate because it shows that a

147 An Open Letter to Barack Obama on Iran. <http://www.ipetitions.com/petition/obamairan>

148 Clore, Dan. Anarkismo, "A Real 'Libertarian' Bozo." Last modified December 17, 2009. Accessed November 20, 2013. http://anarkismo.net/article/15292?search_text=Dan+clore. Clore's affiliation is listed as the "Soylent Green Party" in this article. The content of the article disputes the use of the word "libertarian" to apply only to individualist free-marketers.

significant number of left-wing academics support the cause of the Albert Einstein institute, but the list should not serve as absolute proof that the debate is finished and there is no further need for dialog. Such open letters are relatively easy to create and have even been used to support less than academically respectable movements. For example, the Discovery Institute (a controversial right-wing think tank that promotes Intelligent Design) easily made a list of 100 scientists that deny Darwinian evolution.¹⁴⁹ In an open letter to the U.S. Congress, Global Warming denialists compiled a list of 700 hundred scientists.¹⁵⁰ This is not to dismiss Zunes' open letter, but rather putting it into context. In the grand scheme of things, a list of 138 persons will not make a person take up a given position since such a list can almost always be created by any fringe group.

Though there are some difficulties with Dr. Zunes open letter, Zunes largely compensates for this in another article entitled "Sharp Attack Unwarranted"¹⁵¹ which appeared in publications which include but not limited to Huffington Post and Foreign Policy in Focus. This review of the topic by Zunes is unique in that it begins to offer explanations for the leftist attacks on Gene Sharp, something which was lacking from previous open letters. Sharp, in his open letter to Meyssan, admits that he has no explanation for the motivation "for attacking me and the Albert Einstein Institution." Zunes explanation is to highlight that the majority of the skeptics are Marxist-Leninists and this brings with them the elitist tendencies that haunt that movement. "Leninists", Zunes explains, "have traditionally downplayed the power of nonviolence and insisted that meaningful political change can only come about through manipulation by powerful external actors or privileged elites."¹⁵² Instead of believing that non-western societies are capable of mass organization and social change on their own, the skeptics instead interpret all movements as part of great power politics; competition between elites. All social change, progressive or

¹⁴⁹ Discovery Institute, "A SCIENTIFIC DISSENT FROM DARWINISM." Last modified May 6, 2005. Accessed November 20, 2013. <http://www.reviewevolution.com/press/DarwinAd.pdf>. Interestingly, many of the individuals on this list possess Ph.D's in scientific fields.

¹⁵⁰ U.S. Senate Environment and Public Works Committee Minority Staff Report (Inhofe), U. S. Senate Minority Report, "More Than 650 International Scientists Dissent Over Man-Made Global Warming Claims Scientists Continue to Debunk 'Consensus' in 2008." Last modified December 11, 2008. Accessed November 20, 2013. http://www.epw.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Files.View&FileStore_id=83947f5d-d84a-4a84-ad5d-6e2d71db52d9. Much like the example from the Discovery Institute, many have obtained advanced degrees in their field. This puts some doubt on the significance of Zunes' list of signatories.

¹⁵¹ Stephen Zunes. "Attacks on Gene Sharp and Albert Einstein Institution Unwarranted." *Huffington Post*, June 27, 2008. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-zunes/attacks-on-gene-sharp-and_b_109526.html (accessed November 20, 2013).

¹⁵² *ibid*

conservative, is viewed as the product of the powers that be; the uneducated and not yet enlightened workers require a strong and solid party to control them.

Zunes continues by pointing out that the Albert Einstein Institution's progressive connections are fairly well-known. Despite the questionable nature of some of the institution's board such as Schelling, the board does consist of individuals with a strong resume within the progressive community. For example, Curt Goering is now the executive director of The Center for Victims of Torture and, according to the Albert Einstein Institution's website, was the Chief Operating Officer at Amnesty International USA, where he had worked for nearly 30 years. Mary Elizabeth King is professor of peace and conflict studies for the UN-affiliated University for Peace. Zunes expounds on this by pointing out that that much of the institution's funds have been used to support research done by left-leaning professors. Recipients of this fund "included such left-leaning scholars and activists as Palestinian feminist Souad Dajani, Rutgers sociologist Kurt Schock, Israeli human rights activist Edy Kaufman, Kent State Peace Studies professor Patrick Coy, Nigerian human rights activist Uche Ewelukwa, and Paul Routledge of the University of Glasgow, all of whom have been outspoken critics of U.S. foreign policy."¹⁵³ Given these facts, it seems hard to ignore the reality that the Albert Einstein is for the most part organizationally connected with left-leaning institutions.

All in all, minus the endorsement by Noam Chomsky, Zunes supplementary article sheds more light on the feud within leftist circles over Gene Sharp's work regarding non-violent struggle than his petition. Though the open letter is useful for demonstrating that there is progressive support for Sharp's writings, Zunes commentary on the topic is unique in that it attempts to explain the origin of the skepticism. In some similarity, to George H. Smith's critique of Murray Rothbard's skepticism of Carl Watner's support for Gene Sharp, the common theme is that of strategic Leninism versus the highly decentralized nature of non-violent struggle. Despite this uniqueness, Zunes' work overall is lacking in that it falls short of being a truly academic piece of writing, much like the literature produced by Meyssan and other associated with the Voltaire Network.

¹⁵³ *ibid*

2.3 DISCUSSION

Mr. Meyssan's criticism of Gene Sharp contains numerous faults and mistakes. He sloppily hurls a whole slew of accusations without giving the proper evidence to support them; however, he does touch on a critical line of thought. After a civilization or ideology receives massive defeats, it is completely natural to ask "who did this to us?" Conspiracy theories are all about in the Middle Eastern world that attempt to make sense of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic Hegemony. Bernard Lewis' book *What Went Wrong: The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* documents the internal problems of the Ottoman empire and its failed experiments with westernization. Lewis notes "the question 'who did this to us?' has led only to neurotic fantasies and conspiracy theories".¹⁵⁴ Jonathan Kay, in a book review of Jesse Walker's *The United States of Paranoia: A Conspiracy Theory*, tells us "conspiracy theories also have a political function: they provide ideologues, partisans, and religious zealots with a narrative to explain away their defeats and to cast their mission in the dramatic, even apocalyptic, language of good versus evil."¹⁵⁵ The notion of non-violent struggle as promoted by a mysterious elderly man back by a hegemonic super-power is the perfect scapegoat to explain away defeat. Defeat, if one is to create a delusional narrative of nobility and sacrifice, must come from outside one's agency and not from within.

Focusing on the question "who did this to us?" can lead to disastrous results. A more fruitful question is "what went wrong?" and then followed by "what went right?" What were the successes of global leftism and what were its faults? Perhaps an explanation can be found in looking at how the overwhelmingly left-wing field of Peace and Conflict studies defines non-violence. The father of Peace studies Johan Galtung penned a classic article in 1965 entitled "The Meaning of Non-violence" in which he introduced the notions of negative non-violence and positive non-violence into the vocabulary of Peace and Conflict studies and the notion became part of the intellectual landscape for years.¹⁵⁶ He says "negative nonviolence would

¹⁵⁴ Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong: The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East*, (Harper Perennial, 2003), 159.

¹⁵⁵ Jonathan Kay. "A Nation of Birthers." *The American Conservative*, August 29, 2013.

<http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/a-nation-of-birthers/> (accessed November 20, 2013).

¹⁵⁶ Johan Galtung, "On the Meaning of Nonviolence," *Journal of Peace Research*, 2, no. 3 (1965): 228-256,

include all possible techniques of influence short of 'deprivation of biological health' (called violence in the narrow sense) and positive nonviolence would exclude all negative techniques of influence (called violence in the broad sense).”

The obvious problem with Galtung’s formulation of non-violence (besides the arbitrary dichotomous nature of his schemes in general) is that it leaves no room for considerations regarding human liberty because it only focuses on biological health. This makes it an easy target for libertarian theorists. In line with classical leftist thought, Galtung presupposes that freedom or liberty cannot be achieved without meeting a certain standard of material needs; that liberty is the product of economics and not a separate entity all together that may or may not compete with equality. Thus, any particular movement that counteracts the socialist project to satisfy these needs is deemed at the very best as advocating “negative non-violence”. But, if Meyssan’s specific examples of “imperialist revolutions” are by and large misleading, are there then legitimate examples of revolutions which can be described as pro-free market? Could it be that political and personal freedom must first be obtained for economic justice to be sustainable? Some non-violent struggles seem to suggest this.

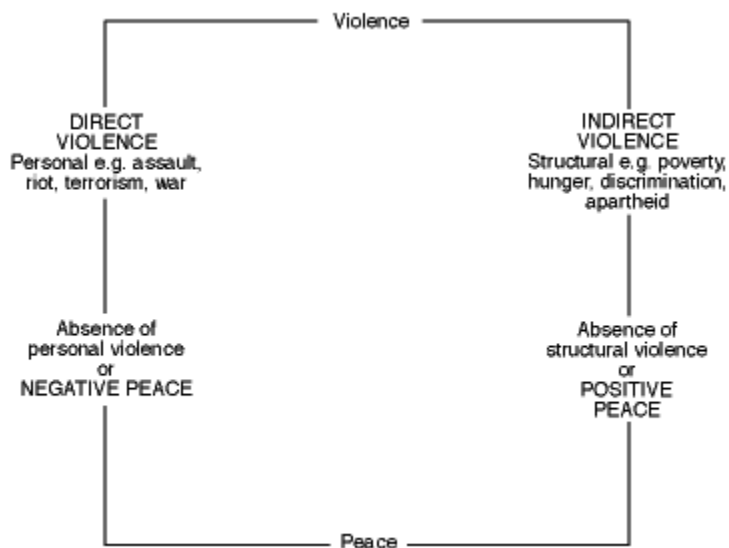


Figure 4 Galtung's Theory of Violence

The breakup of the Soviet Union created numerous opportunities for mass social change. Most recent of these are the so-called “Color Revolutions”, taking place in countries like Georgia, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and Serbia. Before these revolutions there was the Singing Revolution; the succession of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. It climaxed during what is now called the Baltic Way. In this act of civil disobedience, millions of people, in solidarity against a Soviet crackdown on nationalist party leaders, joined hands in one massive human chain that went through each of the respected country’s capital cities: Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius. On September 17th, 1991, Estonia joined the UN as a universally recognized state. Though only mentioned once in Gene Sharp’s *From Dictator to Democracy*, the Baltic States are mentioned numerous times in his other works, more specifically his book *Self-reliant Defense Without Bankruptcy or War: Considerations for the Baltics, East Central Europe, and members of the Commonwealth of Independent States*. In this book, he puts the overall strategy of civilian-based defense into the context of the Baltic independence movement. When discussing the specifics of the approach he notes “in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, high government officials have confirmed that these defense recommendations during the crises of 1991 were based primarily on writings about civilian-based defense, supplemented by other ideas.”¹⁵⁷ This is further reflected in the 1990-1992 Albert Einstein Biennial Report. It reveals “from November 14th to December 7th, 1991, Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins visited the capitals of Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to discuss the potential of organized civilian forms of resistance to block attempted coups and foreign invasions.”¹⁵⁸ To say the least, his work is tied to the revolution in a very crucial way, but he does deny directly controlling the revolutions and instead claims his role was solely that of an advisor¹⁵⁹, which would be in accordance to the Institution’s consulting policy.

¹⁵⁷ Gene Sharp. *Defense Without Bankruptcy or War: Considerations for the Baltics, East Central Europe, and members of the Commonwealth of Independent States*. East Boston, MA: The Albert Einstein Institution, 1992.

¹⁵⁸ The Albert Einstein Institution, "Biennial Report 1990-1992." Accessed February 19, 2013. [http://www.aeinstein.org/organizations/org/scannedPDFs/Biennial Report - 1990-1992.pdf](http://www.aeinstein.org/organizations/org/scannedPDFs/Biennial%20Report%20-%201990-1992.pdf).

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. “Our main influence in the Baltic countries was through page proofs of the then forthcoming Princeton University Press book *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*. We did meet with defense officials of the pro-independence Baltic governments, but did not tell them what they should do. “

The left-wing publication *The Progressive* also notes that the work of Gene Sharp played an important role in that he consulted key players in the revolution. The magazine notes that he was “invited by the governments themselves” to consult on the “nature and requirements of the campaign that they were using to peacefully secede from the Soviet Union. The three governments also used as a guide his book *Civilian-Based Defense*.”¹⁶⁰ However, there is much more to the story of the Singing Revolution than what *The Progressive* and the average student of Peace studies cares to realize: the revolution resulted into one of the most *politically* conservative capitalist governments in the world. This calls into question past assumptions about the Peace studies approach to non-violence. For example, Estonia boasts an incredibly free-market. According to the Index of Economic Freedom, a scale for free-market principles created by the American right-wing capitalist think-tank The Heritage Foundation, Estonia has the 13th most liberalized market in the world as of 2013.¹⁶¹ In fact, Estonia and its fellow revolutionary state Poland “were among the world’s 10 most improved.”¹⁶² This Baltic state boasts low tariffs, has a corporate income tax of 21 percent, government ownership of gross domestic output is only 38.2 percent,¹⁶³ and even a flat tax on personal income.¹⁶⁴ Estonia, despite it being a popular case study within Peace studies, is far from the economic vision that is so popular among its student.

On a more humorous note, a now infamous internet feud between the President of Estonia Toomas Hendrik Ilves, who is a self-described proponent of Austrian economics, and Keynesian economist Paul Krugman over the country’s economic policies regarding austerity and its use as an example for such a policy was turned into an opera by Latvian composer Eugene Birman.¹⁶⁵ Entitled “Nostra Culpa”, it explores the exchange the two men had and looks into Estonia’s affinity for free-market economics. Thus to describe the country’s support for austerity

¹⁶⁰ Pal Amitabh. "Gene Sharp Interview." *The Progressive*, March 2007. <http://www.progressive.org/mag/intv0307> (accessed February 18, 2013).

¹⁶¹ Terry Miller, Kim Holmes, and Edwin Feulner, *2013 Index of Economic Freedom*. (manuscript., The Heritage Foundation, 2013), p. 205

¹⁶² *Ibid* p. 19

¹⁶³ *Ibid* p. 206.

¹⁶⁴ "Simplifying tax systems: The case for flat taxes." *The Economist: Special Report*, Apr 14, 2005. <http://www.economist.com/node/3860731> (accessed February 18, 2013).

¹⁶⁵ Robert Siegel. National Public Radio, "New Opera Immortalizes Spat Between Paul Krugman, Estonian President." Last modified Jan. 21, 2013. Accessed November 20, 2013. <http://www.npr.org/2013/01/21/169920880/new-opera-immortalizes-spat-between-paul-krugman-estonian-president>.

and the like as only the concern of politicians and economists would be inaccurate since the theme of free markets is at least cultural phenomenon that has penetrated even the fine arts.

Estonia's commitment to what most Peace studies theorists like Galtung would call violence does not stop there. Estonia declared neutrality and attempted to stay out of WWII. However, its fate was made for them via the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union agreed that the "boundary of Lithuania shall represent the boundary of the spheres of influence of Germany and U.S.S.R."¹⁶⁶ Due to this agreement, the Soviets claimed that they were legally entitled to Estonia and occupied it in 1940. In 1941, Germany invaded and but were repelled later by the Soviets. This history of occupation produced, upon the nation's freedom, a spree of anti-russian sentiment and a strong commitment to NATO as a tool of foreign policy (Estonia joined NATO in 2004 and is the host country for the Cooperative Cyber Defense Centre of Excellence). This is not to say that it is a militarist society (Estonia spends less than 2% of its GDP on military expenditures¹⁶⁷ and it joined after the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan), but it does insinuate that the relationship between non-violence as a tool for politics is far more complex than that presented by the average Peace studies professor would propose. Why is it that a defense apparatus that has a massive amount of experience in non-violent action would be so ready to adopt more violent tools? Could it be that there is a rational basis for violence or deterrence? Regardless of this statement's truth or not, the mere asking of it would be anathema in some circles that study non-violence.

With Estonia's free-market (Austrian economics in fact!) credentials laid out, it would seem that there is a case for theorists who have a Galtungian understanding of structural violence (since it is inherently bias to state based socialism) to dismiss the Singing Revolution as illegitimate. It rings of Meyssan's original point that focusing "on the morality of the means of action avoids debate on the" objectives of the action. Was the creation of political freedom worth trade liberalization? Or rather, could true economic justice be achieved in a politically repressive environment? It is on this point theorists become caught even more into an intellectual quagmire. Meyssan, by objecting to trade liberalization, implies that the economic structure prior to the revolution were at least legitimate, but where did they find their legitimacy? They received it not

¹⁶⁶ Secret Additional Protocol. Article I of the The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

¹⁶⁷ Central Intelligence Agency. *2012 World Fact Book of the United States Central Intelligence Agency: Estonia*. 2012

from the people but rather the Soviet government. The creation of new structures required a new political environment.

Meysan heavily implies that Soviet control of Eastern Europe was in fact legitimate. This flies into the face of the fact that the supposedly democratic soviet regime in the Baltic States resulted in martial law. How else does one explain the January Massacre in Vilnius, Lithuania,¹⁶⁸ the arrest of the opposition party leaders¹⁶⁹, Barricades incident in which pro-soviet forces attacked human shield protecting Latvian cities,¹⁷⁰ crackdowns of independent media,¹⁷¹ and many more acts? To simply call the current government legitimate is to be morally complicate in regards to martial law; it is one in the same as defending oppression; to become apologists for violence. Could it be that since the revolution in the Baltic states falls into a revolutionary narrative that Meysan is unwilling to accept, Meysan adopts what Zunes argues is a Leninist interpretation of strategy.

Some left-wing critics dismiss non-leftist revolutions as pro-imperialist movements funded by the US but, as Jorgen Johansen notes in his article *Analyzing External Support to Nonviolent Revolutions*, the West's ability "to control the process is not probable and certainly not proven." Given the history of failed US missions to topple regimes, it is clear "support from US agencies is obviously not enough when it comes to covert violent actions or public nonviolent attempts."¹⁷² To presuppose that the Estonian revolution must be part of an imperialist scam is just a sign of cognitive dissonance resulting from the reality of a free-market state founded on non-violent action. In denying this revolution as legitimate, Peace theorists implicitly support violence carried out by the state and fail to come to terms with the reality that some people may freely choose free-market capitalism via the will of the people.

¹⁶⁹ Antol Leiven. *The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence*. Essex, UK: Biddles, 1993.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*

¹⁷¹ *ibid*

¹⁷² Jorgen Johansen. *Analysing External Support to Nonviolent Revolutions*. *Experiments with Peace, Celebrating Peace on Johan Galtung's 80th Birthday*. J. Johansen and J. Y. Jones. Oxfords, Pambazuka Press. 2010. P 104

3. CONCLUSION: WHAT DO HUGO CHAVEZ AND MURRAY ROTHBARD HAVE IN COMMON?

The easiest lesson learned from both of these conversations is that non-violent struggle can have true believers and true skeptics on both sides of the political spectrum. Both Murray Rothbard and Hugo Chavez expressed worries of a conspiracy against their own movement that sought to pacify their goals. The anarcho-capitalist Murray Rothbard believed that Watner et al's belief in non-violence was undermining the Libertarian Party by making libertarianism apolitical and tainting the movement. Non-violent action, he claimed, is only paid lip service in order to conceal leftist motives. In a similar vein of thought, Hugo Chavez denounced Gene Sharp and the Albert Einstein Institution under the influence of French Marxist Meyssan as a front for western imperialism and for stealing the fire and radicalness of leftists worldwide. The common thread that runs throughout each of these conversations is that non-violence may have a will of its own.

Carl Watner, the intellectual behind the modern libertarian interpretations of non-violent struggle, worked for years attempting to bring the study of non-violence into the mainstream of libertarian thought. Though he experienced limited success (non-violence is a regular topic among libertarian writers such as Jesse Walker), the Ludwig Von Mises institute's 2003 book *The Myth of National Security* reveals that libertarian considerations of non-state based defense failed to consider non-violent civilian-based defense methods and ultimately seek to only replace systems of violence as opposed to getting rid of them altogether. In contrast to Watner, Gene Sharp's associates such as Robert Helvey pushed the concepts of non-violence further and further away from its traditional allies in leftist circles. Interpretations of non-violence as a Clausewitzian phenomenon are steadily making the distinction between strategy and desired results ever more clear. At the end of it all, both projects from competing ideological frameworks failed their attempts to fully integrate the notion of non-violent struggle into their political language.

Despite the failure to monopolize non-violence by free-market capitalists and state-based socialists, the breath of these discussions speak to the attractiveness and the efficiency of non-violent struggle; thereby giving more credence to the notion of Progressive Substitution.

Progressive Substitution is a theory of non-violence proposed Gene Sharp that claims that the efficiency of non-violent struggle will eventually replace the methods of violence that actors may use via providing them a more efficient outlet to express themselves politically. To quote Sharp's book *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*:

“By providing deterrence and defense by civilian forms of struggle, the new policy provides a way by which war can be incrementally replaced with a less dangerous option. When that option is seen to be adequate, whole countries can then abandon military means because they would no longer be needed. A gradual reduction in reliance on military means becomes realistic to the degree that the new civilian-based defense policy is demonstrated to be capable of providing genuine deterrence and defense capacity. Single countries, or groups of countries, can take significant steps toward the abandonment of war by the development and progressive substitution of its potential equivalent.”¹⁷³

The ability to achieve this end requires groups not ideologically committed to pacifism to engage in non-violence; for there must a system of violence for non-violence to replace for the theory to be coherent. The sheer efficiency of non-violent struggle ought to guarantee that a wide variation of kinds of persons ought to engage in it. This flies into the face of the strategic input that Lenin suggests for organizing a movement; hence it's disapproval by Murray Rothbard and Hugo Chavez. Rothbard, in his attempts to keep the Libertarian party ideologically pure and committed to the art of state-craft, waged an administrative war against those that disagreed with the official party line such as Carl Watner and the voluntaryists. Chavez, despite his good intentions, labelled all opposition as illegitimate and that all organizations helping said opposition were imperialist actors. Both, despite their ideological and their chronological differences, consistently applied Leninist strategic theory to their respective movements in the sense that they realized that non-violence gave power to those they sought to deprive of it. Vladimir Lenin's pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* largely outlines his strategic concepts, including that of having a narrow party for which to carry on the cause.¹⁷⁴ He reminds his fellow revolutionaries of clause 1 of the Rules of the German Social-Democratic Party: “They are members of the Party who accept the

¹⁷³ Gene Sharp, *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 148.

¹⁷⁴ Vladimir, Lenin. *What Is To Be Done?*.(1901) Lenin's Collected Works. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961.

principles of the Party programme and render the Party all possible support.”¹⁷⁵ The Italian Marxist sociologist Antonio Negri is perhaps the world’s leading expert on Leninist interpretations of Marxism. Born in 1933, Negri is controversial for supposedly being complicit in various acts of terrorism carried out by the Red Brigade such as the 1978 assassination of Aldo Moro (the two time prime-minister of Italy).¹⁷⁶ His work *Factory of Strategy: Thirty-Three Lessons on Lenin* outlines what he understand as the three aspects of Leninist thought:

“The first bloc has a propaedeutic character, on the internal dynamic of Leninist thought. We will seek to follow the way in which problems are formed in the political theory of Lenin, comparing them with the way in which we tackle similar themes. The second bloc of lessons will make reference, in a more specific form, to the discourse on organization and, in particular, on the subject of the soviet-party in the thought of Lenin. Lastly, in the third group of lessons the focus shall be on the subject of the extinction of the State...”¹⁷⁷

It is the second bloc of Negri’s interpretation of Leninism that is of interest in this discussion. Lenin, he explains in the lessons, hopes to dismantle the State non-anarchically. Instead he proposes his theories with the intent for them to be used to dismantle the State in such a way that it is done institutionally. This completely corresponds to Lenin’s words in his work *What is to be done?* “Our fragmentation and our amateurism”, Vladimir Lenin says, “are an outright hindrance to this work of organization which requires the existence of a single, all-Russia body of revolutionaries capable of giving leadership to the all-Russia trade unions.”¹⁷⁸ Lenin’s motivation for following the official party line was the fight against expressions of amateurism, especially in its politically deviant form. Non-violence by its very nature has the tendency to nurture political deviants by giving them the means to express themselves politically; hence its clash with strategically Leninist thinkers.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. IV, E.

¹⁷⁶ Richard Drake. "The Red and the Black: Terrorism in Contemporary Italy", *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, Vol. 5, No. 3, Political Crises (1984), pp. 279–298.

¹⁷⁷ Antonio Negri, *Factory of Strategy: Thirty-Three Lessons on Lenin*, (Columbia University Press, 2014), Lesson 1.

¹⁷⁸ Vladimir, Lenin. *What Is To Be Done?* (1901)

With this in consideration, is it no surprise that Lenin rejected the work of his contemporary Leo Tolstoy? In his essay "Leo Tolstoy is the Mirror of the Russian Revolution"¹⁷⁹, Lenin portrays Tolstoy as a series of contradictions; a mirror by which the revolution poorly reflects itself. Lenin, after discussing Tolstoy's belief in God, says "On the one hand, [Tolstoy advocates a] merciless criticism of capitalist exploitation...On the other, the crackpot preaching of submission, 'resist not evil' with violence."¹⁸⁰ In the essay, Vladimir Lenin portrays Tolstoy as belonging to the Russian liberal class and thus cannot truly connect with the plight of the workers; instead his commitment to the Christian deity is a sign of his landlordism. Upon Leo Tolstoy's death in 1910, Lenin published another essay in the socialist publication *Sotsial-Demokrat* entitled "L.N. Tolstoy"¹⁸¹. Therein, Lenin sums up his critique of the life of Tolstoy and points to the "shedding of crocodile tears" by "government newspapers" over his death. According to Lenin, Tolstoy's "struggle against the feudal police state, against the monarchy turned into a repudiation of politics, led to the doctrine of 'non-resistance to evil', and to complete aloofness from the revolutionary struggle of the masses in 1905–07." Lenin's words are eerily similar to Rothbard's statements regarding Carl Watner.

Even thinkers at the Albert Einstein Institution are carefully aware of the fact that their work is contrary to the strategic input of Leninism. In Gene Sharp's *Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense* (the very volume of his work that Meysan takes issue with due to its forward by containment theorist George Kennan), Sharp briefly discusses the possible responses to a transarmament process (what Sharp calls the process of replacing more traditional defense systems with non-violent defense mechanisms). He mentions that the Soviet Union would most likely be displeased with the process not just due to difficulty handling non-violent revolutions in the past (e.g. Poland and Czechoslovakia) but also on an ideological basis since it radically challenges Leninist conceptions of strategic planning:

"The ideological threat is also important. Both nonviolent struggle generally and civilian-based defense in particular challenge two principles of Leninism:
concentration of control in the hands of an elite in command of the state

¹⁷⁹ Vladimir Lenin, "Leo Tolstoy as the Mirror of the Russian Revolution," *Proletary*, 35 (1908).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*

¹⁸¹ Vladimir Lenin, "L. N. Tolstoy," *Sotsial-Demokrat*, 18 (1910).

apparatus and the central role and omnipotence of violence. The refutation of these both in theory and practice would be perceived as a most dangerous development.”¹⁸²

With this in consideration, the conflict between the strategic input of Leninism and non-violent struggle can be said to not just be a mere interpretation of events; rather it comes directly from the mouth of one of the major thinkers regarding non-violence. This conflict runs as an undercurrent through many of the controversies regarding the topic. Whether one views revolution as the product of a centralized committee of thinkers and activists as Lenin would interpret it or the collective product of numerous different actors' emergent expression of conflict weighs heavily on the perspective one has on non-violent revolutions. What do Murray Rothbard and Hugo Chavez have in common then? Strategic Leninism and the blaming of political failure on deviants within the movement.

¹⁸² Gene Sharp, *Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1985), 65.

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Appendix A: An Interview with Carl Watner

October 19th, 2013 via e-mail correspondence. All typos are original. Mr Carl Watner responds to a list of questions:

1. What relationship do you have with Gene Sharp and the Albert Einstein institute? According to The Voluntaryist, you met him at a 1976 conference.

I have been a supporter of Sharp and his Albert Einstein Institution over the years. I met him at the conference you mentioned, but never again. The list of articles in The Voluntaryist for nonviolence at <http://voluntaryist.com/nonviolence/index.html#.UmLy1XDrwaM> is incomplete. I reviewed a number of Gene's books in early issues of The Voluntaryist. My article on Voluntaryist Resistance in Issue 125 at <http://voluntaryist.com/backissues/125.pdf> relies heavily on his insights.

2. Are you familiar with leftist critiques of Gene Sharp, such as Meyssan's articles on the topic?

No, I am not familiar with the leftist critiques of Sharp, nor of those of Meyssan.
Could you give me the title of his book?

3. How has non-violence integrated into other libertarian community overall? More specifically, how does the Mises Institute view non-violence?

I am probably not involved in "the libertarian community" enough to answer your question. Many voluntaryists came to their philosophy by attending or being influenced by Freedom School in which Robert LeFevre played a prominent role. His pacifism dovetailed in with nonviolence resistance as an alternative strategy. The Mises Institute did publish my article "Without Firing a Single Shot" in their JOURNAL OF LIBERTARIAN STUDIES, but they also supported (at least indirectly) Ron Paul's electoral involvement. If you want to know their position, I suggest you contact them directly.

Appendix B: An Interview with Jesse Walker

October 28th, 2013 via e-mail correspondence. Typos original. Walker responds to a list of questions:

1) What influence do you believe the work of the Albert Einstein Institution has had on libertarian organizations? For example, the radical libertarian newsletter The Voluntaryist cites his material regularly. If his influence is limited, then why is this so?

I'm not sure about this. Carl Watner at the Voluntaryist does cite Sharp, and so do other libertarian writers here and there -- me, Bryan Caplan, etc. I don't know that Sharp & co. have had much of an influence on the institutional level, though. Nor am I sure why that should be so. I haven't encountered much *hostility* to him from libertarians, so I suspect it has more to do with not being aware of his work than not liking it.

(I suppose some Second Amendment activists might react unhappily to the ideas that guns might not be the best means of overthrowing an oppressive government. I've seen some comments more or less to that effect in blog comment threads. Then again, I would be wary of drawing sweeping conclusions from blog common threads.)

2) Are you familiar with far-leftist critics of Sharp and non-violence? For example, Meyssan's conspiracy theory that Sharp is part of the CIA that inspired Hugo Chavez to denounce AEI.

Yes. I addressed some of those here: <http://reason.com/archives/2004/11/30/the-east-turned-upside-down>. Oddly, I've seen this article cited in some subsequent anti-Sharp conspiracy writing, with the "parachute Karl Rove" quote pulled out of context.

3) Since you interviewed Sharp, do you know if Sharp has maintained a long last relationship with any libertarian organizations?

The first time I interviewed him, about a decade ago, he mentioned some past friendly ties with libertarians. But they were more of the "That guy published an article I liked" variety. I am not aware of any long-lasting organizational connections.

October 28th, 2013 via e-mail correspondence. Lawrence's reply:

Thank you for your input. I've been slowly making my way into the non-violent struggle academic community and I've become obsessed with the large array of conspiracy theories around Gene Sharp, hence my second question. I have yet to read your book *The United States of Paranoia*, but it is on my reading list.

The other two questions were motivated by wanting to see more of a libertarian presence in the peace and conflict resolution community. I am hoping to be a professor for a few courses next fall at Tiffin University and I want to develop a balanced reading list. Personally I describe myself as left-wing, but I am tired of peace and conflict resolution courses being uncritical of the various theories of conflict that exist. For example, in many peace and conflict resolution text books, the definition of violence is often constructed in such a way that it makes no room to factor in personal liberties. This has propelled me to write more on the history of libertarianism and non-violence as a way to counter act biases about it from the Left.

October 28th, 2013 via e-mail correspondence. Walker replies:

I think there is, or should be, a natural affinity between Sharp's theories and libertarianism, particularly those schools of libertarianism that define themselves in terms of being opposed to coercion. The writers at *The Voluntaryist* clearly recognize that connection.

Interestingly, Jack DuVall once told me that he considered himself a libertarian of sorts, though it became clear after a while that he meant something different by that word than I did. (*) And I've heard that Peter Ackerman has free-market tendencies. (An MSNBC host once told me he was surprised to hear Ackerman's views about ObamaCare, which apparently are very negative.) So it's definitely an intersection worth exploring.

Appendix C: Analysis of the Institute’s Financial Records in the Light of Meysan’s Accusations

What would be a useful method of determining the true intents of the Albert Einstein Institution, especially in the light of the amount vast of criticism from some on the far-left in the mid-2000s? The main method Meysan and other leftist critiques of Sharp is to select case examples of non-violent movements that share objectives that vaguely correspond with the interests of the United States government; hence they are imperialist.¹⁸³ Another is to show direct connections between Gene Sharp and person directly involves in the American security apparatus. Perhaps a more efficient and scientific method would be an analysis of the Institution’s cash flow and financial investments. Thankfully, the Albert Einstein Institute has published their financial records. The documents *Report on Activities 200-2004*, *Biennial Report 1988-1990*, and the *Report on Activities 1993-1999* not only reveal the details of their operations from year to year but they also contain a statement of financial position; some of these documents were audited by Alexander, Aronson, Finning & Co., P.C., a consulting firm in New England since 1973. In terms of the origins of the organization, a non-externally audited statement of financial position appears in the document *The First Five Years-1983-1988 and Plans for the Future: The President’s Report* for the financial years 1984-1988. All together, they provide a wealth of information that describe the nature of the Albert Einstein Institution’s activities.

The document *The First Five Years- 1983-1988 and Plans for the Future: The President’s Report* peers into the early days of the Albert Einstein Institution. In total, it is 36 pages long and it largely reports on the various activities of the institute. Some of the highlighted activities include but are not limited to explaining the history of the notion of non-violent sanctions and the institute’s involvement in their development at Harvard University¹⁸⁴, detailing events hosted by the organization, listing academic material produced, some details of fact finding expeditions at such places but not limited to Israel-Palestine, and details of the institution’s fellowship program.

¹⁸³ The argument could easily be argued the other way around: (1) Non-violent movement X’s objectives corresponds with the interests of the United States. (2) X was a legitimate movement. In conclusion, (3) thus some of the United States interests are legitimate.

¹⁸⁴ The Albert Einstein Institution. *The First Five Years- 1983-1988 and Plans for the Future: The President’s Report*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1988.

Needless to say, the report presents an organization that is experiencing birthing pains. When discussing consultations, the document highlights that “at present, the Einstein Institution does not have adequate appropriate personnel and resources to respond to every request for visits and consultations in the countries involved.”¹⁸⁵ A quick look at the financial records that appear in appendix A on page 29 reveals this to be true.

Appendix A					
Financial Summary					
Receipts, Expenses and Balances, Fiscal Years 1984 -1988					
(Fiscal Year : July 1 - June 30)					
	FY 1984	FY 1985	FY 1986	FY 1987	FY 1988
Receipts					
Grants		21,000	21,000	59,431	142,293
Contributions	59,825	47,290	60,525	182,929	132,675
Gifts, restricted		20,000		*1,467,258	
Interest, Annuity income, book sales, misc.		1,373	1,565	67,740	90,185
Reserves from restricted gifts		**5,484	**13,206	**(-1,551)	817,945
Total Receipts (including restricted gifts)	59,825	95,147	96,296	1,775,807	1,183,098
Expenses					
Administrative	341	11,411	21,444	162,968	226,520
Program: Grant to Program on Nonviolent Sanctions	54,000	40,000	39,926	264,250	139,021
Outreach: Research, Publications, Consulting, Translations, Grants, etc.		30,530	30,640	42,277	142,740
Fundraising			5,837	21,109	5,624
Total Expenses	54,341	81,941	97,847	490,604	513,905
BALANCE (including restricted gifts)	\$5,484	\$13,206	(\$1,551)	*\$817,945	\$669,193

* \$467,258 in Annuity and unavailable; \$1,000,000 restricted gift
 ** Balance carried from previous year

Most noticeable of this particular statement of financial position is that it is clear that the first few years of the institution were far from stable; unpredictable in fact. In 1984, all reported funds came from personal contributions and an overwhelming amount of the money went by way of a grant to the then program on non-violent sanctions at Harvard University. 1985 saw significant growth and a diversification in the mode of revenue; allowing for the institution to allocate more money to research, consultations, and publications. However, in 1986, the institution ran a budget deficit of 1,551 dollars due a dramatic increase in expenditures with revenue staying relatively the same. All in all, it was 1987 that made the finance books of the Albert Einstein Institution reach the level one could expect from an institution of its nature, finishing with a balance of 817,945 dollars. Suspiciously, the Albert Einstein institution’s balance goes from a

¹⁸⁵ Ibid

deficit to three quarters of a million dollars within the period of one fiscal year. However, this could easily be explained by noticing that the organization spent 21,000 dollars on fundraising activities that year, as opposed to only 5,000 dollars the year before. The explanation given by the report for this increase in revenue is increased administrative costs:

“Administrative and Program costs, respectively, for FY87 and FY88 reflects the changed relationship between the Institution and the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, which required the Institution to assume Program responsibilities, i.e. 3 staff positions thereby requiring larger office space, and purchase of additional equipment and supplies.”

The following year, the balance was positive yet again. Though the institution only spent around 5,500 dollars on fundraising activities, they received a restricted gift of 800,000 dollars. For the first time, funding for publications grew to over 100,000 dollars and the modern version of the Albert Einstein Institution was born. This picture of the financial origins of Gene Sharp’s think-tank is far from what one would imagine as an organization controlled by the Central Intelligence Agency. Nevertheless, the benefactor of the restricted gift of 800,000 dollars is not named and this particular statement of financial position is not audited by an outside organization. The balance sheets of the following years of 1989 and 1990, which are some of the most important years in the study of non-violent revolutions, are given in the document *Biennial Report: 1988-1990*.¹⁸⁶ The various revolutions against the USSR took place over these years, including the Singing Revolution in the Baltic States of which Meyssan appeals to in his article denouncing the Albert Einstein Institute.

¹⁸⁶ The Albert Einstein Institution, "Biennial Report: 1988-1990." Accessed November 18, 2013. P. 25. [http://www.aeinsteinst.org/organizations/org/scannedPDFs/Biennial Report - 1988-1990.pdf](http://www.aeinsteinst.org/organizations/org/scannedPDFs/Biennial%20Report%20-%201988-1990.pdf).

Balance Sheets—June 30, 1989 and 1990

	FY 1989	FY 1990
ASSETS:		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$288,606	\$188,751
Grants receivable	24,085	1,250
Interest receivable	811	875
Prepaid expenses, deposits and other assets	4,323	63,346
Annuity	<u>410,433</u>	<u>390,377</u>
	<u>728,258</u>	<u>644,599</u>
Fixed assets, at cost:		
Office equipment and furnishings	44,137	44,188
Less accumulated depreciation	<u>14,722</u>	<u>20,542</u>
Net fixed assets	<u>29,415</u>	<u>23,646</u>
	<u>\$757,673</u>	<u>\$668,245</u>
LIABILITIES:		
Accounts payable	\$3,866	\$10,618
Fellowships payable	-	37,664
Accrued expenses	32,880	48,651
Deferred revenue	<u>10,000</u>	<u>27,916</u>
Total liabilities	46,746	124,849
FUND BALANCES	<u>710,927</u>	<u>543,396</u>
	<u>\$757,673</u>	<u>\$668,245</u>

**Revenues, Expenses, and Fund Balances
For the years ended June 30, 1989 and 1990**

	FY 1989	FY 1990
OPERATING REVENUES:		
Grants	\$133,488	\$110,687
Contributions	130,381	551,458
Conference	-	21,911
Sublease	10,760	11,850
Miscellaneous	<u>3,316</u>	<u>3,274</u>
Total operating revenues	<u>277,945</u>	<u>699,180</u>
OPERATING EXPENSES:		
Program expenses—		
Research, policy studies and documentation	426,226	475,073
Education and outreach	<u>181,250</u>	<u>301,586</u>
Total program expenses	607,476	776,659
Fundraising	<u>136,179</u>	<u>148,325</u>
Total operating expenses	<u>743,655</u>	<u>924,984</u>
Excess of operating expenses over operating revenues	<u>(465,710)</u>	<u>(225,804)</u>
NON-OPERATING REVENUES:		
Annuity income	30,336	29,690
Interest and dividends	24,429	20,756
Gain on disposal of fixed assets	-	<u>7,827</u>
Total non-operating revenues	<u>54,765</u>	<u>58,273</u>
Excess (deficiency) of revenues over expenses	(410,945)	(167,531)
FUND BALANCES, beginning of year	<u>1,121,872</u>	<u>710,927</u>
FUND BALANCES, end of year	<u>\$710,927</u>	<u>\$543,396</u>

In contradiction to the narrative given by Leftist critics of the Albert Einstein Institution, there are no financial abnormalities for the years of 1989 and 1990. Both years balances are lower than the end of the year balance for 1987. If these said revolutions were truly caused by the Central Intelligence Agency via the Albert Einstein Institution as a proxy, one would expect a far larger budget than the one listed in this report. During the height of the revolutions 1989, the total operating revenue of the organization was only 277,945 dollars as compared to 699,180 dollars one year later. The largest expense in 1989 was research, policy studies, and documentation. Simply put, one would expect there to be some correlation between the revenue/expenses and these revolutions which are supposedly caused by the Central Intelligence Agency. Furthermore, the statements of financial position were audited by Alexander, Aronson, Finning & Co., P.C. (a consulting firm in New England); therefore giving credibility to these figures.

Biennial Report: 1988-1990's sister document is *Biennial Report: 1990-1992*. Like the prior document, it gives a statement of financial position for the listed years but also acts a summary of the activities of the institution during that year. Listed activities include but are not limited to

the spread of the idea of civilian-based non-violent defense in the Baltic States and among the policy officials of those countries as a tool to handle a possible Soviet invasion, the establishment of an area studies program that investigates non-violent struggle in South Africa, the growth of the educational outreach program, and reflecting on the publication of such books as Gene Sharp's *Civilian-Based Defense* and Patricia Parkman's *Insurrectionary Civic Strikes in Latin America 1931-1961*. The most noticeable feature of the figures given in the report is that the total revenue in 1989 was one of the lowest in the entire organization's history, being only 277,945 dollars. Excluding the figures given in *The First Five Years- 1983-1988 and Plans for the Future: The President's Report*, the only year that reported a lower total revenue was 1998; radically running against the narrative the Meyssan paints in his writings.

For another audited statement of financial position that lists the subsequent years, one should analyze the statement that appears in *Report on Activities 1993-1999*. Unlike the earlier reports which painted the picture of an institution slowly and steadily gaining ground and becoming fiscally sound, this report confirms that the finances of the organization were unpredictable year by year. In 1993 total revenue was reported as 1,196,533 dollars and in 1994 total revenue doubled to 2,445,658 dollars due to private contributions (resulting in the only year from 1993-1999 the institution did not have any unrealized losses) , but in 1995 total revenue dramatically dropped to only 327,146 dollars. It was only in 1999 did total revenue exceed 500,000 dollars, going to a little above 700,000 dollars. Meyssan explains that the "Albert Einstein Institution became part of an expansionist strategy" that began in 1998 under President Clinton and that these funds were used to support insurrection in Milosevic's Yugoslavia. However, in the light of the already given figures regarding the organization's financial statements, it would appear that 1998 was a typical year financially for the Albert Einstein Institution and that, though there was a slight increase in contributions, total revenue was less than half of that reported in 1994. If Meyssan's interpretation of events were to be described as accurate, than total revenue ought to coincide with the campaigns that he accuses Gene Sharp of funding and organizing.

Statement of Activities for the Years Ended June 30, 1993 through June 30, 1999

	1999		1998		1997		1996			1995			1994			1993		
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total
SUPPORT AND REVENUES:																		
Contributions:																		
Satisfaction of Donor restrictions	\$100,000	(\$100,000)	-	\$198,402	(\$198,402)	-	\$186,384	(\$186,384)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	278,767	-	278,767	113,390	-	113,390	108,642	-	108,642	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grants and contracts																		
Satisfaction of Donor restrictions	481,858	(481,558)	-	129,890	(129,890)	-	145,389	(145,389)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	23,532	440,000	463,532	16,997	29,853	46,830	21,616	198,125	219,741	148,264	(148,264)	-	169,284	(169,284)	-	236,647	(236,647)	-
Annually income	-	31,696	31,696	-	31,696	31,696	-	31,696	31,696	5,319	88,831	94,150	10,000	136,091	146,091	82,500	80,500	163,000
Other income	6,398	-	6,398	10,056	-	10,056	15,715	-	15,715	-	31,695	31,695	-	31,697	31,697	-	31,696	31,696
TOTAL SUPPORT AND REVENUES	890,255	(109,862)	780,393	468,735	(266,763)	201,972	477,526	(101,933)	375,593	12,803	41,951	54,754	18,356	23,926	42,282	27,619	17,284	17,284
EXPENSES:																		
Program services:																		
Policy and Outreach	269,737	-	269,737	248,208	-	248,208	249,475	-	249,475	202,042	-	202,042	255,275	-	255,275	231,116	-	231,116
Fellowships	68,615	-	68,615	71,084	-	71,084	107,563	-	107,563	108,696	-	108,696	73,838	-	73,838	74,763	-	74,763
Publications	422,956	-	422,956	15,363	-	15,363	25,062	-	25,062	41,168	-	41,168	132,717	-	132,717	159,819	-	159,819
South Africa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66,336	-	66,336	140,222	-	140,222	137,067	-	137,067
PNCS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35,060	-	35,060	131,260	-	131,260	185,000	-	185,000
PNCS, SAP Fellowships and Publications	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Supporting services —	126,714	-	126,714	105,041	-	105,041	111,757	-	111,757	86,075	-	86,075	202,924	-	202,924	237,768	-	237,768
General and Administrative	16,027	-	16,027	34,177	-	34,177	44,400	-	44,400	46,409	-	46,409	91,971	-	91,971	80,253	-	80,253
Fundraising	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL EXPENSES	904,049	-	904,049	473,873	-	473,873	538,257	-	538,257	585,786	-	585,786	1,026,207	-	1,026,207	1,105,786	-	1,105,786
Change in net assets from operations	(13,794)	(109,862)	(123,656)	(5,138)	(266,763)	(271,901)	(60,731)	(101,933)	(162,664)	78,965	(385,887)	(306,922)	(21,291)	(677,670)	(699,061)	(15,043)	1,354,915	1,339,872
UNREALIZED LOSS ON INVESTMENT	(1,087)	-	(1,087)	(5,613)	-	(5,613)	(1,279)	-	(1,279)	\$78,965	(\$85,887)	(\$96,922)	(21,291)	(\$677,670)	(\$699,061)	(15,043)	\$1,354,915	\$1,339,872
Change in net assets	(\$14,881)	(\$109,862)	(\$124,743)	(\$6,413)	(\$266,763)	(\$273,170)	(\$60,731)	(\$101,933)	(\$162,664)	\$78,965	(\$85,887)	(\$96,922)	(\$21,291)	(\$677,670)	(\$699,061)	(\$15,043)	\$1,354,915	\$1,339,872

From audited annual statements prepared by Alexander, Aronson, Fining & Co., P.C.

After a careful analysis of The Albert Einstein Institution's self-reporting of their financial figures, it would appear that there exists no clear indication that the flow of revenue correlates with the non-violent campaigns that Meyssan accuses the organization of starting. The vast majority of the figures show an organization that struggles from year to year to receive funds. Where are the resources that Meyssan claims were used to overthrow the communist governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and to protest the communist government of China? This question becomes even more important in the light of the fact that Meyssan does not make it clear exactly how the Albert Einstein Institution manipulates the internal politics of countries. As clearly said in the introduction to the leftist critique of Gene Sharp, Meyssan's review of non-violence is severely lacking in critical analysis and, if the left is to continue to develop a critical theory of non-violence, there must be a far deeper review of the topic is needed.